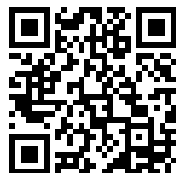

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A
TREATISE
ON THE
CHRONOLOGY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

ORDO SÆCLORUM.

A

TREATISE

ON THE

CHRONOLOGY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES:

AND THE INDICATIONS THEREIN CONTAINED

OF A

DIVINE PLAN OF TIMES AND SEASONS:

TOGETHER WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

- I. A COMPENDIUM OF THE PRINCIPAL INSTITUTES OF CHRONOLOGY.
- II. AN EXAMINATION OF MR. GRESWELL'S SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY AND HYPOTHESIS RELATIVE TO THE JULIAN CALENDAR.
- III. DISSERTATIONS ON THE ANCIENT CHRONOGRAPHIES OF ASIA AND EGYPT.
- IV. OUTLINES OF A CHRONOLOGICAL HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.
- V. AN ESSAY ON THE DESIGN AND STRUCTURE OF PROPHECY.

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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. THAT the Chronology of the Scripture History, both as a whole, and in many of its details, is involved in much uncertainty, no one, who has given any heed to this subject, can fail to be aware. Even in the New Testament, enclosed as it is in a richly historical æra, the learned have never been able to agree upon the precise dates of its cardinal events; while in the Old Testament the authority of distinguished names is evenly balanced between schemes which, besides a multitude of minor discrepancies, vary in their larger ranges by many centuries of difference. And, when one looks beyond mere tables, and considers the vast amount of learning and thought which must have been bestowed upon their construction, it is natural to infer from the wide discrepancies of the results, that the elements of the problem must needs be very ambiguous or defective. Accordingly, the subject is commonly pronounced to be one on which further enquiry is not only vain—since, if certainty were to be had, the question would have been settled long ago—but presumptuous too: for does it not betray an overweening temper, to think of making fresh discoveries in a matter which men of consummate learning have failed to bring to a satisfactory adjustment?

To such prejudices the present Work, which sets out with a fresh and independent investigation of the Scripture Chronology, is necessarily exposed. To any imputation of presumption, its author must content himself, at the outset, with the plea which is usual in such cases—that after a subject has been explored in many directions by many great minds, an enquirer of very humble pretensions, by some fortunate accident, may possibly light upon the right track. To other prejudices or complaints, as, that certainty is unattainable, or, that the prac-

tical interest and usefulness of the enquiry are not such as to recompense the labour of investigation,—it may be sufficient to reply that, having chanced to light upon a certain track, I found the research when pursued in that direction to be attended with a kind of evidence, hitherto perhaps little suspected, of great interest and practical usefulness in itself, if true, and sufficient to overrule the ambiguity which has been complained of. At a time when I had no intention of writing a Treatise on Scripture Chronology, it chanced that I was led to consider the various schemes which have been proposed for the adjustment of that seemingly difficult question, the chronology of the times of the Judges of Israel. While I was thus engaged, my attention was unexpectedly arrested by a casual glimpse of a peculiar kind of interest which seemed to belong to the Scripture Chronology as a whole. It seemed to me that certain facts, which I happened to notice, implied the existence of a discoverable order of Divine Providence in the times of the Sacred History. Thus drawn on, I was led into an investigation which comprehends the entire Chronology of the Old and New Testament: and, to be brief, I hope to make it appear that the Scriptures contain the elements of a system of “Times and Seasons” so clearly marked with evidence of plan and design, that, unless human artifice have been concerned in framing it,—and this, under the circumstances of the case, is impossible,—it must be “the Lord’s doing,” and ought to be “marvellous in our eyes.” What the facts are to which I have alluded, the reader shall presently be informed: but in the first place it is desirable that he should apprehend clearly what are the principal elements of the question, and what are the chief sources of those discrepancies which cast an air of vagueness and doubtfulness over this subject considered as a whole.

§ 2. The historical books of the Old Testament contain a connected narrative, reaching from the Creation to the close of the fifth century before the Christian æra. The narrative abounds, throughout, in notes of time, by means of which the distance between contiguous or not very remote events may in most instances be ascertained. Thus, the antediluvian genealogies assign the interval between the Creation and the Flood,

and consequently the Year of the World belonging to the latter event. By means of the postdiluvian genealogies, and the chronographical notices scattered in the lives of the Patriarchs, we can trace the series "*Anno Mundi*" down to the death of Joseph, that is, to the end of Genesis. Here, however, that is, between Genesis and Exodus, occurs a chasm, the extent of which, without information from some other quarter, could be defined only by precarious conjecture. But it happens that the requisite information is supplied, a few chapters further on, in an emphatic statement of the Historian himself. "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was 430 years: and it came to pass, at the end of the 430 years, *even the selfsame day* it came to pass, that all the hosts of the LORD went out from the land of Egypt...It came to pass *the selfsame day* that the LORD did bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt by their armies." Ex. xii. 40, 51. Thus the chasm is bridged over, and the series of the mundane æra is brought down to the year of the Exode.

§ 3. But, the process of calculation being, thus far, so simple, whence, it may be asked, arises the enormous variety of dates in the years of the World, which have been assigned to this event by different chronologists? Take for instance the following:—the date of the Exode is, according to

| | A. M. |
|--------------------|-------|
| Jackson | 3834 |
| Hales..... | 3764 |
| Josephus | 3765 |
| Ussher..... | 2514 |
| Marsham..... | — |
| Clinton..... | — |
| Scaliger..... | 2464 |
| Petavius..... | — |
| Vulgar Jewish..... | 2448 |
| Greswell..... | 2445 |

the difference between the extremes being nearly 1400 years. It may be sufficient at present to reply, that these and similar discrepancies originate partly in the wide difference between the Hebrew, Greek and Samaritan texts of the genealogies, partly in the diversity of the epochs which different chronologists assign to the 430 years of Exod. xii. 40. But we need not

stop now to discuss these questions, and will proceed with our description of the materials of Scripture Chronology.

§ 4. After the Exode, the descending series is traced to a time 46 years later: Joshua xiv. 10. After this, occurs a chasm in the Chronology. The last event noted in the history of Joshua is his death, at the age of 110 years. But the year of his birth is nowhere defined: nor is it recorded how many years elapsed between his death and the recommencement of the series of time-marks in the book of Judges. Thus, from the 47th year of the æra of the Exode to the Mesopotamian servitude, Judges iii. 8, the chronology is left undefined. We learn only that all the elders who had entered the Promised Land and survived Joshua, died in the meantime; Judges ii. 10. If we must have recourse to conjecture, an interval of forty years between Joshua and Judges is as likely as one of twenty. At this point, therefore, in default of express information from some other quarter, the series *A. M.* can be traced no further. But the information must be derived, if at all, from the Scriptures themselves: the question must not be ruled by the authority of later uninspired writers, Jewish or Christian: for it is evident that neither Josephus and the Jewish chronologists, nor Clement of Alexandria and Africanus and Eusebius, were in possession of any other legitimate sources of information than are open to ourselves.

§ 5. However, from the Mesopotamian Servitude (Judges iii.) to the death of Samson, the interval is accurately measured, as the history assigns the length of each servitude and the time of each judge or deliverer. But between the death of Samson and the accession of David the chronology again becomes disconnected. For it is not recorded what length of time elapsed between Samson's death and the captivity of the ark. The deliverance at Mizpeh (1 Sam. vii.) lies 20 years 7 months after the captivity; but we are not informed how many years intervened between that deliverance and the election of Saul, nor how many years Saul reigned. From the accession of David, however, to the Babylonian Captivity, and thence to the first year of Cyrus, we find an uninterrupted series of chronological items, by means of which the interval between the two extremes may be determined with great precision.

Towards the latter extreme, Scripture History first comes in such decided contact with authentic profane accounts, that the year B. C. of the Babylonian Captivity is known with absolute certainty. Hence the year of David's accession is known in terms of the æra B. C.

§ 6. It appears then, that in the direct history alone, the series A. M. or descending reckoning may be traced down to the 47th year after the Exode, but no lower, and the series B. C. or ascending reckoning, in continuation of authentic profane chronologies, up to the first year of David, but no higher. Between these limits, the descending reckoning is detached from the ascending by chasms, the extent of which, for ought that appears in the direct history, can only be conjectured, not measured. Consequently, the date B. C. of the Exode cannot be assigned with certainty, if we possess no other materials than these which have been described. Some chronologists, indeed, pretend to remedy the defects of the Scriptures with the help of profane accounts; that is, to deduce the true date of the Exode from the old Egyptian dynasties: a preposterous undertaking surely, for no ancient chronographies, Egyptian or Babylonian or Assyrian, are any further useful than as they have been first tested and corrected by the incomparably clearer and more consistent statements of the Scriptures. Manetho's Dynasties, for instance, are unintelligible until they are explained and adjusted by comparison with the Sacred History¹. And here, again, it is useless to pretend to determine this question by the authority of uninspired writers who lived, it may be, fifteen or sixteen hundred years after the event. That the Jews after the Christian æra possessed no sure traditional knowledge of the true date, is evident upon inspection of their conflicting estimates, Josephus making the year of the Exode B. C. 1648; the modern Jews B. C. 1312. The early Christian writers were obliged to construct the date out of the same materials as ourselves, and differ as widely in their results as do the modern chronologists. The amount of the discrepancy may be seen from the following statement of the various estimates, given by ancient and modern writers, of the interval between the Exode and the foundation of Solomon's Temple. (Hales, Vol. i. p. 10.)

¹ See Appendix III. Sect. ii. of this work.

| | Years. |
|--|--------|
| Julius Africanus estimates the interval as..... | 741 |
| Syncellus | 659 |
| Pasch. Chronicle | 632 |
| Josephus, (Hales) | 621 |
| Theophilus, (Clinton) | 612 |
| Eusebius, Præp. Evang. | 600 |
| Vossius..... | 591 |
| Sulpitius Severus..... | 588 |
| Jackson..... | 579 |
| Clement of Alex. and S. Cyprian..... | 573 |
| Greswell | 549 |
| Petavius | 519 |
| Hebrew text of 1 Kings vi. 1. Ussher, Marsham, and Eusebius Chron..... | 480 |

It is evident, from the description of our historical materials above given, that the true interval cannot be certainly known, unless Scripture, on some other occasion, assigns the precise number of years which elapsed between the Exode and some event subsequent to the accession of David. If such information can be found, the date B. C. of the Exode is known, and consequently the æra B. C. may be adjusted to the æra A. M.

§ 7. Such a measure seems to be assigned in the following statement (1 Kings vi. 1.): "In the 480th year after the children of Israel came out of Egypt, in the 4th year of Solomon's reign, he began to build the house of the LORD." This measure is adopted by Ussher, who hence deduces as the year of the Exode B. C. 1491 : *i. e.* 1012 B. C. + 479 : and hence for the year of the Creation, or 1 A. M., 1491 + 2513 = 4004 B. C. Petavius however reckons the 480 years current, or 479 complete, from the *Eisode*, which he therefore dates B. C. 1012 + 479 = 1491 B. C.; whence the year of Exode = 1531 B. C. and 1 A. M. = 1531 B. C. + 2453 = 3984 B. C. Other discrepancies of course will ensue upon the different modes of computing the 430 years of Exod. xii., and still greater upon the adoption of the Greek or Samaritan enumeration of the genealogies; for Petavius and Ussher follow the Hebrew enumeration.

§ 8. But the adoption of the statement in 1 Kings vi. 1, as a fundamental measure, is attended with insuperable difficulties. For,

1. The term of 480 years is inconsistent with the sum of the details contained in the history.

| | Years. |
|---|--------|
| The wandering in the wilderness | 40 |
| To the first servitude (at least) | 40 |
| The sum of the years of the Judges to the end of the Philistine servitude of 40 years | 390 |
| To the first year of David (at least)..... | 40 |
| To the fourth of Solomon | 43 |
| The sum therefore is at least..... | 553 |

which exceeds Petavius's estimate by 34 years, and Ussher's by 40 more. Hence it becomes necessary to reduce the time of the Judges, and this is effected in various ways. The Jewish chronologists count the time of each servitude as part of the time allotted to the judge, wherever the latter exceeds the former; *e. g.* of the first servitude (8 years) and the time of rest under Othniel (40 years) they make 40 years, instead of 48 years. Ussher advances a still stranger hypothesis: namely, when it is said, "the land had rest 40 years," the meaning is, says Ussher, that "the land rested, was delivered from its servitude (of 8 years) in the 40th year from some preceding epoch, namely, from the peace of Joshua, xi. 23." In like manner, the 80 years of Judges iii. 30, denote the 80th year from the death of Othniel. This hypothesis is now perhaps universally exploded. A third, and the most usual solution of the difficulty, is the supposition (started by Marsham) that some of the servitudes were contemporary, as affecting different parts of the land. On this hypothesis, however, it becomes impossible to arrange the detailed chronology of this portion of the history with anything like precision.

2. The term in question is totally irreconcilable with the chronological outline given by St Paul, Acts xiii. The Apostle's enumeration obviously implies that, between the Exode and David were three periods at least, amounting in all to 530 years; therefore to the fourth year of Solomon must have been, at least, 573 years.

3. The reading of the text, 1 Kings vi. 3, is itself uncertain. The Hebrew and Chaldee read 480, the LXX. 440. Josephus takes no notice of the Hebrew number: he gives, as the length of the interval on various occasions, 592, 612, and 632 years.

§ 9. As a specimen, and I think the best, of the computa-

tions in which the text 1 Kings vi. 1. is rejected as corrupt, we will give Mr. Clinton's, from the admirable Essay on Scripture Chronology appended to his great work, the *Fasti Hellenici*.

| | Years. | Months. |
|---|--------|---------|
| Years in the wilderness | 40 | |
| Death of Moses to the first Servitude [conjectural | 27] | |
| Years of the Judges and servitudes | 300 | |
| Years of Eli | 40 | |
| Ark in captivity 7 months, and at Kirjath-jearim 20 years .. | 20 | 7 |
| To the election of Saul, [conjectural | 12] | |
| Years of Saul, Acts xiii. | 40 | |
| | 569 | 7 |
| Year of David's accession deduced from the ascending reck- oning | B. C. | 1056 |
| Year of the Exode, (about) | B. C. | 1625 |

Mr. Clinton, therefore, distributes St Paul's period of 450 years into

| |
|--|
| 20 years of the Ark at Kirjath-jearim. |
| 40 ... of Eli. |
| 300 ... of the Judges, from the first servitude. |
| <u>450 years.</u> |

and supposes that the three terms of St Paul's enumeration are not continuous: namely, that between the two first lies a chasm which he estimates at about 27 years, and between the two last another of about 12 years.

§ 10. The scheme which I purpose to establish in these pages differs from that of Mr. Clinton, in the part here described, to an amount of 39 years, which is the sum of the two *conjectural* terms. I suppose the three terms in St Paul's enumeration to be continuous, and consequently that the measure of the period from the Exode to David is 530 years. I take this to be the most obvious sense of the passage in Acts xiii.; the sense in which every one would have understood it, but for a supposed difficulty in adjusting the detail of numbers in the history to that measure. In this sense some of the ancients understood the passage, *e. g.* perhaps S. Clement of Alexandria, and certainly S. Cyprian, or whoever else, unquestionably a contemporary, was the author of the *Computus Paschalis*, appended to Bp. Fell's

edition of S. Cyprian's works. As for the supposed difficulty, it disappears, as I shall shew in the proper place, upon a just view of the connexion between the Book of Judges and the First Book of Samuel. That connexion I take to be as follows:—the 40 years of the Philistine oppression (Judges xiii. 1) are made up of the 20 years of Samson (Judges xv. 20), and the 20 years of the ark's continuance, after its capture and restoration, at Kirjath-jearim (1 Sam. vii. 2). These 40 years therefore, and the 390 years of the Judges end together, at the day of the great deliverance at Mizpeh, which is the epoch of "Samuel the Prophet." Now the date of the accession of David, according to Mr. Clinton, hereafter to be verified by us, is the year B. C. 1056. It follows that the date of the Exode should be $1056 + 530 = 1586$ B. C., and of the day of Mizpeh $1056 + 40 = 1096$ B. C.

§ 11. This then was the scheme which lay before me, as deduced from the outline of St. Paul taken in its obvious sense. It seemed to me to explain all that was difficult in this portion of the Chronology: and originally this was all that I sought; for I had no intention of pursuing the enquiry any further. It chanced, however, that some figures on my paper caught my eye: it struck me that the periods of Old Testament history, as thus arranged, had in them a rather remarkable parallelism, which perhaps might not be altogether accidental, and was at least worth the trouble of a slight investigation. In the issue, what was at first little more than a feeling of curiosity, grew into a high degree of interest, when it appeared, namely, that the parallelism extended much further than what first took my eye. I will state the facts in the order in which I discerned them.

(1.) From the Exode to Samuel, St. Paul numbers 490 years, and from thence to David, 40 more. But the time of the kings, from the accession of David to the beginning of the 70 years of the Babylonian exile, amounts to just 450 years; that is, if Mr. Clinton, and other chronologists, have rightly identified the fourth year of Jehoiakim with the year A. C. 606, and the first of David with 1056 A. C. Here then is the parallelism which first presented itself to my notice:

40 years in the wilderness: delivery of *the Law*.

450 ... of Judges, beginning with Joshua.

490 = 70×7 years.

40 years from Samuel the first of *the Prophets*.

450 ... of Kings, beginning with David.

490 = 70×7 .

70 years of Captivity: the seventh part of the preceding period: the time during which "the land keeps her sabbatha."

At the close of these seventy years, the Prophet Daniel received a revelation concerning a period of seventy times seven years, which was yet to elapse before the coming of Messiah the Prince. We need not stop at present to consider the actual adjustment of this prophetic period; it is sufficient simply to notice the fact that such a period is revealed as part of the Divine Plan, in connexion, as the preceding parallelism would seem to imply, with a system of periods of the same numerical form.

(2.) This remarkable parallelism becomes still more interesting when we notice this further arrangement:

§ 12. The date of the Exode resulting from the application of St. Paul's outline to the known date of David's accession, is the year B.C. 1586. The entire length, in years, of the Mosaic Dispensation, from the Exode to the conflagration of the Second Temple (August A.D. 70), is therefore 1655 years and some months. Now the sum of the antediluvian genealogies in the Hebrew text is 1656, or rather 1655 years; for it appears from Gen. vii. 11. viii. 13, that the flood began in the 600th year *current* of Noah's life¹. Hence it seems that the times of the antediluvian world are exactly symmetrical with those of the Mosaic Dispensation.

§ 13. (3.) Nor does the parallelism stop here: but the intermediate period, viz. from the Flood to the Exode, is bisected, or very nearly so, at the time of the promise made to Abraham. For the sum of the years noted in Gen. xi. from the Flood to the death of Terah is 427: and it is

¹ בְּשָׁנָה שֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה anno | centurum annorum. Gesen. Lex. s. v.
sexcentesimo, pr. anno (extremo) sex- | שָׁנָה.

very emphatically noted that a period of 430 years, exactly complete, ended at the Exode, in the very day of it. "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was four hundred and thirty years; and it came to pass at the end of the four hundred and thirty years, even the selfsame day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt." Exod. xii. 40, 51. That these years are reckoned, not from the descent of Jacob into Egypt, but from the promise made to Abraham, is not to be doubted by any one who believes in the divine authority of St. Paul's Epistles. For thus he speaks: "Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made...And this I say: the covenant that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the Law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul." Gal. iii. 16, 17. Now upon turning to the history of Abraham we find one occasion, of a peculiarly solemn nature, above all others befitting to be the epoch from which this term of years should be reckoned. On the day of the Exode, says Moses, "on that selfsame day," 430 years of *sojourning* came to an end. He evidently assumes that the *terminus a quo* of the reckoning is known to his readers: it has been, therefore, previously defined; and on what occasion if not on the following? "After these things" [viz. after the rescue of Lot, and that memorable and most mysterious transaction which thereon ensued, the blessing of the patriarch by Melchizedek the priest of the Most High God] "after these things the word of the Lord came unto Abram in a vision, saying, Fear not, Abram, I am thy shield and thy exceeding great reward....And Abram said, Behold, to me Thou hast given no seed...and behold the word of the Lord came unto him...and He brought him forth abroad and said, Look now toward heaven and tell the stars if thou be able to number them. And He said unto him, So shall thy seed be. And he believed in the Lord, and He counted it to him for righteousness. And He said unto him, I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees to give thee this land to inherit it. And he said, Lord God, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?" Then, after the instructions concerning the sacrifice, and the mention of the deep sleep and horror of great darkness which fell upon Abram, it follows: "And He said unto him, Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger

in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict (or, humble) them 400 years, and also that nation whom they shall serve, will I judge, and afterward shall they come out with great substance." Here is the Promise: and the fulfilment is expressed with an evident reference to the terms of the prediction, in the passage above quoted, with this difference only, that in the promise the term of years was predicted generally, in a round number of centuries.—Now it is not recorded in what year of Abraham's life this memorable occurrence took place. Certain it is, however, that the incidents noted in Gen. xii.—xiv. must have occupied more than one year. I assume—and *this is the only conjectural element in the scheme here proposed*—that they occupied two years, viz. from the death of Terah and departure of Abraham from Charran. Then the reckoning exhibits this parallelism:

| | Years. |
|--|------------|
| The time of Noah in the ark..... | 1 |
| To the birth of Arphaxad..... | 2 |
| To the death of Terah..... | 425 |
| To the Promise, Gen. xv..... | 2 |
| Sum..... | <u>430</u> |
| From the Promise, Gen. xv. to the Exode..... | <u>430</u> |

And here it is worth while to notice, what has been remarked by Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 15. 2.) and other writers, that the term of 430 years is exactly bisected at the time of the descent of Jacob into Egypt.

Hence it follows, that

| | Years. |
|---|----------------|
| From the Creation to the Flood, being | 1655—6 |
| From the Flood to the Promise..... | 430 |
| The sum is | <u>2085—6.</u> |

which is parallel to the following:—

| | |
|--|----------------|
| From the Promise to the Exode..... | 430 |
| From the Exode to the end of the Mosaic dispensation | 1655—6 |
| Sum | <u>2085—6.</u> |

§ 14. Such are the curious and interesting facts which come to view immediately upon the adoption of St. Paul's chronological statement. Taken in its obvious sense, and

applied to that part of the chronology which is certainly known, it brings forth the outlines of a plan, or, in scripture language, "Economy" of Times and Seasons. Here is a threefold symmetry or parallelism of the parts, the whole of which disappears as soon as we put upon the Apostle's words any other than their most obvious meaning. I cannot persuade myself that a set of independent results of this kind can be merely fortuitous: the more one considers the matter, the more clearly expressive it seems to be of design and contrivance *somewhere*. But the supposition of *human* artifice is precluded by the very nature of the materials out of which the scheme is constructed. The scheme is *latent*; brought to light only by a combination of several distinct processes, each of which is indispensable to its disclosure. First, we must know the sum of the several disconnected series of times enumerated in the Old Testament from the Creation to the first year of Cyrus: and this was not accurately calculated by the Jews either before or after Christ. Secondly, we must determine from profane history the precise year B. C. of the restoration under Cyrus: this also was unknown to the Jews. And thirdly, when both these are known, still no authoritative, wholly un conjectural, scheme can be constructed, unless we be furnished with an authentic measure which shall precisely connect the discontinuous members of the historical enumeration. This measure is supplied by a few words which chanced, if one may so speak, to fall from the lips of an inspired Apostle, seemingly without a purpose, but on a very solemn occasion. The notion of human contrivance being excluded, is it presumptuous to surmise that this is the Lord's doing, a portion of His ways who doeth all in number, weight, and measure, foreordaining to the sons of men the predestined times, that they might seek the Lord? For my own part, when these facts lay distinctly before me, I considered again the various intimations we have in Holy Scripture of the existence of a definite plan, or Economy of Times and Seasons: I seemed to discern a peculiar significance in the particular plan of which, as it appeared to me, I had caught the outlines; and thus having gained a very strong impression of its reality, I was prepared to expect that upon a closer survey of the Chronology, I should find the great crises of the Theocracy, especially in relation to the coming of Christ in the flesh, *visibly*, as it were, emerging.

each at its appointed season “in the fulness of time.” Accordingly I set myself to investigate afresh the chronology of both Testaments; and not until I had obtained the legitimate determinations by strict reasoning upon the elements of each question, did I look for any sacred or mystical relations which might subsist between the various portions of time thus ascertained. The result far exceeded my expectations. Especially in respect of the time of our Lord’s sojourn in the flesh it was unspeakably interesting to find, *first*, that my principal conclusions tallied with the most venerable and consistent traditions of the ancient Church, and *then*, that they involved “economies” of a singularly impressive character.

The results of these investigations are about to be placed before the reader. If he will travel with me through the several periods of Sacred History, beginning at the New Testament and rising to the earliest times, he will find that I have strictly worked out each portion of the Chronology; that nothing rests upon bare conjecture or loose evidence; that the scheme was not preconceived and the evidence warped and wrenched in order to fit it; in short, that the reasoning employed for the discovery of the cardinal dates is strictly chronological. The facts of chronology being thus ascertained, I then, and no sooner, invite him to consider the mystical facts or “economies” which in the concluding chapters are deduced by simple calculation from the facts of investigation. Before, however, we enter upon the proposed enquiry, I think it right to premise a few considerations relative to the general probability, the uses and bearings, of the class of facts which I am concerned to disclose and prove.

§ 15. If we were investigating any class of the phenomena of the physical world, in astronomy, suppose, or chemistry, or the morphology of vegetation or crystallization, and in the course of our enquiries were to detect some numerical law, or series of numerical relations, we should, generally speaking, acknowledge the law or the relations to be real, and the effect of design, even in cases where they do not admit of being exactly verified as matter of fact, or cannot, at present, be proved to be intrinsically involved in the whole theory of the particular subject. For example: when Kepler, subjecting to calculation what was in his day known or believed concerning the times and distances

of the planets, announced as an empirical fact, that "the squares of the periodic times are as the cubes of the distances," no competent person entertained a doubt of the reality of the relation, although "for a long time no necessary connexion was discerned between the periodic times and the distances, until at last it was shown to be a consequence of the law of gravity¹." To take another example: no one questions the reality of the chemical law of definite proportions, although no manipulations, no analysis, however subtle, can bring the fact palpably and visibly before the senses of the operator in each particular instance. Or, lastly, to use another instance which is perhaps the most of all to the purpose: when Bode, the Prussian astronomer, noted that the planetary distances seem to form a certain regular geometrical series, the reality of the numerical law was generally admitted, although the series does in fact but rudely represent the actual distances as observed at any one instant, or their mean as obtained from a multitude of observations: nay, what is more—although at the time of the discovery it seemed that one term of the series was missing². The fact is still unexplained, perhaps because it is an *ultimate fact*, preceded by no law but the will of Him

¹ Brinkley, *Elements of Astronomy*, § 114.

² "At present we know of no secondary cause that could have any influence in regulating the respective distances of the planets from the sun; yet there appears a relation between the distances that *cannot be considered as accidental*. This was first observed by Professor Bode of Berlin...Comparing these with the actual mean distances we cannot but remark the near agreement, and can scarcely hesitate to pronounce that these mean distances were assigned according to a law, although we are entirely ignorant of the exact law and of the reason for that law." Brinkley, *EL of Astronomy* § 115. The relation here spoken of is as follows: If Mercury's distance from the Sun be called 4, and Venus's $4 + 3$, which is very nearly the proportion, then $4 + 2 \times 3$ will be the Earth's distance, $4 + 2^2 \times 3$ that of Mars, $4 + 2^3 \times 3$ Ju-

piter's, $4 + 2^4 \times 3$ Saturn's, and $4 + 2^5 \times 3$ that of Uranus. Upon the discovery of the small planets, their mean distance was found to be nearly $4 + 2^6 \times 3$. "Kepler had observed a progression, but did not assign its law. He remarked also that one term seemed to be missing. Bode assigned the particular law, and noticed the apparently missing term. *The existence of a planet between Mars and Jupiter was accordingly suspected*, and at last, to the astonishment of astronomers, four little bodies, looking more like fragments of a planet than planets, were discovered at a distance from the Sun so near to that which had been suspected, that their mean distance fills up its place in the series as well as that of any other planet." *Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge Society, Art. Solar System. Jupiter's Satellites and Saturn's* seem to be ranged round their primaries by similar laws.

Who set the stars in their courses. It is not, indeed, indifferent at what distances from the centre the bodies of a planetary system should have their orbits: distance and mass being the measures of the attraction which is exerted by each body on all the rest, the actual distances must needs be conditional to the stability of a system in which the mass of the several bodies is supposed first given. If the stability was designed, the arbitrium of the Divine Plan lay between a particular set of masses and a particular set of distances. Now whereas it has never yet been discovered that the masses of the planets follow any law of progression, the distances do observe a very marked and simple law: whence it would seem that the law of the distances is conditional to the dimensions of the masses, not conversely: in other words, one is led to conceive that the Creator was pleased to mark out first the distances, and then to assign to each orbit that mass which should secure the stability of the system: as in the plan of an architect, the dimensions are first given, and afterwards the masses of his materials are adjusted thereto. It may be then, that the law in question is an ultimate fact, prescribed by no anterior exigency, but ordained by His sovereign will. Who "doeth all things in number, weight, and measure."

That the Eternal should have foreordained the times, that is to say, the precise astronomical instants, of His acts in the moral government of the world is, apart from Scripture, nowise incredible. With man, the season and time for the execution of a preconceived design is, in most cases, contingent upon the course of events over which we have but a limited control. But with God "the fulness of time" is not another name for ripeness of opportunity or occasion. His acts, indeed, of mercy or judgment are contingent upon the procedure of moral agencies in His creatures, but these agencies also are wholly under His control. When therefore, He has purposed that He will destroy all flesh with a flood of waters, or that He will bring vengeance upon a guilty nation, it is easy and natural to conceive (from our human point of view) that the precise instant of physical time was first predetermined, and then in reference to this goal, the masses and forces, so to speak, of moral agencies, human and divine, were so adjusted as to produce the fore-known purpose of God at its foreordained season.

Again, if there be a Plan for the moral government of the world, in which are marked out determinate periods during which mankind or nations or individuals shall undergo their probation, and if there be any appearances or indications that those periods, or certain of them in the course of past time, involve numerical relations of a regular kind, there can be no reason for rejecting all consideration of such appearances or indications; but rather the contrary, inasmuch as many facts in the physical constitution of the world, facts which we have reason to regard as ultimate or arbitrary, exhibit the clearest traces of a predilection, if one may so speak, for numerical laws of arrangement.

But on turning to the revelation of God's counsels which He has been pleased to deliver in Holy Scripture, we find, in the first place, very clear intimations that "the fulness of time" is defined not merely by moral fitnesses, but by a foreordained circuit of astronomical periods. In the next place, we do find those appearances or indications of which I spoke just now, namely of regular numerical relations involved in the times and seasons of His dealings with mankind. There, the moral relations of the phenomena are clearly marked out to our view: Moses and Joshua, Samuel and David, are unquestionably set forth as so many analogies to CHRIST. As little can we be under any mistake, or led by a caprice of fancy, in tracing an analogy between the general destruction of the world by a flood out of which one family was saved in the ark, and that awful catastrophe in which the chosen nation was overwhelmed, and those only escaped who had found refuge in the ark of Christ's Church. Now these moral parallels seem to be accompanied with certain regular numerical parallelisms of the times belonging to these persons and events. It may be granted that the historical chronology of the Scriptures is somewhat ambiguous: so were the facts of the planetary system more or less dubious and questionable before Kepler's time, and the constituent proportions of the ingredients in chemical compounds before the discovery of Dalton. We adopt, as they did, the estimate, in doubtful cases, which seems the best attested: hereupon we find, as they found, that there rises into view a series of numerical relations which have so little appearance of being indifferent or fortuitous that we feel constrained to believe them to be true,

i. e. real and designed. This evidence countervails the vagueness or ambiguity of the results of investigation. It was possible that we erred in our interpretation of S. Paul's statement in Acts xiii., or of the words of Moses in Exodus xii., or in our preference of the Hebrew text of the genealogies to the Alexandrine or the Samaritan: but the probability of an error in either case becomes indefinitely diminished upon the disclosure of the facts which have been mentioned. Or else, let it be shown that any other construction of the chronology exhibits the like marks of design. Again—when the Prussian Astronomer perceived that in his series of planetary distances there was one term to which no known fact corresponded, he inferred that in the corresponding region of space there was once a planet, or would hereafter be found one; astronomers accordingly directing their gaze to that region, found the term which at first seemed to have been missing. In like manner, the parallelism in the Scripture system of times and seasons seems to fail at one point—by a minute deviation indeed; for if the *Call* of Abraham be the cardinal point concerned, the failure amounts but to two or three years of defect—but when our attention is drawn to this point we perceive that *the Promise*, *i. e.* some signal one, and not necessarily the *Call*, constitutes that cardinal point; we see further which of the Promises must needs be intended; and though the exact time of that particular promise is not recorded, we may well be allowed to infer it by way of corollary, seeing that the time thus inferred cannot, under the circumstances of the case, be more than eight years too early, nor more than one year too late¹.

§ 16. It will be found in the sequel that the scheme which has been described is but the framework of a system of economical or mystical relations, which, while they are far more recondite, are much more interesting and impressive than these which lie upon the surface. It will be found, for instance, that the chronological and historical evidence leads to certain dates of the Saviour's Nativity and Passion, and that the points of time thus ascertained stand in most exact, significant, and

¹ For it occurred before the conception of Ishmael, *i. e.* before the 85th year of Abraham, and certainly not earlier than

the 76th year. I have assigned it to the 77th.

diversified relations to the cardinal points of the scheme as above deduced. Assuming all this to be proved, we may comment upon it as follows.—We are perpetually admonished in Scripture, that the times and seasons of men and nations are foreordained of God; and in the inspired history of His Church it has pleased Him to reveal His overruling Providence. It may be, that the divine chronology of that history shall be attested, when discovered, by the disclosure of relations peculiarly indicative of design. If then, upon the application of a certain revealed measure or outline, a singular relation between the parts shall come to light; if, after this, other independent relations between other parts shall appear to be involved in the same scheme; if there shall again and again be discovered a coincidence or consilience of these relations—that is to say, if a particular epoch, being critically determined, and then being found to be marked by a certain significant relation, shall be unexpectedly found to be marked by another relation of a different kind; if these relations be characterized by a significance which Holy Scripture has elsewhere intimated; if the supposition of human artifice be excluded by the nature of the case; and, lastly, if the mathematical probabilities against the mere fortuitousness of all these phenomena be inconceivably great;—what stronger attestation to the reality of the whole scheme can be required or even conceived?

§ 17. That the real chronology of the Holy Scripture should be firmly established, cannot be a matter of little importance. The necessity of a well-defined chronology is admitted with respect to all other history, and surely it will not be disputed in reference to the Bible. Besides, it is of manifest importance to vindicate the Scriptures from the charge of vagueness or inconsistency. It is of importance to shew, if we can, that the Scriptures contain all the elements which are requisite for the construction of the chronological scheme. And lastly, it is important to rescue the Bible from the tamperings of antiquarian theorists, who would overrule its statements by schemes of Egyptian or other profane chronology. But the system which is here presented to the reader lays claim to an importance which reaches far beyond all the ordinary interests of historical accuracy and completeness—an importance in reference to the truth

and reality of the Holy Scriptures themselves. For if the great crises of the Church's history in the Old and New Testament be indeed connected by a law of times and seasons, this connexion is a fresh proof or manifestation of the divine reality of both systems. For assuming the historical truth of both Jewish and Christian Scriptures, we shew how they are knit together, as in moral respects, so likewise by a plan of times and seasons, which no human contrivance could have elaborated. Thus considered, the Chronology of the Scriptures becomes a fresh topic in the Apology for Revealed Religion.

§ 18. That there exists among us at this day a vast amount of scepticism, openly avowed or working in secret and unconsciously, no one doubts who has attentively watched the procedure of our popular literature. And this scepticism, in its most perilous forms, is no longer of that gross and revolting kind over which our fathers achieved a comparatively easy victory. The "Evidences" of the last century will prove very inadequate weapons against the new infidelity which sprung up in the schools of Germany, and has been long silently invading our shores. The processes which in Germany are framed into speculative systems, with us are manifested with less of completeness and consistency, yet as really and practically. I am therefore not travelling far from those bearings of the question which directly concern ourselves, in selecting two distinct systems of continental scepticism as the highest exponents of the sorts of unbelief which are vaguely afloat among ourselves. There exist among us the elements, at least, of the "historical scepticism," which, even when it professes a belief in the divine origin of the Mosaic and Christian systems, regards their historical documents as matter of the same kind with the earlier profane history, out of which the truth of facts is to be reconstructed by the critical processes of the schools of Niebuhr and Müller; it being assumed that both the Old and New Testament contain more of legend and popular traditions than of true pragmatic history. And have we not among us the germs, at least, of the very different "mythical systems" of Schleiermacher and Strauss, in which objective facts are treated as the mere vehicles or disguises of the subjective idea: whether true or false it matters not, since the truth resides, either, as Schleiermacher teaches, in the

religious sentiment which they excite and express, or, as Strauss maintains, in the philosophical doctrine to which they are eminently capable of being attached?

§ 19. Hence it has become necessary once more to assert and defend, against assaults more subtle as well as more vigorous than those of former ages, the genuine historical reality of the persons and actions recorded in the Old and New Testament. And in the discharge of this necessary duty, the very Chronology, if I mistake not, is capable of rendering important service. We point to the curious and significant, yet recondite, facts of the times and seasons, as evidence of design and of overruling Providence: facts, of such a nature, that, if they were explicitly set forth in any other ancient history, they would be at once ascribed to human design and artifice. For example: it has been remarked concerning the early Roman history, "According to the Chronology of Fabius, the history from the founding to the taking of the city divides itself into two portions: 240 years under the kings, and 120 after them; or, to express it differently, into three periods, each containing ten times twelve years; twelve being the number of the birds in the augury of Romulus. This scheme was the bed of Procrustes, to which whatever was known or believed about the early times was fitted." To which is added in a note, "As the life of Moses is divided into three periods of 40 years each." (Niebuhr, Vol. i. p. 214. Eng. tr.) Here it is obviously implied that this distribution of the years of Moses is artificial. Much more then must not the threefold period of seventy times seven years, and the exact symmetry of the antediluvian and Mosaic periods, and again of the ante-Abrahamic and post-Abrahamic periods be imputed to artifice? All this could not be the result of *human* artifice, for it lies involved and hidden in the materials of chronology which have to be fetched partly from the Old, partly from the New Testament, partly from the records of Babylon and Greece and Rome. But, if it be not artificial, it is not contrived? and by Whom?—Again: "If the tradition about both [Romulus and Numa] is in its innermost essence fiction, the fixing the pretended duration of their reigns can be explained only by ascribing it either to wanton caprice or to numerical speculations: and although to us the former may seem more probable, there is far stronger ground for conjecturing the latter

among the ancients in early times ; above all, where the annals were in the hands of a learned priesthood. This character marks the chronology of Asia." (p. 208.) In this view of the matter, the years assigned to the patriarchs before the Flood, if they be not the truth of facts, must be ascribed either to arbitrary caprice, or to numerical speculations. In favour of the latter supposition, one might point to the 365 years of Enoch (the reputed founder of astrological science) as formed upon the numeral of the tropical year ; and again to the 777 years of the life of Lamech. But on either supposition, by what fatality does it come to pass that the sum of the years before the Flood is precisely commensurate with the duration of the Mosaic system ? If indeed that duration were openly recorded upon the face of the history, the sceptic might allege that the antediluvian genealogies were curtailed down to that measure from the true original number, preserved in the LXX., by learned Jews who lived after the destruction of Jerusalem. Even then, there would remain this most curious circumstance requiring to be explained, that the mere subtraction of *complete centuries*, without meddling with the tens and units, should effect this purpose¹. But apart from this objection, the truth is, that the 1655½ years which lie between the Exode and the destruction of the Temple, are by no means legibly written upon the face of the history. The true duration, assigned by us, would never have become known but for a seemingly accidental and even superfluous allusion to chronological matters in a discourse which was delivered in a synagogue of Pisidia twenty or thirty years before the catastrophe. It presupposes, moreover, an exact knowledge of the length of time intermediate between Cyrus and the destruction of the second Temple ; a knowledge which the Jews before and after that event did not possess. It presupposes, lastly, not a mere summation of the years of the Kings, but a critical rectification of their amount ; with which, again, the Jews did not concern themselves. The supposition of human artifice, it is clear, cannot be sustained for a moment.—But our scheme will be found to involve numerous other relations of the most precise kind, and even more significant and far more latent than any which have been described.

¹ See Chap. vii. § 300 ff.

If it be mere accident—for it can be no “child’s play or juggler’s tricks”—that they subsist there, I know not, for my part, what words will emphatically enough express the strangeness of such a caprice of chance. It will not avail to allege that we have, after all, only found what at the outset we determined to find, for that we have unconsciously or of design warped and bent our materials to fit into our preconceived scheme. The whole plan of the following dissertations affords a sufficient answer to any such objection. If it be said, that supposing the several dates fairly brought out, still the interest and importance of the relations involved in them exist only in the childish fancy which could find pleasure in such reveries, I would request the objector, first, to make an experiment whether such, so many, so diversified, and so often coincident relations, subsist in any scheme of Scripture Chronology which does not rest upon the apostolic statement in Acts xiii. but which may be alleged to be equally well founded in express statements of Scripture. And, in the next place, I would beg him to estimate the mathematical probabilities of the question at issue.

§ 20. So far, concerning the bearing of these facts upon the system of *historical* scepticism. As to the *mythical* system, and that kind of unbelief of which it is the highest exponent, it will be sufficient for my purpose to advert to the opinion which Schleiermacher has expressed concerning the history of the nativities contained in S. Luke’s Gospel. That narrative, he contends, is a kind of mythical poem, composed by some devout Christian Jew: it is not for a moment to be regarded as an historical narrative of real occurrences. Now it will be found in the first chapter of this work, that the narrative in question, combined with the alleged contradictory narrative in S. Matthew, supplies the principal element for the calculation of the precise time of our Lord’s Birth. The precise time of the Passion is determined, in a subsequent section, upon totally independent grounds. These two dates, thus found, are afterwards shown to stand in numerous most precise and significant relations to the entire scheme, and to many of its critical epochs. All these must be proved to be futile and nugatory, before we can again listen to a hint of Jewish or Christian mythi. But moreover, we shall proceed to shew, that the narrative does indeed

contain an allegory; but an allegory such as no human ingenuity would or could have devised, inasmuch as the allegory and the substrate of fact are knit together by relations which do not appear until they are drawn forth by a combination of remotely scattered elements, which must be fetched from the Old Testament and from the New, from profane history, from Jewish and Christian tradition, and from the laws of the lunar motions.

§ 21. These things considered, the apologetical uses of the facts about to be stated, will, I trust, be deemed neither unreal nor unimportant. To speak of higher uses—they may serve to shed a clearer light on many portions of the Sacred History; but above all, they may help to impress upon our minds a lively sense of reality in our contemplation of the whole procedure of the elder Theocracy, and of awful expectation in our view of the times and seasons which are yet running their course. We see here how true it is that “our times are in His hands;” “He hath limited (for us also as for His ancient Israel) a certain time, saying, as in David, To-day if ye shall hear His voice, harden not your hearts.”

§ 22. One further remark I cannot forbear to offer, by way of caution, at the outset of the proposed enquiry. I earnestly disclaim and protest against all attempts at calculating the times which are yet future. Notwithstanding the deference due to a few venerated names, I am bound to declare my conviction that all such attempts are alike futile and presumptuous. The hypothesis in particular which makes the periods assigned by Daniel and S. John, of 1260 and 2300 days, to be that number of *years*, is a mere fiction, proved to have been invented at first by heretics, and since adopted chiefly as a weapon of controversy. That those periods, in the only sense with which we are concerned, are periods of *days*, will, I think, be convincingly shown in the course of the present enquiry: of which, accordingly, it will be one and not the least important use, that it helps to demolish a vicious system of prophetic interpretation.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY.

THE construction of the Old Testament Chronology, being independent of that of the New Testament, might therefore have held the first place in the present enquiry. But since the investigation is to be pursued in the ascending order of time, it seems but convenient that we should begin at the close of the entire tract of time which we are to explore. This we will do, and for this end will divide the whole into portions bounded by events, the dates of which are cardinal to the general scheme. And although the ultimate object which I have in view would be attained, *i. e.* the Economy described in the Introduction, and those other indications of providential design which remain to be disclosed, would be verified, by ascertaining simply the dates of those events with which they are connected, yet, as I propose to myself the further object of determining the historical and literary Chronology of the Scriptures *in detail*, I shall include in each Chapter or Section the process of this special investigation. For example: the Chronology of the Acts of the Apostles is of little moment to the ultimate object of this work, except as it influences the question of the year in which our Lord suffered: but, for the special object proposed, I shall examine it in detail, and together therewith the chronology of the lives and writings of the Apostles. And the like course will be pursued in the investigation of the other portions of time, which are included between the epochs which are cardinal to the entire scheme. Thus the seven chapters following, independently of all reference to Economies of Times and Seasons, will form a substantive body of Scripture Chronology.

SECTION I.

ON THE TIME OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY.

§ 23. THE direct historical elements of the question to be discussed in this section are as follows :

1. The Nativity must precede the death of Herod : the precise date of Herod's death must therefore, if possible, be ascertained.

2. The date assigned to the Nativity must be such that the age of our Saviour at His Baptism, in the 15th year of Tiberius, shall not be much more or less than thirty years ; for S. Luke says He was *ὡσεὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἀρχόμενος* "about thirty years old when He began (His public ministry)." This note of time being so general, expressed in a round number of decads with the qualifying phrase "about," it seems futile to urge it very strictly : it is obvious that any age between (suppose) twenty-eight and thirty-two will satisfy the description.

The principal element then is the first-mentioned. We may not be able, indeed, to ascertain by how long a time the Birth of our Lord preceded Herod's death, but certainly it cannot be placed later. Some chronologists have inferred from the words of S. Matthew (ii. 16) that the Nativity must be placed two years, or in the second year, before the order for the massacre of the infants : but this is overstrained. The *διέτης χρόνος* is reckoned from the first observation of the star, which does not necessarily coincide with the time of the Nativity. Besides, it is evident from S. Luke ii. 39, compared with S. Matthew's narrative, that the Holy Family did not make so long a stay as two years, or even one, in Bethlehem after the Purification.

§ 24. Herod was made king of Palestine by a decree of the Senate, *Coss. Cn. Domitio Calvino, C. Asinio Pollione*

(Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 14, 5.) *i. e.* u. c. 714 B. C. 40. But he did not obtain quiet possession till three years later, when, aided by the Roman legions, he wrested the actual sovereignty from the hands of Antigonus, *Coss. Agrippa, Caninio Gallo*, *i. e.* u. c. 717 B. C. 37. (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 16. 4.)¹ In that year, namely, on the day of the Fast (10 Tisri = 4 Oct.) he took Jerusalem by siege. This then is the *actual epoch* of the reign of Herod.

But it is the almost invariable practice of Jewish writers to date the years of their kings from the first (Jewish) day or 1 Nisan of the year in which the actual epoch occurred. Therefore the years of Herod bear date from 1 Nisan B. C. 37.

§ 25. Now Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 8. 1) states that Herod reigned 37 years from the date of his appointment by the decree of the senate, and 34 years from the death of Antigonus. If the years were complete, they would end 4th October, B. C. 3; if *current*, then the statement is satisfied by any date between 1 Nisan B. C. 4 and 1 Nisan B. C. 3. For, since the 1st year of Herod bears date from 1 Nisan B. C. 37, therefore his 34th from 1 Nisan B. C. 4. Thus far, then, the year is open to doubt. And it is much to be regretted that Josephus nowhere defines the year of Herod's death by the names of the Consuls. It also unfortunately happens that this portion of Dion Cassius (in whose writings we possess the only connected history of the term of six or seven years during which the Nativity must have occurred,) has come down to us in a mutilated state. For there is no reason to doubt that this historian related the death of Herod and the partition of his kingdom under its proper year. Still a careful combination of notes of time which Josephus has preserved will enable us to determine the necessary date with great precision.

§ 26. For the death-year of Herod is defined by the mention, in Josephus, of an eclipse of the Moon (*Ant.* xvii. 6, 4, *fin.*). By calculation, it is certain that this eclipse occurred in the night between the 12th and 13th March B. C. 4. For in the year B. C. 4 no other eclipse was visible at Jerusalem, and in the year B. C. 3 no eclipse at all was visible. This eclipse then, as falling, necessarily, at the full

¹ *Infra.* Chap. III. Sect. iii.

of the moon, preceded the Passover of B.C. 4 by just one lunation.¹

But it is further evident from Josephus that the death of Herod occurred just before a passover. This must have been the passover either of B.C. 4 or of B.C. 3. On the one supposition, the eclipse preceded the passover in question by a period of one lunar month, on the other by a period of thirteen months. In order to settle this point, we must attentively consider the course of events related by Josephus.

§ 27. The eclipse took place in the very night after Herod's execution of certain sophists or zealots, who had thrown down a golden eagle which he had placed over the eastern gate of the Temple. (*Ant.* xvii. 6. 4. *fin.*) From that time Herod's disease increased in violence. Seeking relief, he crossed the Jordan, on a visit to the hot-springs of Callirrhoë, where, as a last resource, his physicians ordered him to be bathed in hot oil. The experiment had nearly proved fatal, and from that time Herod despaired of life. He immediately returned to Jericho. There he received, by the return of his ambassadors whom he had sent to Rome, the imperial rescript which authorized him to put his son Antipater to death. "For a short space," says Josephus, "he revived; but very soon he relapsed, and, weary of his life, attempted to lay violent hands upon himself. Antipater, in his prison, hearing the shriek which was raised upon this alarm, and hoping that it betokened his father's death, endeavoured to bribe the gaoler to set him at liberty. The gaoler went straightway to Herod with information of Antipater's design, and the tyrant, in consequence, gave peremptory orders, on the spot, for the execution of his son. This was done: and *on the fifth day* after the execution Herod breathed his last." (*Ant.* xvii. 6. 5—7. 1. *Bell. Jud.* 1. *fin.*)

Immediately after the funeral and the seven days' mourning, Archelaus, who by his father's last will, made within

¹ "In the night between 12-13 Mar. u. c. 750. b. c. 4, was a partial eclipse of the moon, which I have accurately calculated. According to Delambre's solar and Mayer and Mason's lunar tables it began at Jerusalem (2^h 13^m. East of Paris,) at 1^h 38^m, and ended 4^h 12^m A. M.

true time.... In the year u. c. 750 no other lunar eclipse was visible at Jerusalem, and in u. c. 751, to which year some chronologists refer the death of Herod, there was no lunar eclipse whatever." Ideler, *Handbuch der Mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, ii. 392.

five days of his death, was nominated king of Judæa, went up to Jerusalem (*Ant. u. s.* § 4. *B. J.* ii. 1. 1.) and just then, at the conclusion of the public mourning (*B. J.* ii. 2. 3.) was the passover. All this while, Archelaus was in urgent haste to go to Rome, to obtain the ratification of his father's last will: on which errand he set sail immediately after the festival. From these details it follows incontestably that the death of Herod preceded the passover by not more than seven or eight days.

§ 28. The question, then, is, whether the detail of events from the eclipse to the death of Herod, can be supposed to have occupied only the space of 22 or 23 days. Eminent chronologists have felt that this supposition is attended with considerable difficulty*. Yet, really, I do not see where the difficulty lies. Callirrhœ is scarcely three days' journey from Jerusalem even for an invalid. There is nothing to forbid our supposing that the experiment of the oil-bath was tried almost immediately on the king's arrival: and, certainly, after this trial, Herod returned without delay to Jericho. The ambassadors may have arrived, for ought that appears to the contrary, within a day or two after the return to Jericho, and the execution of Antipater may have occurred on the very day on which Herod received the imperial rescript. All this, it seems to me, is nowise improbable. And, as we have seen, the choice lies between this supposition and the supposition of an interval of thirteen months. But the latter is quite inconceivable. For it is certain that the trial of

* "To obviate this difficulty, Sancelme (iii. 11.) assumes that the execution of the zealots took place some two months before Herod's death, and that the darkness spoken of consisted in some accidental obscuration of the moon's light. But the word *εclipse* in Josephus is the *vocabulum proprium* of eclipses. Fréret, who justly insists upon the eclipse, speaks of the intercalation of an extraordinary Nisan, in consequence of which the passover was deferred to the 10th May. Ussher goes so far as to remove the death of Herod to the end of November, alleging that in a Jewish tract, *מגילת תענית* *Megileth thanith* ("book of fasting")

under the month Kisleu occurs the notice: *the 7th, a fast-day, because on it Hurdes, an enemy of the wise, died; for it is a joy before God, when the wicked depart.*" Ideler, *u. s.* ii. 392. Ideler's own solution of the difficulty is "that Josephus on this, as on many other occasions, relates events more in their pragmatical than in their chronological order, and notes the punishment immediately after the crime, instead of separating the two parts of the story by an interval of several months, during which the other matters took place which are subsequently related by him."

Antipater, which was the occasion of the embassy to Rome and of the imperial rescript, occurred before the eclipse. It is equally certain that the execution of Antipater preceded the passover of Herod's death by only a few days. If this was the passover of B.C. 3, then, from the trial of Antipater and the embassy to Rome to the execution of Antipater (which Josephus expressly states to have followed soon after the arrival of the rescript,) was a period of a full year. The voyage to Rome and back again would not occupy more than four or five months at the utmost: thus we should have to suppose, contrary to all probability, that Augustus delayed his reply to Herod's urgent representations more than half a year at least.

But, if any doubt remains as to the validity of this deduction, the question will be set at rest, I think, by the argument which I now proceed to state.

§ 29. Archelaus was deposed and banished in the year u.c. 759. *Coss. Aem. Lepido, L. Arruntio.* (Dion. Cass. lv.) But Archelaus had reigned *full nine years*. This becomes evident on comparing *Jos. Ant.* xvii. 13. 3. with *B.J.* ii. 7. 3, where, relating this event, he mentions a remarkable dream of Archelaus, which a certain Essene had expounded as denoting the term of years during which he should reign: namely, in his dream, Archelaus saw *nine ears of corn*, which were devoured by oxen. This is the account in the "Wars:" but in the "Antiquities" (written after the "Wars") the number of ears of corn and years of government is given as *ten*. The two accounts are easily reconciled on the supposition that the reign of Archelaus lasted nine years complete, and had reached its tenth when he was deposed¹. A term of nine years reckoned from any date of u.c. 759 leads up to the same date of u.c. 750, B.C. 4. Whereas, if the death of Herod occurred about the passover of B.C. 3, u.c. 751, nine years of Archelaus were not complete till u.c. 760, and, consequently, the variation above noticed could not have taken place.

§ 30. Again: Herod Philip, Josephus expressly says (*B.J.* xviii. 4. 6.), died in the twentieth year of Tiberius, *i. e.* between Aug. A.D. 33, and Aug. A.D. 34, having ruled 37 years. But a term of 37 years, *complete*, from any date between these ex-

¹ And, indeed, his tenth year is mentioned by Josephus, *Vit.* i. βασιλεύοντος Ἀρχελαίου τὸ δέκατον.

tremes, leads to the same date between Aug. B.C. 5 and Aug. B.C. 4. The reign of Philip, by our hypothesis, began 1 Nisan B.C. 4; therefore its 37th year was complete 1 Nisan A.D. 34. In other words, the 37th year of Philip included about 5 months of the 19th, and 7 months of the 20th, of Tiberius. This note of time, therefore, is perfectly consistent with the former.

§ 31. Lastly: Herod Antipas was deposed and banished after the return of Herod Agrippa to Palestine as king of Judæa, which latter event took place in the 2nd year of Caius, i.e. after March A.D. 38. When Agrippa was established in his kingdom, Herodias excited her husband H. Antipas against him, and at last persuaded him to undertake a voyage to Rome; the issue of which was his banishment. But we learn from Philo the very time of the year at which H. Agrippa arrived in Judæa as king, namely it was about the time of the Etesian winds, i.e. July or August. Hence the voyage of H. Antipas to Rome cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 39. And as Herod found Caius at Baiæ, where he was to be found in that year no later than August, it follows that the deposal of Herod cannot be placed earlier than the summer of A.D. 39, and certainly it cannot be placed later.

Now there are in existence three coins of Herod Antipas, with the numeral $\text{M}\Gamma^2$ intimating that they were struck in the 43rd year of his tetrarchate, and this is the latest date noted on any of his coins. If his tetrarchate bears date, as we maintain, from 1 Nisan B. C. 4, its 43rd year began 1 Nisan A. D. 39: but if from 1 Nisan B. c. 3, then not till 1 Nisan A. D. 40, half a year after his banishment.

It seems to me that the death of Herod is hereby fixed incontestably to the date which I have assigned above, namely, a few days before the passover of B. c. 4³.

² "Vaillant, an uncritical writer, pretends to have seen another coin with the numerals $\text{M}\Delta$. 44; and this assertion has given *Fréret* a great deal of trouble, *Eclaircissement sur l'année et le tems précis de la mort d'Hérode le Grand. Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* t. xxi. 278 ff. But *Eckhel* doubts the existence of any such coin. *Doctr. num.* t. iii. 480, and

Sanclements de Vularis ære emendatione, iii. 6. has satisfactorily shown that Vaillant was mistaken." *Ideler, Handb. der mathemat. u. technischen Chronologie.* ii. 391.

³ Josephus Ant. xviii. 7. 2, is express, that Herod Antipas, and Agrippa's emissary, Fortunatus, who was sent after him, found Caius at Baiæ: that Caius heard

Having disposed of this element of the question, whereby the cterior limit of the date of the Nativity is satisfactorily determined, I proceed to the consideration of another, which

heard the cause there, and on the spot sentenced Antipas to perpetual banishment, at the same time annexing his tetrarchy to the dominions of Agrippa. But Caius was to be found at Baïæ only twice in the year U.C. 792. A.D. 39. The first occasion was not long before the birth-day of Drusilla, to celebrate which he returned to Rome, at the time of the Ludi Circenses. Dion. Cass. lix. 13. 14. On the second occasion, he was building the bridge over the sea from Puteoli to Bauli, *ib.* 17. This was before his own birth-day, 31 Aug. U.C. 792, when he was again at Rome. *ib.* 20. *init.* Sueton. *Caius*. c. 8. and 26. After this, Caius went into Gaul, whence he did not return till the following year. In the beginning of that year (A.D. 40) we find it reported at Rome τὸν τε Ἀγρίππαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον τοὺς βασιλέας, ὥσπερ τινὰς τυραννοδιδασκάλους συνείναι, namely, at Lugdunum in Gaul. Dion. Cass. lix. 24. The truth of this report, for Dion mentions it only as such, may be questionable. At a later period of the year, i. e. at midsummer, Agrippa certainly did visit Caius, and at Puteoli: Philo *de Legat.* 1029. But this was not the occasion noted by Josephus, for the context shews that Agrippa had been put in possession of the tetrarchy before that visit. Hence it appears, that the only occasion which suits Josephus's account is that of Aug. U.C. 792. A.D. 39. Mr. Greswell, indeed, (*Dissertations*, i. 292. ff.) imagines that the hearing of H. Antipas and Fortunatus took place not at Puteoli or Baïæ, but at *Lugdunum* in Gaul. But surely this conjecture is unwarranted by the facts. Josephus professes to be well informed of the facts of Agrippa's history, which he relates very much in detail, and there seems to be no reason, beyond the exi-

gencies of Mr. Greswell's chronological scheme, for charging an error of so gross a kind upon this particular circumstance of the narrative. Josephus (to use Mr. Greswell's expression upon another occasion,) "is entitled to implicit credit," (*Diss.* i. 230.) in this part of the history, for ought that appears to the contrary, as well as elsewhere.—There is however one statement of the Jewish historian which seems to be at variance with our deduction: namely, he says of Agrippa, that he reigned 4 years under Caius, and 3 under Claudius, that he ruled over the tetrarchy of Philip 3 years, and in the 4th received that of Herod: τέτταρας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἐνιαυτούς.....τρεῖς δὲ ἐπιλαβὼν ἐπὶ τῆς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος αὐτοκρατορίας...τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν ἄρξας, τῷ τεταρτῷ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς. Ant. xix. 8. 2. But if the grant of Herod's tetrarchy was simultaneous with the deposal of Herod, Aug. A.D. 39, then, since Agrippa's first year bears date from March A.D. 37, it was in his 3rd year that he received the grant, not in his 4th, as Josephus says. This difficulty, however, is set aside when we perceive that Josephus does not absolutely identify the date of the deposal of H. Antipas with the date of the grant to Agrippa. For ought that appears, the grant may have been made at Lugdunum in the beginning of A.D. 40. at which time, as is intimated by Dion Cassius, Agrippa was present, or, said to be present, with Caius. And, indeed, the context of the passage in Philo seems to imply that the grant of the vacant tetrarchy was confirmed not long before Agrippa's visit to Puteoli in A.D. 40. This then may be the epoch which Josephus had in view where he speaks of the *fourth* year of Agrippa.

will enable us to approximate still more closely to the true date¹.

§ 32. Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, was of the course of Abijah, which was the eighth of the 24 orders, ἐφημερίαι or παρτίαι, into which David divided the whole body of the priesthood. 1 Chron. xxiv. Each class officiated one week, beginning with the sabbath. Thus the cycle was complete in 24 weeks, or 168 days. If, then, we know at what date of any given year any particular class was in office, we can easily ascertain in what weeks of the two or three years preceding the death of Herod the class Abijah was ministering².

The Jewish History suggests two occasions between the Exile and the commencement of our æra, at one or other of which it is probable, in the nature of the case, that the cycle would commence afresh. The first of these occasions is that of the renewal of the daily sacrifice on the 1st day of the 7th month of the 1st year of Cyrus, Ezra iii. 1—3; i. e. by calculation, 24 Sept. B. C. 536: the other, the Maccabean restoration, 22 Nov. B. C. 165.

§ 33. After the birth of Christ, we find a fixed point for the reckoning to start from, in the interesting tradition preserved in the Jewish Liturgy, according to which on the very day of the burning of the Temple, which is known to be Sat. 4 Aug. A. D. 70, the cycle had commenced afresh, the class Joiarib having that same day come into office³.

§ 34. As I have reason to affirm that the determination afforded by the sacerdotal cycle is of great moment in our enquiry, I shall first make it my business to shew that the results afforded by the epochs which I have named are so consistent, as to imply an uninterrupted decursus of the cycle, and thereby to substantiate the truth of the Jewish tradition last mentioned.

1. From the 4th Aug. A. D. 70, back to the same Julian day of B. C. 536, are 605 years = 220,976 days, therefore to

¹ This element was first applied by Scaliger, *de Emend. temp.* See also Bengel. *Ordo temporum.*

² Olshausen, *Commentar.* in Luc. i. 5, is much too hasty in his judgment, that this element can lead to no certain result for want of a fixed *terminus a quo* of the cycle.

³ Mishna iii. 298. 3. (Greswell. *Dias* i. 383). According to Josephus, the day of the conflagration was the 10th Lous (or Ab). The two accounts are easily reconciled, by supposing that the conflagration began late on the 9th and lasted through the 10th of the month.

the 24th Sept. (or 1 Tisri of that year) 51 days less, or 220,925 days¹; and since this number of days makes 31,560 weeks, with a residue of 5 days, it follows (4 Aug. A.D. 70, being Saturday) that 24 Sept. B.C. 536, was Monday. On that day the altar was set up: but it is natural to suppose, (and indeed we might infer as much from Ezek. xliii. 18—27,) that the regular routine of the daily sacrifices and therewith of the *ἐφῆμερίαι* would not begin that same day, but with the following sabbath, or Sat. 29 Sept., just 31,560 weeks before Sat. 4 Aug. A.D. 70. Now 31,560 weeks divided by 24 will give the number of cycles on the supposition of an uninterrupted decursus: and it is just 1315, *with no remainder*. That is to say, if the cycle was recommencing 4 Aug. A.D. 70, it commenced also 29 Sept. B.C. 536; and *vice versa*. Now there is no reason to suppose that the decursus once begun after the restoration would ever be permanently interrupted, and there is every reason to believe that it commenced 29 Sept. 536, being the first sabbath after the setting up of the altar. So far, then, the truth of the Jewish tradition is strongly attested.

2. There is now no need to suppose that the cycle recommenced at the Maccabean restoration, or 22 Nov. B.C. 165, for we have assumed that the routine suffered no interruption between B.C. 536 and A.D. 70. The daily sacrifice, indeed, was suspended during three years in the persecution of Antiochus, but there is no reason to suppose that the account was not duly kept, and the cycle restored to its proper track. In point of fact (the interval from 29 Sept. 536 to 22 Nov. 165 B.C. being 371 years 54 days = 135,562 days = 19,366 weeks = 806 cycles, with a residue of 22 weeks) the 23d course would have entered on the latter day if there had been no suspension of the altar-service, no interruption of the rotation. And, per-

¹ For 605 Julian years = 151×1461 days *plus* 1 year of 365 days (for A.D. 70 was not leap-year): and

$$\begin{array}{r} 100 \times 1461 = 146,100 \\ 50 \times 1461 = 73,050 \\ 1 \times 1461 = 1,461 \\ \hline 365 \\ \hline 220,976 \end{array}$$

To save the trouble of multiplication in verifying the calculations of this kind which will occur in these pages, the reader may refer to the Tables which will be found at the end of the Appendix, *Institutes of Chronology*.

haps, we may suppose that during the first fortnight of the resumed service priests from all the courses ministered indiscriminately, and that the cycle was not allowed to recommence until the day (6 Dec.) on which it would have recommenced had there been no interruption.

§ 35. Having thus attested the truth of the Jewish tradition which supplies the *terminus a quo* of our reckoning, we may proceed to the calculation of the several dates of the years B.C. 7, 6, 5, at which the class Abijah would be in office. Since Zachariah's vision preceded the Nativity by 14 months, and the Nativity cannot be placed later than March B.C. 4, the latest date with which we are concerned is Jan. B.C. 5.

From the 4th Aug. A.D. 70, to the same date of B.C. 5, are 74 Julian years = 27,028 days = 3861 weeks + 1 day. Hence 4 Aug. B.C. 5 was Friday; and 3861 weeks to 5 Aug. B.C. 5, contain 160 cycles and 21 weeks over. That is, the *fourth* course was entering Sat. 5 Aug. B.C. 5; therefore the *eighth* on the 2nd September. Hence it will be easily found that the earlier dates are,

18 March, B.C. 5. 2 October, B.C. 6. 17 April, B.C. 6.

31 October, B.C. 7. 16 May, B.C. 7.

§ 36. With the first of these dates we have no concern: the term of fourteen months measured from it will carry us beyond the time of Herod's death. Of the rest, the second, 2 Oct. B.C. 6, is remarkable. For it just coincides with a day in the week of Tabernacles for that year (27 Sept.—5 October): if this was the *week* of the vision, it is possible that the *day* of it may have been the 5th October, "the last day, that great day of the Feast." (John vii. 37.) On this supposition we see the force of that expression of S. Luke i. 10. *Καὶ πάν τὸ πλῆθος ἦν τοῦ λαοῦ προσευχόμενον ἔξω*—why *πάν τὸ πλῆθος*, unless the day itself was one that would collect a great multitude of worshippers? It is remarkable also how nearly this date coincides with the traditional belief recorded by S. Chrysostom in his Homily on the Nativity, *Opp.* v. 511, that the date of the vision was the 10th Tisri. In the other dates there is nothing remarkable.

If, then, to these dates we add the period of 14 months and 7 days, by which the entry of the course Abijah preceded the Nativity, we obtain the following:

8 Dec. B.C. 5. 24 July, B.C. 5. 7 Jan. B.C. 5. 23 Aug. B.C. 6.

Of these, the first agrees best with the note of our Lord's age at His baptism in A.D. 28, comes nearest to the dates usually assigned by the early christian writers, is derived from a date of Zacharias's vision which is attended with a strong probability, and moreover is perfectly in accordance with the order of events related in the history.

§ 37. For it is evident that the visit of the Magi did not occur between the Nativity and the Presentation in the Temple, which took place at the end of forty days from the Nativity. It also seems to be a necessary inference from the combined narratives of S. Matthew and S. Luke, that between the Presentation and the arrival of the Magi at Bethlehem was an interval of not many days. S. Luke's statement, that the Holy Family returned from Jerusalem to *Nazareth*, is best reconciled with S. Matthew's narrative by supposing that from the Temple they returned to Bethlehem (eight miles from Jerusalem), only with the intention of departing *thence* to Nazareth, and that, soon after their arrival, the Magi presented themselves. But if 8 Dec. B.C. 5 be the approximate date of the Nativity, then 17 Jan. B.C. 4 is the approximate date of the Presentation, whence to the death of Herod (suppose 31 Mar.) are about 74 days, and to the Passover (10 April), 84 days. And the type, "out of Egypt have I called my son," seems to suggest a probability that the exode of the True Israel from Egypt occurred at the Passover.

The ἀπογραφή, or census, mentioned by S. Luke, if the true date of its execution in Syria could be ascertained, would greatly aid us in this part of our enquiry. But here again we have reason to deplore the hiatus which occurs in the very part of Dion Cassius's History in which the details of this occurrence might be expected. I reserve for an Appendix to this section the discussion of the facts connected with that census, and content myself at present with the remark, that the conjectural date at which we have arrived, 8 Dec. B.C. 5, agrees very well with all that is ascertained on that subject.

APPENDIX I.

ON THE DATES ASSIGNED TO THE NATIVITY BY THE EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITERS.

§ 38. S. JUSTIN MARTYR, *Apol.* p. 83. § 46. πρὸ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Χριστὸν λέγειν ἡμᾶς, ἐπὶ Κυρηναίου. The statement, being given in round numbers, is of course vague. It is sufficient to remark, that as the first Apology, according to the Chronicon of M. Aurelius Cassiodorus, was presented in the year of the consuls Gratus and Seleucus, *i. e.* as corrected by the other Fasti, *Coss. Claro et Severo*, A. D. 146 (Des Vignoles, *Diss. in S. Hippolyt. Opp.* Fabric. ii. 197. Greswell, *Diss.* i. 431), if this be also the date of the second Apology, then 150 years complete lead up to B. C. 5.

§ 39. S. Irenæus, *Hæc.* iii. 25. *Natus est Dominus noster circa xli. annum Augusti imperii.* If the epoch of Augustus's reign here intended be the triumvirate U. C. 711, then the 41st year begins U. C. 751. B. C. 3: but if the epoch be the death of Julius Cæsar U. C. 710, the 41st year will coincide with B. C. 4. (Greswell, p. 433).

§ 40. Tertullian *adv. Jud.* c. viii. p. 98. *Opp.* ed. 1677, assigns 56 years to the reign of Augustus, of which he places 41 before and 15 after the Nativity. This gives the date B. C. 3. But in another passage Tertullian makes our Lord *about* 33 years old at the crucifixion: p. 215, where the printed text has *annos habens quasi xxx. quum pateretur*: but S. Jerome, *Comm. in Dan.* ix. quotes it *annos habens quasi xxxiii.* Now in the same passage, as everywhere else, Tertullian assigns the Passion to the 15th year of Tiberius, *i. e.* Mar. A. D. 29. Whence if we accept S. Jerome's reading, Tertullian dated the Nativity between Mar. B. C. 5. and Mar. B. C. 4.

§ 41. S. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. p. 147. § 145, says: "Some who have curiously investigated the time of the Nativity of our Saviour, give not only the year, but the very day, namely, the 25th Pachon of the 28th year of Augustus."

In this statement the epoch of Augustus is the Alexandrine, bearing date from the 1st Thoth = 29th August u.c. 724. Therefore the 28th year of Augustus begins u.c. 751 B.C. 3; and thus the Nativity is brought down to the date 20 May (= 25 Pachon). B.C. 2. In the preceding words this writer gives his own date of the Nativity thus: γίνονται οὖν ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Κύριος ἐγενήθη ἕως κομόδου τελευτῆς τὰ πάντα ἔτη ἑκατὸν ἐννεήκοντα τεσσάρᾳ μὴν εἰς ἡμέραι ἰγ'. If the numbers are correctly given, which may be doubted (for the text is very corrupt, and the statement does not agree with the details of § 144), then, since Commodus died 31 Dec. u.c. 945, Clement's date should be u.c. 751 November = B.C. 3.

§ 42. The Paschal Cycle of S. Hippolytus Portuensis (*Opp.* ed. Fabric. t. II. p. 36. ff.) assigns the year of our Saviour's birth, or rather the passover connected with it, to the second year of the first ἑκκαίδεκαετηρὶς of his cycle of 112 years, the epoch of which is the year A.D. 222¹. But 222 A.D. - 2×112 gives the year B.C. 3. for an ἀρχὴ of the cycle, therefore B.C. 2 for S. Hippolytus's date of the Nativity. As the same document assigns the Passion to the 16th year of the second sedecen-nity, i.e. to the year A.D. 29, it is evident that Hippolytus assigned that particular year to the Nativity as supposing that our Lord was only thirty years old when He was crucified. And in fact this is what the author of the *Chronicon* ascribed to S. Hippolytus states in these words: *A gene(ratione autem Xti) post xxx annos cum (passus est Dominus), Pascha celebratus, (ipse enim) erat justum Pascha.*

In the *Computus Paschalis* ascribed to S. Cyprian, the subject of which is a Paschal Cycle exactly like that of S. Hippolytus, and having for its epoch the year 243 A.D. the writer assigns the Passion to the 16th year of Tiberius, *cum esset annorum xxxi.* As the 16th of Tiberius (passover) coincides with A.D. 30, this writer's date of the Nativity is B.C. 2.

§ 43. Julius Africanus takes precisely the same view: namely, he assigns the Passion to the year A.M. 5531, which he identifies with the 16th of Tiberius (A.D. 30), and the

¹ See in the Appendix, *Inst. Chron.* "Paschal Cycles."

Nativity to the year 5500. See the Table constructed from his Chronology in Routh. *Rel. Sac.* ii. 362.

§ 44. Apollinarius Laod. in S. Jerome on Dan. ix. places the Crucifixion two years after the beginning of our Lord's ministry, in the 15th of Tiberius, and supposes our Lord to be thirty years of age at the commencement. Hence his date is either B. C. 3 or B. C. 2.

§ 45. Sulpicius Severus, *Sac. Hist.* ii. 39. (Greswell, p. 439.): *Sub Herode, anno imperii ejus xxxiii. Christus natus est, Sabino et Rufo Coss., viii. Kal. Jan.* The 1st year of Herod = 1 Nisan 37–36 B. C., therefore the 33d = 1 Nisan 5–4 B. C. Sulpicius's date therefore is 25 Dec. B. C. 5. And with this very nearly agrees the consular year, for Sabinus and Rufus became consuls 1 Jan. B. C. 4. This author, it should be observed, assigns the Passion to the consulate of the two Gemini, Mar. A. D. 29. His view almost completely agrees with that which is here advocated.

§ 46. It is evident that most of the dates here assigned were based by their authors on the assumption that the note of time afforded by S. Luke iii. 23, *ὡσεὶ τριάκοντα ἔτων*, must be taken strictly. We shall see hereafter that the earliest writers with almost one consent assign the Passion to the year 29 A. D., some to 30 A. D. Hence measuring back 30 or 31 years they arrived at the date B. C. 3 or 2.

§ 47. Epiphanius is a late writer, but as he records older opinions, his testimony may be added to the foregoing. "The everlasting Word was born (or conceived?) about the 40th of Augustus, 12 Kal. Jul. or Jun., I cannot tell which, *Coss. Sulpicio Camerino Buttone Pompeio, i. e. u. c. 750. B. C. 4.* His own month-date of the Nativity is 6 January. *Hær.* ii. t. i. 22. (Greswell. u. s.)

APPENDIX II.

ON THE Ἀπογραφὴ, OR CENSUS, AT THE TIME OF THE NATIVITY.

§ 48. S. LUKE ii. 2. αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος Συρίας Κυρηνίου. (In some good MSS. and many patristic readings the article before ἀπογραφὴ is omitted.)

The historical difficulty connected with these words consists in the well-known fact that there was an *apographe* of Judæa made by order of Augustus, conducted by Quirinus, *præses* of Syria, *but* that this took place in the tenth year after the death of Herod, namely, in consequence of the deposal of Archelaus. Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. *init.* Yet S. Luke seems to assert that Quirinus was *præses* of Syria, and that the ἀπογραφὴ took place just at the time of our Lord's birth.

§ 49. It is quite incredible that a writer in the situation of S. Luke should have fallen into an anachronism of this magnitude. To those with whom he conversed, no fact of history could be better known than the fact that *the apographe of Judæa*, conducted by Quirinus when president of Syria, took place in consequence of the deposal of Archelaus, and that it did not extend to *Galilee*, but was confined within the limits of the ethnarchy of Archelaus. And, indeed, we have positive evidence that S. Luke was well advised of the facts of the case. For, in the Acts v. 37, he reports a speech of Gamaliel, in which these words occur: "After him arose Judas the Galilean: ἐν ταῖς ἡμεραῖς τῆς ἀπογραφῆς."

§ 50. Of the various solutions of the difficulty which have been proposed, the least entitled to consideration is that which rejects the words ἡγ. Συρ. Κυρ. from the text, as being a marginal gloss left in some leading MS. by a transcriber or annotator. It must indeed have been a leading MS., for the words in question appear in every MS., version, and patristic citation that has been yet collated. It is utterly incredible that so ignorant a blunder, as the hypothesis suggests, could

ever have found universal currency in the most learned ages of the early Church. This solution, therefore, may be fairly exploded as soon as it is named. It does not deserve serious refutation.

§ 51. Before we proceed to consider the other solutions, we shall do well to establish clearly the strict sense of the words according to the rules of grammar. And the rather, because not a few commentators have been betrayed into extraordinary perversions of the grammatical sense.

(1.) In virtue of a law of the Greek article, which is founded in the nature of the thing, and is invariably observed by the writers of the N. T., the construction cannot be "This first apographe." That construction requires either *αὕτη ἡ πρώτη ἀπογραφὴ*, or *αὕτη ἡ ἀπ. ἡ πρώτη*. (See Bp. Middleton, *ad l.*)

(2.) Neither can it be (if *ἀπ.* have the art.) "this was the first apographe," for this requires *αὕτη ἐγ. ἡ πρ. ἀπ.* or, *αὕτη ἐγ. ἡ ἀπ. ἡ πρ.* The Gr. Concordance of the N. T. under the word *οὗτος*, *αὕτη* &c. will shew, that when the demonstrative is the subject, and the predicate has the article, the copula is placed between the subject and the predicate, *e. g.* *αὕτη ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ἡ ὥρα: αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγάπη*. And the reason is obvious. For, if the copula followed, an ambiguity would result, because the demonstrative in concord with a substantive is always followed by the article, as *οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ*, "this man." That is, a sentence beginning thus, *αὕτη ἡ ἀγάπη ἐστὶν* would lead the hearer to suppose there must be something to follow *ἐστὶν*: "this love is (something):" his ear would be disappointed if the sentence terminated at *ἐστὶν*.

(3.) But if we omit the article, the construction must be: "this was (*εγ.*) the first apographe:" *αὕτη (subj.) ἀπ. πρ. (pred.) ἐγένετο (cop.)*: like *οὗτος s. μὴν-ἐκτος p. ἐστὶν c.*, or *αὕτη s. πρώτη-ἐντολή p. ἐστὶν c.*; for, *αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ*, in the sense "this apographe," is not Greek: that sense would require *αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ*.

Hence, if we read *ἀπ.* with the article, the construction can be only *αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ s. πρώτη-ἐγένετο p.*: if without the article, only *αὕτη s. ἀπ. πρ. ἐγένετο p.*

(4.) But, in the next place, *ἐγένετο* is never simply equivalent to the copula of existence, *ἦν*, but means "became,"

or "was made," as here in E. V. Therefore the sense is not: "This apographe *was* the first" (ἡ ἀπ.), or "This *was* the first apographe" (ἀπ. without art.), but, on the first supposition, either, "This apographe was the first (that was) made," or "This apographe was first made," according to the sense we give to πρώτη: on the second, "This became the first apographe," which is equivalent to "This was the first that was made."

(5.) Next then as to the word πρώτη. Our E. V. and Bp. Middleton render it adverbially, "was first made, first took effect," i. e. "did *not* take effect *until* C. was governor of Syria." Of πρώτος thus used I have not been able to detect a single clear example: that is to say, an example of a construction in which πρώτος ἐγένετο is equivalent to οὐ πρότερον ἐγένετο πρὶν ἢ—or τότε πρώτον ἐγένετο ὅτε.—Besides, I cannot think the term ἐγένετο forcible enough to suggest the sense proposed. A classical writer would have expressed that sense somewhat in this way αὕτη ἡ ἀπ. τότε πρώτον τέλος ἔσχευ ὅτε. If S. Luke deemed it necessary to supply this piece of information, would he have expressed himself so obscurely and allusively? I think not: this is not his manner of conveying information. He would in that case have expressed himself in this way: "This apographe was begun in those days, but was completed, or, took effect, at a later period, when Cyrenius," &c.

Moreover, there is an *historical* objection to this view of S. Luke's meaning. The well-known apographe of Quirinus, as it comprehended only the ethnarchy of Archelaus, did not extend to Nazareth. Consequently the apographe which took Joseph to Bethlehem was not—was no portion of, had no connexion with—that apographe which Quirinus afterwards conducted in Judæa. A measure which comprehended πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, that is, at least all Palestine, could not be said to have taken full effect in a partial measure which extended no further than Judæa.

On these grounds I conclude that the explanation proposed by Bp. Middleton cannot be accepted.

§ 52. Others propose to render the passage thus: "This apographe took place *first*, i. e. before that—Cyrenius was governor of Syria." And this interpretation, no doubt, gets rid of the difficulty. But the construction is, to say the least of it,

very harsh. It is true, *πρῶτος* seems to be thus used in John i. 30 and xv. 18. But in both passages there is a significance for which there is no place in our passage. "He is become in advance of me, because He was my first—or, at the head of me," *ἐμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν ὅτι πρῶτος μου ἦν*: "It (the world) hath hated Me as your First—as the Leader at the head of you all in the race of persecution." The passage quoted from *Ælian H. A.* viii. 12, *οἱ πρῶτοι μου τὰντα ἀνιχνεύσαντες*, means simply, "my predecessors who first investigated these matters." Mr. Greswell, *Diss.* i. p. 523, alleges numerous other passages: but not one of them is strictly to the purpose. These interpreters tell us that *πρώτη* here is equivalent to *πρότερον*. Why should it be so, when there is no pregnancy or emphasis to require the substitution of the superlative for the comparative? And suppose it were: the construction *πρότερον Κυρηνίου ἡγεμονεύοντος* in the sense "before C. was governor," is harsh in the extreme, and I believe unexampled. There is indeed a passage of the LXX. Jer. xxix. 2, which seems to exhibit a similar construction of the word *ὕστερον*. But a very little reflection will shew that the cases are quite dissimilar. The words are, *ἀπέστειλεν ἐπιστολὴν ὕστερον ἐξελθόντος ἑλεχονίου*. Here the construction is not the same as *ὕστερον ἢ ἐξελθεῖν ἑλεχ.* though the sense is: but simply, "he sent the epistle afterwards, when Jeconiah was gone out." Agreeably to which, the words, *ἢ απ. πρότερον ἐγένετο, Κυρηνίου ἡγεμονεύοντος* would mean, "the apographe took place earlier, when Q. was governor:" just the contrary to the sense which is required.

§ 53. These things considered, the passage can be rendered only thus: (1.) with the article: "This apographe was the first that was made or took place, Q. being *ἡγεμῶν* of Syria at the time:" (2.) without it: "This was the first apographe that was made &c.:" which comes to the same thing. It asserts therefore that Q. was concerned in this apographe as he was in the later one, and it distinguishes this apographe from the later one by the addition of the word "first."

§ 54. To this statement of a fact it is objected: (1.) that Josephus mentions no apographe in the reign of Herod: (2.) that Quirinus was not *Præses Syriæ* until the time of the deposal

of Archelaus. The difficulty in both respects disappears upon a right view of the history.

The word ἀπογραφὴ does not necessarily mean a census such as was taken in Judæa when it was reduced into the form of a Roman province: it often denotes a mere "descriptio," a numbering of the people. It is certain that no census of the former kind was held in Judæa in Palestine before the deposal of Archelaus: but it does not follow that no measures were taken for a numbering of the people. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that Augustus did, about this time, institute such an apographe of the whole empire. Suidas (*s.v.* ἀπογραφή.) relates, from some lost source of intelligence, that Augustus issued a commission of twenty men for this very purpose. And the statement agrees with the mention in Tacitus *Ann.* i. 11, of a certain *libellus* which Augustus had written with his own hand, in which were set down the *opes publicæ ... quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciæ, tributa aut vectigalia*. Suetonius, also, *Aug.* 101, mentions this abstract under the name *Breviarium totius imperii*, and describes as its principal contents, *quantum militum sub signis ubique esset*. It is an obvious supposition that the materials for this libellus were obtained by some such general measure (δόγμα ἀπογρ. πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην) as S. Luke records, and Suidas's authorities described more in detail.—Palestine, it is true, was not a provincia, but Augustus's register, we see, enumerated the resources of the *regna* and *socii* as well, and especially their several military contingents. And the kingdom of Herod in particular was so strictly a dependency of Rome, that along with the oath of allegiance to Herod, the Jewish soldiers were required to swear fealty to Cæsar. Moreover, at this particular conjuncture there were reasons why Augustus might wish to ascertain by an exact enumeration the resources of Herod's kingdom; there was danger of a fresh war with the Parthians; and with a view to this especially it may be that Augustus desired these statistical returns of the whole population of Palestine.

The time to which this apographe must be assigned was very suitable for the measure of a general census throughout the empire. It was a time of profound peace. From the year u.c. 746 = B.C. 8, when Tiberius returned in triumph from

Germany, to the year u.c. 752 = B.C. 2, when the war broke out with the Parthians, the Temple of Janus was closed. The measure seems to have begun at Rome. The *Monumentum Ancyranum* in its second Table gives the dates of Augustus's three censuses held at Rome, the first B.C. 28, the second B.C. 8, the third A.D. 14.

It is probable therefore, on historical grounds, if not certain, that at the time intimated by S. Luke there "did go out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the empire should be registered:" and there is reason to believe, from the circumstances of the case, that Herod's kingdom was included in the measure. The silence of Josephus avails nothing to the contrary. The measure had no direct bearing upon Jewish politics, nor was it attended with any consequences of sufficient note to be recorded in a portion of his history which is occupied with concerns of the gravest moment to Herod and his Jewish subjects.

§ 55. Neither must the silence of other historians be objected. For the fact is, that our sources of information relative to the four or five years preceding the Christian æra are lamentably defective. In this very portion of Dion Cassius there occurs an hiatus of several years. But, in truth, one testimony has been preserved, which though of a late date, may very likely rest upon earlier authorities. John Malala, the historian of Antioch (ix. 292), informs us that "Augustus, in the 39th year and 10th month of his reign, issued an edict for a general registration throughout the empire" (*ἀπογραφῆναι*). If Malala, or his original authority, reckons from the death of Julius Cæsar, this 39th year began 15 Mar. B.C. 6:—if from the first consulship of Augustus, it began 19 Aug. B.C. 5, u.c. 749. The tenth month, in the Antiochene calendar, is July. Either way, the date comes very near indeed to our date of the Nativity.

§ 56. The other objection—that Quirinus was not præses of Syria at the time—is disposed of by the consideration that *ἡγεμὼν* is a term of considerable latitude. Thus S. Luke calls Pilate *ἡγεμὼν*, though he was but procurator of Judæa under orders of the Præses Syriæ. Accordingly, though at the time of our Lord's birth the *president* of Syria was P. Quintilius Varus, Quirinus, who afterwards enjoyed that dignity, may

nevertheless have held some office in the province which entitled him to be called ἡγεμὼν τῆς Συρίας. Suppose him one of the twenty commissioners mentioned by Suidas, and at the head of the commission for Syria and the East: in this there is nothing at all improbable. It is likely that Quirinus was in the East at the time of the census. He was consul U.C. 742. B.C. 12, and soon afterwards (Tacit. *Ann.* iii. 48.) triumphed over the Homonadenses of Cilicia, *datusque rector Caio Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti Tiberium quoque Rhodi agentem coluerat*: this in B.C. 1. Thus between B.C. 12, and B.C. 1, we find this man twice present in the East. If then it be true that a general census of the empire was taken in one of the eight or ten years preceding the beginning of our æra, which there is no reason whatever to doubt, and true also that the census, in a modified form, took effect in the kingdom of Herod, likewise under directions of the constituted authorities in Syria, which S. Luke's statement plainly declares, why should we hesitate about the further statement which refers the administration of Syria (namely, in respect of the census) to Quirinus, a person so likely, from what is known of his history, to have been delegated commissioner for that part of the East?

§ 57. The commissioner, whoever he was, would issue his orders through the Præses Syriæ, which præses was Q. Sentius Saturninus from the year U.C. 744, B.C. 10, to U.C. 748, B.C. 6, at latest¹, when he was succeeded by P. Quintilius Varus, who continued in office until after Herod's death. Varus then was the regular president at the time which we have assigned as the date of the Nativity, December B.C. 5, and it is interesting to find that he was actually present in Judæa at the time, when (according to our view of the facts) the business of the census would probably require the presence in that country, and at Herod's court, of the ordinary president acting under directions of the extraordinary commissioner. For we learn from Josephus that Varus sat with Herod in judgment on Antipater, (*Ant.* xvii. 5, 2. 7. *B. J.* i. 31, 5. 32, 5.) viz. in the autumn of

¹ This is proved by Antiochene coins, one of which bears the effigy and name of Varus with the year-number xxv, viz. of the *Æra Actiaca*, which in the Antiochene reckoning dated its 25th year

from the autumn of B.C. 7. Varus therefore had succeeded Saturninus in the summer of B.C. 6, perhaps earlier, certainly not later.

B.C. 5, six months, or thereabout, before Herod's death. It is remarkable, however, that Tertullian assigns the conduct of the census to Saturninus: *Census constat actos sub Augusto in Judæa per Sentium Saturninum*; (*adv. Marcion.* iv. 19.) This may very likely have been the case, namely, that the census of Syria began under the presidency of Saturninus. If such was the fact, Tertullian might learn it from authentic records, and would be only so far mistaken as he supposed the census of Judæa to have been likewise taken by Saturninus. And, indeed, there is one interpretation of Malala's statement, above quoted, which would place the commencement of the Syrian census just towards the end of Saturninus's presidency; namely, if the 10th month of the 39th of Augustus be understood to mean the 10th Antiochene month of the 39th year dated from the death of Julius Cæsar, i. e. July B.C. 6. There is no necessity, then, either to reject Tertullian's statement altogether, or, to infer from it that the census of Judæa was completed several months before December B.C. 5. *Census actos sub Augusto per Sentium Saturninum*, Tertullian may have read in authentic annals, in Judæa may fairly be ascribed to the Father's own very natural inference as to the evangelic history. And further: as Justin Martyr's text of S. Luke gave the name Quirinus, and there is no reason to suppose that Tertullian read "Saturninus" in his text, we have here a fresh testimony, probably derived from contemporary annals, to the fact of a census begun about B.C. 6, and may also infer that Tertullian found no difficulty in the mention of Quirinus by the evangelist.

§ 58. I conclude then (1.) that the only sense which the grammatical construction of S. Luke's words and the circumstances of the case will tolerate, is that which has been proposed: "This census was the first that was made, or, This was the first census that was made, Quirinus being ἡγεμὼν of Syria at the time:" or more clearly, "This census was Quirinus's first, not to be confounded with that which, as every one is aware, took place at a later period under the same person." And (2.) that there is very good reason to believe, independently of S. Luke, that a general census did take place at the time mentioned. And (3.) that it is nowise improbable that Quirinus was entrusted with extraordinary powers in Syria for the taking of the census.

NOTE.

Since these pages were written, I have been favoured, through the kindness of a friend, with the argument, on this subject, of the learned Abbot Sanclemente. As the treatise *de Æra Vulgari* is but little known and rarely accessible in this country, I gladly enrich my pages with those portions of the argument which were new to me. I must, however, apprise the reader that Sanclemente assigns the Census and the Nativity to the year B. c. 7.

The following inscriptions are adduced by this writer in attestation of the fact, of which S. Luke informs us, that the first Census in Judæa, as well as the later one, was held under Quirinus.

I.

....GEM . QVA . REDACTA . IN . PO
 ... VGVSTI . POPULIQUE . ROMANI . SENAT ...
 SVPPPLICATIONES . BINAS . OB . RES . PROSP ..
 IPSI . ORNAMENTA . TRIUMPH
 PROCONSVL . ASIAM . PROVINCIAM . OM ...
 DIVI . AVGVSTI . ITERVM . SVRIAM . ET . PH ...

II.

Q. AEMILIVS . Q. F.
 PAL . SECVNDVS .
 CASTRIS . DIVI . AVG.
 P. SVLPITIO . QVIRINO . LEG.
 CAESARIS . SVRIAE . HONORI
 BVS . DECORATVS . PRAEFECT .
 COHORT . AVG. I. PRAEFECT .
 COHORT . II. CLASSICAE . IDEM .
 IVSSV . QVIRINI . CENSVM . FEC.
 APAMENAE . CIVITATIS . MIL
 LIVM . HOM . CIVIVM . CXVII.
 IDEM . IVSSV . QVIRINI . ADVERSVS .
 ITVREOS . IN . LIBANO . MONTE .
 CASTELLVM . EORVM . CEPIT . ET . ANTE .
 MILITIAM . PRAEFECIT . FABRVM .
 DELATVS . A. DVOBVS . COS . AD . AE
 RARIVM . ET . IN . COLONIA .
 QVAESTOR . AEDILIS . II. DVVMVIR . II.
 PONTIFEX .
 IBI . POSITI . SVNT . Q. AEM. Q. F. PAL.
 SECVNDVS . F. ET . AEMILIA . CHIA . LIB.
 H. M. AMPLVS . H. N. S.

The first is but a fragment, but enough of it remains, says Sanclemente, to prove that Quirinus is meant. Of the presidents of Syria under Augustus two only obtained the ornaments of a triumph, namely, Satur-

ninus and Quirinus, and of these only the latter, on the grounds alleged in the inscription. Saturninus then cannot be the person spoken of. Above all, there is nothing to shew that he was Augustus's legate in Syria and Phœnicia a second time, as the person was of whom the inscription speaks.—In like manner, Sanclemente argues that no other of the presidents of Syria in the time of Augustus, neither M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, nor Varro, nor M. Vipsanius Agrippa, nor M. T. Cicero, nor M. Titius, can be meant.—I confess that this argument is not satisfactory to my mind: I think M. Vipsanius Agrippa, who was twice legate in Syria between *cir. b. c.* 23 and 12, is more likely to be the subject of the inscription than Quirinus. Moreover, the two offices held at different times by Quirinus were so distinct, viz. the office of commissioner for the census, and that of legate or president, that they would hardly be placed under the same category, as here in the word *iterum*. The latter was in no correct sense the iteration of the former.

From the second inscription, which I perceive is given by Muratori, i. 670, Sanclemente argues thus. What we here read of the honours obtained by Q. Æmilius Palicanus in the camp of Augustus under the legature of Quirinus, and again, of his campaign against the Ituræans in Mount Lebanon, belongs to the *præfectura ordinaria* of Quirinus, as regular *legatus Augusti* or *Præses Provinciæ* in Syria, *i. e.* after *A. D.* 6. But the words at l. 8—11, *Idem jussu Quirini censum fecit Apamænæ civitatis*, cannot be referred to that occasion. For there was no census taken at that time in any part of Syria: the census of Judæa was special, being the regular form for the reduction of Judæa into the state of a province and the confiscation of Archelaus's property. The measure extended only to the ethnarchy of Archelaus, and had nothing to do with even Galilee or Peræa, the tetrarchies of Herod's other sons,—certainly therefore could not implicate Apamea, one of the four principal cities of Syria, which had long been a province of the empire. In short, the census of Apamea can only be understood as part of the census of the whole empire. This inscription therefore does clearly imply that the *general census in Syria* was conducted *jussu Quirini*, or, as St Luke expresses it, ἡγεμονεύοντος Συρίας Κυρηνίου.

APPENDIX III.

ON THE STAR OF THE MAGI.

§ 59. It has been thought that the marvellous star which conducted the Magi to the Infant Saviour is capable of furnishing a chronological indication. What *Ideler* has written on this matter, in his invaluable "Manual of Chronology," (*Hanbuch der Chronologie*, ii. 399 ff. comp. *Lehrbuch der Chron.* 1831. p. 424 ff.) deserves, I think, to be made known to the English reader.

"It is commonly supposed that the star which led the Wise Men of the East was a meteor of an extraordinary kind. *Kepler* thought otherwise: he conceived it to have been a conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn. He was led to this notion by his observation of a conjunction which occurred 17 Dec. 1603. In the following spring, Mars came into their company while they were still not far distant from each other, and in the autumn of 1604, there appeared in their neighbourhood one of those bodies resembling fixed stars, which attain a considerable degree of brightness, and then gradually disappear and leave no trace behind. This object was visible at the eastern foot of *Serpentarius*, and appeared as a star of the first magnitude and of uncommon splendour. From month to month it waned in brightness, and at the end of 1605 was no more seen. *Kepler* wrote a dissertation on this star, and gave it as his opinion that the star of the Magi consisted in a conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter, and some other extraordinary body, the nature of which he left unexplained.

"*Kepler* was thoroughly versed in the astrology of his own and of earlier times, and knew what importance had always been attached to the conjunction of the two superior planets which occurs every twenty years. He conceived that the Magi though Jews by religion were Chaldean astronomers by profession: among whose doctrines this, he says, was one, that the conjunction of these planets in, or near, Aries and Libra, portends some great revolution, and that a comet appearing at the same time signifies the birth of a great monarch. He calculated that

such a conjunction occurred June, Aug., and Dec., u.c. 747 = B.C. 7.

§ 60. “Dr. Münter, the late bishop of Seeland in Denmark, recalled attention to Kepler’s investigations. In Abarbanel’s commentary on Daniel¹ he found a passage in which this rabbi says, that the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Pisces (which astrologers make the dominant star of Palestine) is the signal of Messiah’s coming.”

§ 61. Ideler has procured from Encke an exact calculation of the conjunction investigated by Kepler. It appears that “the two planets came in conjunction 29 May, B.C. 7, in the 21st degree of Pisces, were visible in the East before sunrise, and only one degree apart. In the middle of September both came in opposition to the Sun at midnight in the south: the difference in longitude was $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of a degree. Both were retrograde and again approached each other. On 1 Oct. a second conjunction took place in the 18th degree of Pisces, and on 5 Dec. a third in the 16th degree. On both occasions the difference in longitude was only one degree.”

Ideler argues, that if Jewish astrologers did really entertain great expectations in connexion with such a conjunction, this particular conjunction was so remarkable that it might well attract their attention as a phenomenon of extreme significance. “Thrice the two planets passed each other, came very near in longitude, and in this state remained visible for months. The first conjunction *in the East*, ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, excited the attention of some magi. They were expecting the Messiah... On their arrival at Jerusalem the planets were once more in conjunction and *in the South* at evening. They followed that direction, and it brought them to the place.” Ideler therefore conceives that the arrival of the magi in Jerusalem occurred late in the year 7 B.C.

§ 62. On this investigation I would only remark, that the miraculous nature of the star, its reappearance, its motion, and becoming stationary over the place where the Child was, are nowise inconsistent with the view taken by Kepler, Münter, and Ideler. Neither is it incredible that Divine Providence may have been pleased to use for its own purposes an astrological belief

¹ *Maajne hashuah* (Fountains of Salvation), p. 83. ff. Amsterdam, 1547, 4to.

which we have reason to think was entertained by the Jews, and perhaps by the Chaldeans, in connexion with the expectation, then rife all over the East, as Tacitus and Suetonius tell us, of the birth of a great monarch. The astronomical phenomenon, it may be, attracted their attention. But perhaps it was accompanied by some extraordinary appearance, a star, or meteor, never before observed. And it is not a little curious that the third conjunction, which took place in the very centre of the sign Pisces, occurred precisely *two years* before the date which I have assigned to the Nativity. The first observation "of the appearing of the star," must have preceded the Nativity by that length of time: else why is it written that Herod gave orders for the destruction of the children ἀπὸ διετούς καὶ κατωτέρω, "*from the child of two years and under, in accordance with the time which he had carefully ascertained of the magi?*" That conjunction (and the first appearance of the extraordinary star?) occurred 5 Dec. B. C. 7. Our date of the Nativity is about 8th Dec. B. C. 5.

It is evident, from the order of S. Luke's narrative, that the arrival of the magi and the flight into Egypt must be placed *after* the Presentation in the Temple: *i. e.* not earlier than 18th January B. C. 4. Now S. Matthew's narrative implies that Herod was then in Jerusalem. And he was so at this time, as far as we can gather from the narrative of Josephus. When the zealots threw down the golden eagle from the gates of the temple, Herod was evidently on the spot. But immediately after the execution, which was followed the same night by the eclipse, he left Jerusalem, and returned thither no more alive.

SECTION II.

ON THE TIME OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

§ 63. IT is certain that the year of our Saviour's Passion must lie between A. D. 28 and 36. It cannot be placed earlier than A. D. 28, for the 15th year of Tiberius (Luke iii. 1) began in that year; nor later than A. D. 36, for the passover of that year was the last in the term of Pilate's procuratorship. For we know from Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 4. 2) that Pilate, being dismissed by Vitellius from his government, and sent to answer before the emperor touching certain matters of which he was accused, on his arrival at Rome found Tiberius dead. Now Tiberius died in March, A. D. 37.—Since however, to the passover of A. D. 36, from the latest date that can be assigned to the Nativity, are at least 38 years, but the ministry of our Lord between the Baptism and the Passion occupied at most $3\frac{1}{4}$ years, therefore, if the Passion were in A. D. 36, Christ would have been at least 34 years old at His Baptism: whence it seems the latest date that can be assigned to the Passion is A. D. 33, in which year our Lord was 36 years old, according to our conclusion in the preceding section, and not less than 34 years upon any computation. And in fact A. D. 33 is the latest date assigned by chronologists or commentators of any note. The year of the Passion is therefore to be sought among the six years A. D. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33.

§ 64. Now in discussing the question, which of these six years is truly the year of our Lord's Passion, it is of course necessary to examine the gospel history with much attention, if we may therein discover any further limiting circumstances than those which have been mentioned: the opinions also of the earliest ages of the church must be taken into consideration. It happens, however, that there is one element of our question which, if its strictness can be depended upon, will greatly narrow the range within which the selection is to be made; it

will therefore be well to consider this before we enter upon the argument from history and tradition.

If the *year* of a given event be doubtful to the extent of six or seven years, but its *month-day* (in any given calendar) known, and also its *week-day*, then if upon calculation it can be shown that in *one* only of the six or seven years the given month-day fell upon the given week-day, the question is solved: if this coincidence took place in two, or three, of the given years, the question is narrowed to that extent. This is just the state of the question with which we are here concerned. For first, the week-day of the Crucifixion is certainly known; it was a Friday, beyond doubt¹: secondly, the month-day is known; it was the day of the Jewish passover, the day on which the paschal lamb was sacrificed: *i. e.* the fourteenth of the month Nisan. Now the Jewish Calendar is lunar, and its relation to the moon's motion is well known: it was so adjusted that the particular *νυχθήμερον* (beginning and ending at sunset) in course of which the moon came to the full, was called the 15th of Nisan. (Appendix; *Inst. Chron.* § 411.) For instance, if in a given year the paschal moon was at the full at any instant between sunset of a Thursday and sunset of a Friday, the day included between the two sunsets was the 15th Nisan. By astronomical calculation with good tables the exact instant of any given opposition of sun and moon may always be determined: and this being known, the week-day may always be had by an easy calculation, or by referring to tables constructed for that purpose. And here, in the following list, are the results of these calculations for each of the years from A. D. 28 to A. D. 33.

¹ S. Matt. xxvii. 62. τῇ ἐπαύριον ἥτις ἐστὶν μετὰ τὴν παρασκευήν, *i. e.* on the morrow which is after the preparation (sc. of the sabbath). The Crucifixion therefore was on the Friday. xxviii. 1. ὁψὲ δὲ σαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων. S. Mark xv. 15. ἡν παρασκευή, ὃ ἐστὶν προσάββατον (al. πρὸς σάββ.); xvi. 9. πρῶτὴ πρῶτη σαββάτου. S. Luke xxiii. *fin.* καὶ τὸ μὲν σάββατον ἡσύχασαν κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν, τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, &c. S. Joh. xix. 31. ἵνα μὴ μείνῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὰ σώματα· ἐν τῷ σαβ-

βάτῳ, ἐπεὶ παρασκευῆν (ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου τοῦ σαββάτου). The term *parasceue* as denoting *Friday* occurs in an edict of Augustus preserved by Josephus *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2, in which the *præfects* in the East are forbidden to summon Jews before their tribunals ἐν σάββασιν ἢ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ ὥρας ἐννιάτης. The Hebrew term is שַׁבַּת עֶרֶב, *ereb shabbat*, "sabbath eve." From this it appears that the *parasceue*, strictly speaking, began at the very hour when Christ gave up the ghost.

| A. D. | Paschal Full Moon. | 14 Nisan, Passover. | Week-day. |
|-------|--|---------------------|-----------|
| 28. | 29th March, 5 ^h 26 ^m 19 ^s | 28th March | Sunday. |
| 29. | 18th March, 21 ^h 15 ^m 52 ^s or 17th April, 3 ^h 7 ^m 45 ^s | 18th March | Friday. |
| 30. | 6th April, 22 ^h 0 ^m 52 ^s | 16th April | Saturday |
| 31. | 27th March, 13 ^h 18 ^m 13 ^s | 6th April | Thursday. |
| 32. | 14th April, 11 ^h 11 ^m 29 ^s | 26th March | Monday. |
| 33. | 3rd April, 16 ^h 2 ^m 50 ^s | 13th April | Sunday. |
| | | 2nd April | Thursday. |

Of all these years, there is but one in which the 14th Nisan coincides with a Friday, (or more strictly with the *νυχθήμερον* between sunset of Thursday and sunset of Friday). This is the year 29. In the year 30 it was not so, for the moon was at the full about four hours after sunset of Thursday, consequently the whole of Friday to sunset belonged to the *fifteenth* of Nisan. In the year 33 (which is Ussher's date) it may be a question whether the 14th Nisan was not 3 April *Friday*, for perhaps the before-mentioned rule of adjustment may not admit of being so rigorously interpreted but that the full-moon, occurring as it did about $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours before sunset, may have been conceived to belong more to the night of the *νυχθήμερον* 3-4 April = Friday – Saturday, than to the night of 2-3 April = Thursday – Friday. So far then, the selection is limited to the two years 29 and 33 : for certainly none of the other years verifies the given condition. It may be objected indeed to the first of these years, that the 18th March, some three or four days before the equinox, is an extremely early date for the passover, and that we ought therefore to take the other possible date for that same year, viz. 16 April. But this objection will be seen to be of no great moment, when it is considered that this very day, the 18th March, was regarded by the Western Church, prior to the Council of Nice, as the anterior paschal limit (see the Paschal Cycle of S. Hippolytus A. D. 222 in *Inst. Chron.* § 426.) In virtue then of this, which is the *astronomical element* of the question, the choice lies between these two years *at most*, and indeed, upon a rigorous application of the paschal rule, is limited to the former of the two².

² Dr. Hales, in order to reconcile his date of the Passion with this condition of the question, starts a strange hypo-

thesis of an error in the Dominical or Solar Tables. Mr. Greswell has fallen upon the same hypothesis, and has be-
stowed

§ 65. But to this result it may be objected that it is after all by no means certain that the day on which our Lord suffered was the 14th day of Nisan, the day of the Jewish passover, since the three first gospels are at variance on this point with the fourth, at least, the statements differ so much that it is still a critical question whether the Crucifixion is to be referred to the 14th or to the 15th. This question must needs be discussed: let us see then, first, what S. John says or implies on this matter, and afterwards examine the supposed counter-statements of the other three gospels.

1. It appears from S. John xviii. 28, that at an early hour (*πρωί*) on Friday morning the Jews who conducted our Lord to the prætorium had not yet eaten the passover, and intended to eat it; *ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα*. The expression *φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα*¹ invariably denotes the supper on the paschal

stowed immense pains and erudition upon the "proof" of it. The question need not be discussed here. In the Appendix Diss. ii. § 470 ff. it is shown, *first*, that the hypothesis, in the only shape in which it is not self-contradictory, is simply nugatory in respect of the purpose for which it is advanced; and *secondly*, that it is tenable in no shape, and available to no purpose, whatever.

¹ Exod. xii. 43. *πᾶς ἀλλογενὴς οὐκ ἔδεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* sc. τοῦ πάσχα. 44. *φαγεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πάσχα*. 2 Chron. xxx. 18. *ἔφαγον τὸ φασέκ*. "It is alleged, indeed (by those who maintain that S. John agrees with the three first gospels in assigning the Passion to the 15th Nisan) that τὸ πάσχα may denote any other meal or any other sacrifice during the feast, and they appeal to 2 Chron. xxxv. 7-9. Deut. xvi. 1, 2. In the former passage, which relates to the great passover under Josiah, the word *Πᾶσχα* does certainly seem to denote paschal offerings in general; lambs and kids are named together as designed for the pascha, and moreover *bullocks*. But it should be observed that whereas in v. 7-9, the word is *plural*, *ἸΠᾶσχα*; in v. 6 and 13,

("kill the passover:" "and they roasted the passover"), it is singular, and has the article, *τὸ Πᾶσχα*: and it is clear that this means the proper paschal lamb. This passage then proves nothing for the assumed extended signification of the phrase *φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα*. As little does the other passage, Deut. xvi. 1, 2: for though in v. 1, *Πᾶσχα* is to be taken in its wider sense as denoting the entire festival, yet v. 2, *Πᾶσχα* θύειν τὸ πάσχα is spoken in the more restricted sense of the slaying of the paschal lamb, and so as to distinguish it from *ἄλλῃ* and *ἄλλῃ* as designed for the other sacrifice of the festival; then, in v. 6, 7, *θύσεις τὸ πάσχα* and *φαγῇ* LXX. are the expressions used to denote the slaying and eating of the paschal lamb in particular. I do not mean to deny that in the Rabbinical use of the term it is more distinctly applied to any paschal sacrifice (see instances in Reland *Antiquit. Sacre*, p. 217, and Othon. *Lex. Rabb.* p. 511.): but there is nothing to shew that the phrase *φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα*, standing by itself, is ever used of any other feast than that of the paschal lamb.

lamb, which supper was to be held between sunset and midnight of the night following the 14th Nisan—*i. e.* in the first six hours of the *νυχθήμερον* called 15th Nisan. It follows that the 15th Nisan was not arrived on the morning of Friday when the Jews stood with our Lord before the prætorium.

2. S. John says of the same day, xix. 14. *ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα*: a phrase which, agreeably with its invariable usage, can only mean the day immediately preceding the celebration of the paschal supper, the day ending at sunset of 14 Nisan, the *פֶּסַח הָעֶרֶב* or passover-eve², in short the day on which the paschal lamb was to be sacrificed.

3. He further remarks that the Saturday following was an high day, *ἦν μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου τοῦ σαββάτου*. This Saturday was either the 16th or the 15th Nisan. If it was the 16th, it was in no preeminent sense *μεγάλῃ ἡμέρᾳ*, being only a common sabbath in passover-week: the 15th, on whatever day of the week it fell, was a higher day, being the sabbath extraordinary, the first day of unleavened bread. The execution of criminals on that day was a greater desecration of the sabbath than the suffering the bodies to remain on the crosses on the ordinary weekly sabbath. But if the Saturday was the 15th, it was preeminently a great day, not only as being the extraordinary sabbath, but by its concurrence with the weekly sabbath³.—

Lightfoot, indeed (*Hor. Heb. in Joh. xviii. 28*), and Bynæus (*de Morte Jesu Christi*) maintain upon a different ground that our passage cannot relate to the paschal lamb, but only to what was called the *Chagiga*, a particularly joyful sacrifice which was held before sunset of the 15th Nisan. For, the defilement contracted by entering into a heathen house belonged to the *טְבִילָה יום* *i. e.* to that kind of uncleanness which lasted only till sunset, and then ceased of itself by bathing and washing. If then (argues Bynæus) a Jew entering the prætorium was defiled only till sunset, there was no ground to fear not being able to eat the passover, for this was to be eaten after sunset: their apprehension can be explained only by supposing that *φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα* relates to the *Chagiga* of the first day of

unleavened bread.—Doubtless, a plausible hypothesis! but, unfortunately, Bynæus assumes, without proving, that the particular defilement here mentioned was but diurnal. Maimonides (*de Pasch. c. vi. l.*) mentions the defilements which did not bar eating the passover, and this is not one of them." Lücke *Commentar über das Evang. des Johannes*, t. ii. p. 619. ff.

² The Talmud, *Sanhedr. f. 43. s. i.* says expressly *בערב פסח תלאוהו ל'ישן* *b'ereb pesach talauhu l'jishu*, "on passover-eve they crucified Jesus." This may not be a tradition, but at all events it shews how the rabbis of that age understood the matter.

³ The context shews that *τὸ σάββατον* here means the ordinary weekly sabbath: "that the bodies might not remain upon the

These statements prove unanswerably that, *according to S. John*, the Friday of the Crucifixion *was not* the 15th and *was* the 14th day of Nisan¹.

§ 66. But then on the other hand the three first gospels declare that "on the first day of unleavened bread," (S. Matt. xxvi. 17. Mark xiv. 12. τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἁζύμων²: Luke xxii. 7. ἡμέρα τῶν ἁζύμων,) the disciples asked, Where shall we prepare for thee to *eat the pascha*? were sent to a certain householder to prepare it, did accordingly prepare it (ἡτοίμασαν τὸ πάσχα, Matthew, Mark, Luke,) and that our Lord at even ate a supper there with his disciples, which supper in S. Luke xxii. 15, is called τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα. From all which it is concluded that in the view of the three earlier evangelists the Last Supper was the ordinary pascha, and therefore occurred in the first six hours of the 15th Nisan, consequently that the Crucifixion itself occurred on the 15th. If this be so, the fourth gospel is at variance with the other three on a matter of fact of no slight importance: for it is vain to attempt to prove that in the view of S. John the day of the Passion was the 15th.

But let us examine this supposed contradictory statement of the three first gospels. In the first place, it is scarcely

the cross, ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ, ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου τοῦ σαββάτου," which is not the same as if it were ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡμέρα ἐκεῖνο τὸ σάββατον. It is true, ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων (Luke iv. 16. Acts xiii. 14; xvi. 13.) is merely a periphrasis of τὸ σάββατον: but here the periphrasis would be out of place, following as it does immediately after τῷ σαββάτῳ. Besides, though ἡμ. ἐκείνη τοῦ σαββ. might be a periphrasis of ἐκεῖνο τὸ σάββ., the true reading is ἐκεῖνον. The meaning is—"on the sabbath (=Saturday), for great (especially holy) was the day of (or, which fell upon) that sabbath (or Saturday)." It was necessary to point out the true grammatical sense of these words, as Casaubon and others have maintained that σάββατον here denotes simply the extraordinary sabbath, as if the meaning were, "that holy day, the first of unleavened bread was an high day." Meyer, *Kritisch-exeget. Kom-*

mentar über das N. T. in l. gives the true explanation. "The bodies were not to be left on the cross, *least of all* on this sabbath (=Saturday), because it was a specially high day, in that the first—not the second—day of Azyma fell on it." The reading ἐκεῖνον is given by A. B. D. E. K. L. S. 1. 19. 22, &c., and numerous versions.

¹ To the reasons above mentioned we may add, (1) that the supper began πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς xiii. 1. (2) that the disciples could not possibly have surmised (xiii. 29), that Judas was sent out to make purchases εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν if the feast was already begun, and when, moreover, every shop was shut, and to buy and sell was unlawful.

² Strictly speaking, this should mean the 16th Nisan, but the addition in Mark, ὅτε ἔθουν τὸ πάσχα, and Luke, ἐν ᾗ ἔδει θυεῖσθαι τὸ πάσχα, shews that the 14th is meant.

credible that this should be its true meaning, because of the intrinsic improbability which attends this view of the matter. The first day of unleavened bread, or 15th Nisan, was one of the most sacred days in the year, a day on which no servile work was to be done. Ex. xii. 16. Levit. xxiii. 7. As soon as the sun went down on the 14th, all work must cease, none must go abroad out of their houses until the morning (Exod. xii. 22. Lightfoot, *Horæ Heb.* in S. Mark xiv. 36)—at least not beyond the city. But if that night was the Thursday night, not only Christ and his apostles transgressed this peremptory law, by leaving house and city, but the persecuting Jews did the same. Nay, the whole Sanhedrim, by sitting in judgment on our Lord, and all those Jews who took part in His execution, violated the sanctity of a most holy sabbath, and moreover transgressed an express precept of the elders, which prescribed that “on sabbath days and festival days no trial or judgment may be held³.” The disciples also, in taking down the Body from the cross and laying it in the tomb, were guilty in the same respect: and S. Luke must have overlooked this antecedent breach of a positive command when he says concerning the holy women xxiii. 56, “they returned and *prepared* spices and ointments, and *rested the sabbath-day according to the commandment*.” It is intrinsically improbable both that these things should have been done on the 15th Nisan, and that the authors of the three narratives should have intended to represent that they were done. It is vastly more likely that we misconceive their meaning in affixing this sense to the narratives, than that writers, acquainted as these were with matters of Jewish observance, should have delivered an account which would surprise

³ Mishna, tr. *Bezah* or *Jom tobb.* c. v. *Moed* 2. It is useless to allege that the urgency of the case justified the exception in this instance: where was the urgency for the desecration of so sacred a day by the execution of the *malefactors*? Nor is it at all to the purpose to shew that the execution of criminals was purposely reserved to the great festivals, for the sake of a stronger example: tract. *Sanhedr.* c. 10. (*ad.* 11.) § 3, 4. *Non occiditur* (qui peccavit circa verba scriba-

rum) a iudicibus civitatis suæ sed ad summum senatum Hierosol. deducitur atque illic in custodia asservatur usque ad festum et in festo occiditur. “That this, and other profane works were lawful on the days between the 15th and 21st Nisan, nobody denies: but where is the instance or tradition of a trial and execution on the first passover-day?” Lücke, *Commentar über das Ev. d. Johannes*, t. ii. p. 613.

and shock every Jew who should read it. Independently, therefore, of the flat contradiction, afforded by S. John's narrative to this supposed statement of the three former gospels, the intrinsic improbability of the one interpretation obliges us to presume that there must be some other and true statement of their meaning.

§ 67. Accordingly; on looking into S. Matthew, one is struck by that expression of our Lord in the message to the householder, 'Ο καιρός μου ἐγγύς ἐστίν, πρὸς σε ποιῶ τὸ πάσχα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου. Surely that first clause stands as a reason for something unusual in respect of the pascha about to be celebrated. Might it be meant as a reason why the celebration should take place at this particular person's house? This is conceivable: as if (e. g.) it were said, My time is at hand: I will do thee this honour—or, thou shalt do me this service, ere I suffer, that, &c. But it is at least equally conceivable that the meaning may be of this kind, My time is at hand, I may not celebrate the passover at its appointed time after to-morrow's sunset, I will therefore hold it *this night* at thy house. To which we may add from the same narrative, (for I take them separately, as discussing the question on the grounds of those who will not allow us to fetch explanations and corrections from the other two narratives of the same incidents,) that the householder was probably himself a disciple, as he was to be addressed with the words ὁ διδάσκαλος λέγει, and that he may be supposed to have received, in some other way, some previous intimation respecting the Lord's purpose: and further, that there is nothing to forbid the supposition, that the time when the question was put was at the very beginning of the 14th Nisan, *i. e.* at sunset: for, upon any view of the case, the day called "first of unleavened bread," cannot mean the day strictly so called, but only the 14th Nisan, since if the 15th had commenced there would not have been time for due preparation, nay, such preparation had been unlawful. The question then was put at some time on the 14th, and why not at the very beginning of it? The householder, too, may have had the paschal lamb in readiness, and whatever else being requisite could not be procured at short notice. All this is conceivable enough, and, notwithstanding that it is not expressed in the narrative, is

more credible than a view of the transaction which labours under a strong internal improbability.

In S. Mark, we find the *πρώτη τῶν ἁζύμων* plainly marked as the 14th Nisan by the note *ὅτε τὸ πάσχα ἔθνον*, xiv. 12; but I do not perceive anything in the other additions which tells one way or the other. In S. Luke, the day, called *ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν ἁζύμων*, is described as that *ἐν ᾗ ἔδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα*, xxii. 7. The words of our Lord *ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ παθεῖν*, like those in S. Matthew, *ὁ καιρὸς μου ἐγγύς ἐστιν*, may be understood as meant to imply that the time of holding the supper was anticipated.

On the whole, even if there be nothing in the express words of the three narratives, to support or favour the supposition of such anticipation, there is nothing to discountenance this mode of representing to ourselves the facts of the case: while the other representation is attended with circumstances of extreme improbability¹.

Now let it be observed that *the question for the chronologist* is not, whether the three first gospels differ from the last, and if so, whether and in what way the accounts may be brought into conformity: this question belongs to the apologist and harmonist. For chronological purposes, it matters not how it is settled: it is enough, that of the two conflicting accounts, if indeed they be conflicting, S. John is consistent and probable, while the other (supposing it to be another) must be rejected by reason of its essential improbability. I might have contented myself with describing the improbable circumstances: but as I would not have it supposed that I hold the narratives to be irreconcilable, I have gone a little out of my

¹ To those which have been mentioned we might perhaps add this in respect of the two first gospels (Greswell, *Diss.* iii. 149—152.): in both, the Sanhedrim is represented as determining that the arrest of our Lord should not take place during the feast, *μὴ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα μὴ γένηται θόρυβος ἐν τῷ λαῷ*, S. Matt. xxvi. 5. Mark xiv. 2. Yet, after all, on this view, it did take place in the feast,

and in the most sacred time of it.—But I would not lay much stress on this consideration, which might be answered by saying that the Sanhedrim, catching at so favourable an opportunity, waived its original precaution. And indeed it would not be easy to shew that there was less danger of a disturbance among the people on the morning of the 14th, than on the 15th, or any other day of the feast.

way to vindicate the gospels from the charge of mutual inconsistency¹.

§ 68. It may be objected, indeed, to this view of the facts, that such an anticipation of the passover was a thing

¹ *Besa*, *Scaliger*, and *Casaubon*, would reconcile the two accounts by assuming that our Lord held the passover at the proper time, (14-15th Nisan), while the Jews for some reason or other were a day too late. *L. Capell* and *Iken*, alleging that the modern sect of the Karæans by a different reckoning of the moon's phases holds the passover a day earlier than the Rabbinites, and assuming that this sect took its rise from the Sadducees, explains the difficulty by affirming that our Lord kept the feast on the evening between 13-14th Nisan, according to the rule of the Sadducees (!) *Grotius* and *Hammond*, that the Lord's passover, held 13-14th, was *μνημονευτικόν*, not *θύσιμον*; an hypothesis which arbitrarily carries back this modern (unavoidable) character of the feast to the times when the temple was yet standing, when, therefore, there could be no ground for holding a passover (especially in Jerusalem) without sacrifice. *Tholuck* adopts the strange hypothesis of *Rauch*, that the true legal time for the paschal supper was in every case at the beginning, not the end, of the 14th: which leaves the main difficulty (*John* xviii. 28) unexplained. *Lücke* (in his 2d ed.) maintains and proves clearly that the last supper was held 13-14th Nisan, and the Lord suffered on the 14th: but he abandons the attempt to harmonise the gospels, contending that the three first gospels as palpably declare for a regular paschal supper on the 14-15th, as *S. John* that the passion occurred on the 14th. So *Meyer*, but with much less of reverence in his treatment of the question. *Olshausen* identifies the last supper with the regular passover, thereby referring the Passion to the 15th, and adopts the explanation of *Lightfoot* and *Bynæus* relative to the *Chagiga*. (See § 65. note 1.) This writer falls into a curious mistake

in alleging in favour of his view "the typical character of the paschal lamb," which "renders probable the assumption that the Lord died on the very day on which the paschal lamb was to be sacrificed:"—of course it does, and therefore is directly against the assumption that the day of the passion was the 15th. He alleges also (*Monum. Eccl. Hist.* i. 271. sqq.) the fact that the churches in Asia Minor, in the paschal controversies of the second century, maintained, on the ground of tradition derived from *S. John*, the rule that the Easter feast was to be observed at the same time with the Jews' passover, in opposition to the rule of the western Church derived from *S. Peter* and *Paul*. Which is wholly irrelevant: for the question between the East and West was, not whether the Lord rose on the 16th or on the 17th of the paschal moon, but simply whether the *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον* was to be held on the 14th of the paschal moon (*Nisan*), the day of the Jews' passover, and consequently the *πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον* or Easter day, on the 16th, irrespectively of the days of the week—or whether the one was always to be held on the Friday and the other on the Sunday nearest (in general) to the paschal full moon. In support of the Asiatic rule it was urged that according to the express terms of *S. John's Gospel* the Lord, as the True Paschal Lamb, gave up the ghost at the very time prescribed by the law for the sacrifice of the passover (see § 71), and therefore that the *πάσχα σταυρ.* should be kept on the legal 14th Nisan. That the Asiatics alleged a tradition of *S. John* for the keeping on the *fifteenth* is a mere blunder of *Olshausen*. *Ideler*, i. 515, maintains that the Passion certainly belongs to the 14th, alleging most of the reasons adduced in the text, and this further one: viz. "the

so unprecedented, that the disciples themselves must have expressed their surprise, and have asked the reason of this new thing; while yet there is nothing in the three first gospels to shew that they were at all surprised, or that there was anything extraordinary in the circumstances of the case. No doubt they were surprised, unless the Lord had prepared them for it beforehand. But was it necessary that all this should be *recorded*, when in the narrative itself the anticipation is explained by the very fact that when the appointed hour arrived the Lord lay in the tomb? It should also be considered, that the first gospel in particular was written at a time when it must have been well-known to every one who should read it, that the Lord suffered on the very day on which the paschal lamb was to be slain. No Christian Jew could need to be expressly informed that such was the fact, or consequently, that the paschal supper at which Christ instituted the Eucharist was anticipated by the space of four and twenty hours. The knowledge of this fact the reader or hearer brought with him to the recital of the evangelist: what need then was there to record the expression (if such occurred) of the disciple's surprise, the mention of which could lead to nothing which the reader did not already know—as, for instance, *Now this was done because the Lord foreknew that ere the appointed hour were come He would have given up the ghost?* Objections, in short, of this kind rest upon a mistaken view of the gospels, as if they were intended to afford complete information to persons possessed of no previous knowledge of the facts: whereas, in truth they were designed for persons who would, so to say, *interlineate* the written story with that information which they had obtained from the common notoriety of the facts and from the Church's catechetical and liturgical teaching. For it may be confidently affirmed that until the destruction of the temple and cessation of the sacrifices, as often as the Jews' passover-day came round, the

modern Jewish calendar is so arranged that the 15th Nisan can never fall on a Friday. It may indeed be alleged that this precaution dates no farther back than the formation of the Cyclical Calendar since the dispersion: but it is hard to believe that in so essential a point as the fixing of the week-days of the principal

festivals, the framers of that calendar would depart from the ancient tradition." I do not adopt this argument: since it is likely that the very intent of this arrangement was to prevent the concurrence of the first day of unleavened bread with the *πάσχα σταυρώσεως* of the Christians.

very liturgy would teach all *Jewish* Christians, at least, that this was the day on which τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη ὁ Χριστός (1 Cor. v. 7); as also on the second day of unleavened bread, that on it the Lord's Resurrection fulfilled the type of the first-fruits, Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων (1 Cor. xv. 10).

§ 69. On the other hand, to the objection that S. John knows nothing of any *paschal* supper, we might answer that, if silence implies ignorance, neither does he know any thing of the institution of the Eucharist. In fact he is silent of the one, because he had no need to say any thing about the other. He needed not to recite the history of the institution, with which all Christians were familiarly acquainted through the earlier gospels and the liturgy itself; and as the fact that the Last Supper was paschal is important only in reference to the institution of the christian sacrament, he naturally omits all express reference to the ceremonial character of the solemnity.—Nor is it of any moment that he seems to represent “some of the disciples” (xiii. 29) as expecting that the paschal supper was yet to come. For, although they were then engaged in a solemnity which, in every respect except in point of time, corresponded with the ritual of the pascha, it does not follow that they all apprehended fully the reason and import of such a supper being held on the evening between the 13th and 14th Nisan. We know that the passover was anticipated because the Lord was to fulfil the type of the paschal lamb on the morrow by His death: but it is evident from the discourses in S. John, that even at a later instant of that evening the disciples understood not yet that their Lord was to die, and that so soon. And not understanding this, why might not they, or some of them, suppose that He would yet hold the feast with them in its appointed season? They were not obliged to infer from the paschal character of the meal which was before them, that it was the forestalled substitute for the legal passover: it might content them that their Lord, for some good reason unknown to them, had so ordered it.

§ 70. In conclusion, it remains to be observed, that the solution which is here advocated was given by many of the Fathers. S. Clement of Alexandria (in a fragment of his work *de Paschate* preserved by an anonymous writer quoted by Petavius, *Uranolog.* p. 396., Potter p. 1017.): τοῖς μὲν οὖν

παρεληλυθῶσιν ἔτεσι τὸ θνόμενον πρὸς Ἰουδαίων ἥσθιεν ἑορτάζων ὁ Κύριος πάσχα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκήρυξεν αὐτὸς ὦν τὸ πάσχα ὁ αἰνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἀγόμενος αὐτίκα ἐδίδαξε μὲν τοὺς μαθητὰς τοῦ τόπου τὸ μυστήριον τῇ γ', ἐν ἣ καὶ πυνθάνονται αὐτοῦ, ποῦ θέλεις ἐτοιμάσωμέν σοι τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν; ταύτῃ οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὁ ἀγιασμός τῶν ἀζύμων καὶ ἡ προετοιμασία τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐγένετο¹. ὅθεν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκότως ὡσὰν προετοιμαζομένους ἤδη ἀπονίστασθαι τοὺς πόδας πρὸς τοῦ Κυρίου τοὺς μαθητὰς ἀναγράφει. πέποιθε δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ὦν τὸ πάσχα καλλιερυνθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων. And in another fragment of the same treatise: ἀκολούθως ἄρα τῇ ιδ', ὅτε καὶ ἔπαθεν, ἔωθεν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τῷ Πιλάτῳ προσάγοντες οὐκ εἰσήλθον εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον, ἵνα μὴ μιανθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἀκλύτως ἐσπέρας τὸ πάσχα φάγωσιν. ταύτῃ τῶν ἡμέρων τῇ ἀκρίβειᾳ καὶ αἱ γραφαὶ πᾶσαι συμφωνοῦσι καὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια συνψά. ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις, τῇ γοῦν τρίτῃ ἀνέστη ἡμέρᾳ, ἥτις ἦν πρώτη τῶν ἐβδομάδων τοῦ θερισμοῦ, ἐν ἣ καὶ τὸ δράγμα ἐνομοθετεῖτο προσενεγκεῖν τὸν ἱερέα. S. Hippolyt. Portuensis (fr. ap. *Ohron. pasch.* p. 6.) ᾧ καιρῷ ἔπασχεν ὁ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἔφαγε τὸ κατὰ νόμον πάσχα· οὗτος γάρ ἦν τὸ πάσχα, τὸ προκεκηρυγμένον καὶ τὸ τελειούμενον τῇ ὠρισμένῃ ἡμέρᾳ.... Ὁ πάλαι προειπὼν ὅτι οὐκέτι φάγομαι τὸ πάσχα, εἰκότως τὸ μὲν δεῖπνον ἐδείπνησεν πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα· τὸ δὲ πάσχα οὐκ ἔφαγεν ἀλλ' ἔπαθεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ καιρὸς ἦν βρώσεως αὐτοῦ.—S. Apollinaris (fr. ap. *Ohron. pasch.* ib. Routh, *Rel. Sacc.* i. 150.) εἰσιν οἱ δι' ἀγνοίαν... λέγουσιν ὅτι τῇ ιδ' τὸ πρόβατον μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν ἔφαγεν ὁ Κύριος, τῇ δὲ μεγάλη ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων αὐτὸς ἔπαθεν· καὶ διηγοῦνται Ματθαῖον οὕτω λέγειν ὡς νενοήκασιν· ὅθεν ἀσύμφωνός τε νόμῳ ἢ νόησις αὐτῶν, καὶ στασιάζειν δοκεῖ κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ εὐαγγέλια. i. e. Christ is the very Paschal Lamb, and the law required the lamb to be sacrificed on the 14th; to suppose then that He died on the 15th would not harmonise with the law, and would commit the gospels to a mutual con-

¹ This is intended to explain the circumstance that the *thirteenth* of Nisan is called *πρώτη τῶν ἀζύμων—viz.* on that day (Clement thinks) the azyma were consecrated: and that the apostles speak

of *preparing* (ἐτοιμάζειν) and did prepare the pascha—*viz.* he thinks the *προετοιμασία* always or usually took place on the 13th. Both suppositions are, of course, wrong.

tradition. Again: ἡ ἰδ' τὸ ἀληθινὸν τοῦ Κυρίου πάσχα, ἡ θυσία ἡ μεγάλη, ὁ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἁμνοῦ ὁ παῖς Θεοῦ ὁ δέθεις, &c.... καὶ ὁ ταφεῖς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τοῦ πάσχα. This interpretation may have fallen into discredit at a later time in consequence of the use made of it in the quartadeciman controversy as in this very passage of Apollinaris: viz. that the πάσχα σταυρώσιμον ought always to coincide with the Jewish passover. Hence Photius *Cod.* 115, 116, says, that these fathers (Clement, &c.) varied from the Church in thinking that the Last Supper was held on the evening of the 13th.—To these testimonies we may add S. Irenæus *Hær.* iv. 23. *Et diem passionis (Moses) non ignoravit, sed figuratim prænunciavit eum Pascha nominans: et in eadem ipsa... passus est Dominus adimplens Pascha.* Tertull. *adv. Jud.* 8. *Passio perfecta est... die prima azymorum quo agnum ut occiderent ad vesperam a Moyse fuerat præceptum.*

§ 71. To return to our proper subject. It is certain, in general, that the year of the Passion lies between A.D. 28 and 33, but the *astronomical element* confines the question to (at most) the two years, 29 and 33, if it does not even restrict it to the former of the two. It now remains that we examine and combine the *historical elements* expressed or implied in the evangelic narrative.

(1.) And first the year-date which S. Luke places in front of his history of our Saviour's ministry. "The fifteenth year of Tiberius," (iii. 1.) if the writer follows the established Roman reckoning, is the year which began 19 August A.D. 28; if he writes as a Jew, he may mean the year beginning 1 Nisan A.D. 28; and lastly, if he identifies the imperial with the *consular* year, he may intend A.D. 28 (beginning 1 January), or possibly A.D. 29, since the one contained nearly 5 months, the other about 7, of the actual 15th year of Tiberius beginning 19 August A.D. 28. This is the utmost latitude with which the statement may be interpreted.—Some writers, however, following a tradition of the Western Church, which assigns the Passion to the year U.C. 782, the passover of which lies in the actual 15th of Tiberius; and finding it impossible to reconcile this date with the statement of S. Luke, if he must be understood to refer the *Baptism* of Christ to that same year, have advanced an hypothesis which would make this 15th year of Tiberius begin two years earlier. It is alleged that S. Luke here dates the years of Tiberius, not from his actual

accession on the death of Augustus, 19 August A. D. 14, but from an earlier event, which, especially in the provinces, might be regarded as the epoch of his *ἡγεμονία*. The event in question is thus related by Velleius Paterculus, ii. 121. *S. P. Q. R. postulante patre ejus (Augusto) ut æquum ei jus in provinciis exercitibusque esset quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus est:* and by Suetonius, *Vit. Tib.* c. 21. *Non multo post, lege per coss. lata, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret:* and thus by Dion Cass. lvi. under the year U. C. 765 = A. D. 12. "Augustus being now of advanced age *τὴν Βουλὴν τῷ Τιβερίῳ παρακατέθετο,*" (*senatum Tiberio commendavit*). This then, according to Cardinal Noris, Bianchini¹, Pagi, and other learned chronologists, is the epoch to which S. Luke's "fifteenth year of Tiberius" must be referred: the year intended by the evangelist is 26 A. D. The hypothesis is meant to obviate a difficulty, and, if substantiated, does obviate it. Other writers, too, as Ussher, Bengel, and more recently Mr. Benson, who do not assign the Passion to the year above mentioned, have adopted the same hypothesis, but none has more learnedly argued in behalf of it than Mr. Greswell in his "Dissertations on the Harmony of the Gospels." In fact, it is essential to the scheme of this writer, in which the Passion is placed at A. D. 30, and a period of three full years is assigned to our Lord's ministry.

But supported as this hypothesis is by the learning and authority of the distinguished scholars whom I have named, it falls under these fatal objections: first, that none of the early ecclesiastical writers can be shown even to have imagined that such was the evangelist's meaning: and secondly, (as the learned abbot Sanclemente and after him Ideler have observed) that nowhere, in histories, on monuments or coins², is a vestige to be

¹ This writer, indeed, has an hypothesis peculiar to himself, that a year has been dropt in the Fasti between the reigns of Caius and Claudius; and consequently, that the year of the two Gemini, which, on the grounds of the Roman tradition, he rightly makes the year of the Crucifixion, was in reality not A. D. 29 but 28. In like manner, his "fifteenth year of Tiberius" is A. D. 25.

² "By referring to Eckhel, *de Doct.*

Num. iii. 276. it will be seen that there is some reason to believe in the existence of two coins of Antioch, which bear date 43 and 44, as referred to the Actian æra of U. C. 723, and exhibit the head of Tiberius, with the title of ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ or Augustus. Each of these coins must have been struck before the death of Augustus, U. C. 767; the former 765-6 (Autumn), the latter 766-7 (Aut.). If these coins were genuine they would be

found of any such mode of reckoning the years of this emperor, or indeed of any other epoch of the *ἡγεμονία* of Tiberius, than that which is afforded by the well-known year and day of Augustus's decease. Besides, it is improbable to the last degree, for those who admit that S. Luke wrote his gospel in Italy for the use, specially of a Roman officer, and generally of Gentile believers, that he should have expressed himself in a manner so little likely not to be misunderstood by those into whose hands his gospel was delivered. After all that has been advanced in support of this hypothesis, these objections remain in full force: therefore, although the difficulty which accompanies Mr. Greswell's date of the Passion affects mine in a higher degree, I am bound to submit to the plain natural import of S. Luke's statement, and to receive it as one historical element of our question.

§ 72. (2.) In S. John's narrative of the Lord's first passover, ii. 20, there seems to be a note of time which implies that the passover in question was that of A. D. 28. "The Jews said, Forty and six years was this temple in building." There can be no doubt that they spoke of the temple as rebuilt by Herod the Great. The history of this undertaking is fully related by Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 11. The design was announced by Herod, *ὀκτωκαιδέκατον τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας γεγονότος ἐνιαυτοῦ*, "when Herod's 18th year was come or commenced".

demonstrative upon the question whether Tiberius was associated with Augustus, and recognised in the provinces as emperor before the first half of U. C. 766 at the latest; and though *Eckhel* is inclined to doubt of their actual existence, I confess that his reasons appear to me unsatisfactory, &c." *Dissertations*, i. 343 f. note. It is useless to appeal to coins the very existence of which has to be proved. But grant that they did exist, the question is not whether Tiberius was associated with Augustus, &c., but, *whether after the death of Augustus there exists any reckoning of the years of Tiberius from any other epoch than that.* If S. Luke reckoned in this way, others must have done so too; this mode of reckoning must have been pretty common—and if so, it is incredible that there should be no other extant exemplification of the practice: yet none such has been

produced.—That S. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21. § 144. gives the length of Tiberius's reign as 23 years, and afterwards as 26^y 6^m 19^d, (supposing the text not corrupt) is as little to the purpose. But in truth κς' is a manifest error for κβ' : for the 6^m 19^d are just the odd days over 22 years reckoned from the 29th August = 1 Thoth, the nominal Alexandrine epoch of this reign, to 16 March, the day of Tiberius's death.

¹ *Ib.* 10. 3. ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἑπτακαιδέκατον παρελθόντος ἔτους, Καίσαρ εἰς Συρίαν ἀφίκετο, "at the end of the 17th year:" then after the history "how Herod was accused by Zenodorus and the Gadarenes, and secured to himself the favour of Cæsar," it follows, τότε γοῦν ὀκτωκαιδέκατον τῆς Ἡ. β. γεγονότος ἐνιαυτοῦ, μετὰ τὰς προειρημέναις πράξεσι, ἔργον οὐ τὸ τυχὸν ἐπεβάλετο, τὸν νεῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ κατασκευάσθαι.

But Herod's 1st year bears date (nominally) from 1 Nisan, B. C. 37, his 18th therefore from 1 Nisan 20. At this time it was, or if not at this time, six months later, in the autumn, at the commencement of his 18th year of *actual* sovereignty, that he announced his intention of rebuilding the temple. His offer was joyfully accepted, only it was stipulated that the ancient fabric should be left untouched until all the necessary materials were prepared. The preparation, which was on a scale of enormous magnitude, must have occupied several months, and the actual works could not have commenced much before the end of B. C. 20, but more likely not till after the passover of B. C. 19. And from that date to the passover of A. D. 28 are just forty-six years.—In the *Wars*, indeed, (written before the *Antiquities*) Josephus calls the year the *fifteenth*, πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ γοῦν ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας: whence it might be supposed that the 18th year in the one account is reckoned from the first appointment of Herod, B. C. 40, the 15th in the other, from the death of Antigonos, B. C. 37 (see § 24), that both statements, therefore, are consistent and indicate the same year, B. C. 23. It is certain, however, that the statement in the *Wars* is due to an error either of Josephus or of his transcribers. For even in the *Wars*, the design of Herod is placed after a visit of Augustus to Syria in the 10th year after a preceding visit, (ἔτει δεκάτῳ πάλιν ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, i. 20. 4.) which former visit occurred ὡς ἦκεν (A. V.) εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἥδη Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Ἀντωνίου τεθνεώτων. (ib. 3.), therefore in the 10th year after B. C. 30 (Dion. Cass. li. 18). Hence, the second visit of Augustus, which in *Ant.* xv. 10. 3. is placed at the close of Herod's 17th year, belongs to the year B. C. 21-20, consequently the 18th year bears date from B. C. 37, not from B. C. 40¹.

§ 73. (3.) Our Lord's more public ministry began immediately after the imprisonment of S. John the Baptist. Josephus in a well-known passage (*Ant.* xviii. 5. 2.) mentions both the arrest and the execution, but without any clear chronological specification. Relating the war which broke out

¹ See Anger, *de temporum in Act. Apost. ratione* p. 23; and for a very full and most elaborate discussion of this

question, Mr. Greswell's *Dissertations*, i. 238—282. The reason however, which is given above, is amply sufficient.

between Herod and Aretas, and the defeat of the former, (not long before the death of Tiberius;) he remarks, that many regarded this reverse in the light of a judicial visitation for what Herod had done (*how long before* is not said) to John, called the Baptist. And whereas we know from the gospels that John was beheaded, not upon political considerations, as Josephus relates, but at the instigation of *Herodias*, and the affair of that incestuous marriage is likewise related by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 5.), still no precise note of time is given in connexion with that history. The immediate occasion of the war between Herod and his father-in-law Aretas was a dispute about boundaries: the repudiation of Aretas's daughter is mentioned only as the original ground of the animosity between the two princes: ὁ δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχθρας ταύτην ποιησάμενος, περί τε ὁρων....εἰς πόλεμον καθίστανται. *Joseph. u. 8.* There is therefore no reason at all to suppose that the affair of Herodias was recent when the war broke out.

(4.) Pilate's slaughter of the Galileans is not mentioned by Josephus or any other contemporary writer: its time therefore is unknown¹.

¹ There is something remarkable in the expression which St John uses concerning Caiaphas: xi. 49. εἰς δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν Καϊάφας, ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου. xviii. 13, "They led Him to Annas first, ἦν γὰρ πενθερός τοῦ Καϊάφα, ὃς ἦν ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου. It seems to imply that Caiaphas was not High Priest, or not officiating as such, before that year. If this be the case, here is a note of time which, if the year of Caiaphas's appointment can be ascertained, will answer our purpose. And here we may notice the remarkable wording of St Luke, iii. 2. ἐπ' ἀρχιερέως Ἀ. καὶ Κ. The singular is doubtless the true reading, and I do not see how it can be explained but by the supposition that the high-priesthood of that 15th year of Tiberius was held, or at least exercised, part of the time by Annas, and for the rest by Caiaphas. At any rate, it will be useful to state what is known concerning these two persons.

Annas, whom Josephus calls Ananus son of Seth, was raised to the high-priesthood by Quirinus at or after the completion of the census in the 37th year, dated from the battle of Actium: therefore A. D. 7. He was deposed by Valerius Gratus (Procurator of Judæa after the death of Augustus) and was succeeded by Ismael son of Phabi: he again, μετ' οὐ πολὺ, by Eleazar son of Ananus or Annas: and he, too, ἐνιαυτοῦ διαγενομένου, by Simon son of Camithus. Οὐ πλέον καὶ τῷδε ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοντι διεγέμετο χρόνος, καὶ Ἰωσήπος, ὁ καὶ Καϊάφας διάδοχος ἦν αὐτῷ. καὶ Γράτος μὲν ταῦτα πρῶτος εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπαναχωρεῖ, ἑνδεκά ἔτη διέτριψας ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ. Πόντιος δὲ Πιλάτος διάδοχος αὐτῷ ἦκεν. Such is Josephus's summary account. *Ant.* xviii. 2. 1, 2.

Here, in the first place, in this rapid succession of high-priests, we seem to have the explanation of the peculiar expression used by St John. It appears

§ 74. (5.) *The Acts of the Apostles* contain sundry notes of time which, as it seems to me, are determinative of the year of the Ascension thus far, that it must be one of the two years A.D. 29 and 30. Supposing this proved, the year must be A.D. 29 in virtue of the astronomical element of the question. But this part of the subject requires a separate chapter for its discussion.

§ 75. It appears then that while the *paschal element* indicates the year A.D. 29, 18th March, which lies in the middle

that from the deposal of Annas no high-priest before Caiaphas held the office more than a year.—In the next place, the variation in the construction of the latter part of the narrative, which relates to Simon son of Camithus, suggests, at least admits of, the surmise, that this Simon was not deposed by Gratus but by his successor Pilate. For thus Josephus expresses himself: *παύσας ἱερᾶσθαι Ἀνανὸν Ἰσμήλῃν ἀρχιερέα ἀποφαίνει...τοῦτον μετᾴστησας...Ἐλέαζρον ἀποδείκνυσιν...τόνδε παύσας, Σίμωνι...παράδιδωσιν.* All these are clearly acts of Gratus. But in the next clause he varies the construction: *Οὐ πλεον καὶ τῷδε ἐνιαυτοῦ...διεγένετο χρόνος, καὶ Ἰώσηπος διάδοχος ἦν αὐτῷ.* He does not say that this appointment was the act of Gratus. Then, however, he resumes the former construction: *καὶ Γ. μὲν ταῦτα πράξας, &c.*: meaning, perhaps, by *ταῦτα πράξας* the acts designated by the series of aorist participles *παύσας...ἀποφαίνει, μετᾴστησας...ἀποδείκνυσιν, παύσας...παράδιδωσιν.*

It appears that Gratus had spent eleven years in Judæa, when, Pilate being not merely appointed but actually arrived as his successor (*ἦκεν*), he departed for Rome.—Pilate, *δέκα ἔτησιν διατρίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας*, was sent home by Vitellius to answer certain charges laid against him. Before he reached Rome, Tiberius was dead: (16 Mar. A.D. 37.) Pilate then, unless he was detained several months on the voyage, as St Paul was, left Judæa at some time between Dec. A.D. 36 and Mar. A.D. 37. At the earliest he may have set out in the Autumn of

A.D. 36, at the latest in March or April A.D. 37. And ten years measured from any date of the interval give the same date between Oct. A.D. 28 and April A.D. 27, as the commencement of Pilate's procuratorship.

Now let us suppose that the deposal of Eleazar and elevation of Simon (the last of the acts denoted by the series of aorist participles in the above cited passage) was the last act of Gratus, and that it occurred just before Pilate's arrival. Then the deposal of Simon might possibly occur as late as April A.D. 28; in which case, the first year of Caiaphas would be still current at the time noted by St John, if the year of the crucifixion was truly A.D. 29. The mention of *Annas* conjointly with Caiaphas (Luke iii. 2. Acts iv. 6.) may be explained by the consideration that he had held the office much longer than any of those who intervened between him and Caiaphas, and by the supposition that he was regarded by the Jews themselves as virtually high priest. Or, between the deposal of Simon and the elevation of Caiaphas there might be an interval of some months, during which the functions of the office might be exercised by Annas in consideration of his being the oldest, or the most important in other respects, of those who had held the office. All this is advanced only as hypothesis, not by way of chronological determination, but as possibly affording the explanation of expressions in S. John and S. Luke which require to be explained in some way or other.

of the 15th year of Tiberius, of the *historical notes* one seems to assign the first passover of our Lord's ministry to the year 28, and yet S. Luke's initial date seems to place the very commencement of the Baptist's ministry in the 15th year of Tiberius, *i. e.* at the earliest in the year beginning 1 January A.D. 28. This is no small difficulty, it must be owned: and for the solution of it we must have recourse to other considerations. First, however, it will be convenient to ascertain and appreciate what may be called the *traditional element* of our question.

§ 76. It is well known that the early christian writers frequently assign the year, month and day, which they respectively supposed to be the date of the Passion. There are three ways in which these writers may have arrived at the opinions which they severally held.

(1.) It is scarcely conceivable that the date should not be known to some at least in the first ages, as matter of notoriety and general tradition. The church of Jerusalem and the churches connected therewith must, in the nature of the case, have been for a century or more in possession of the true year-date, which being known, the *Julian* month-date would be ascertainable by paschal calculation, if it were not otherwise known.

§ 77. (2.) It is notorious that the early christian writers confidently appeal to a document which they call "The Acts of Pilate," *i. e.* the record of Pilate's proceedings in his procuratorship, which he, in common with other provincial governors, was required by a standing enactment regularly to transmit to the authorities at Rome. That such Acts did once exist, can hardly be called in question: that the trial, condemnation, and crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth were recited in them, is highly probable: that the genuine document was accessible to Christians in the age of Justin Martyr and Tertullian may not be capable of proof, but is nowise improbable¹.

¹ S. Justin. *M. Apol.* i. § 56. 71. Tertull. *Apol.* i. 6. Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 2. Orosius vii. 4. See also Euseb. *H. E.* i. 9. 11. ix. 5. 7. Epiphan. *Her.* 1. 1. Spurious and heretical *Acta Pilati* were extant in the fifth century. The Greek

Acts now extant, Fabric. *Cod. Apocr.* N. T. i. 237. 239. iii. 456, and two Latin Epistles of Pilate to Cæsar, *ib.* i. 298, are decidedly spurious, and the productions of a comparatively recent age.

§ 78. (3.) In the course of the second century it became necessary for the churches to secure uniformity of the celebration of Easter, and consequently, to have recourse to paschal calculations. These calculations branched off into a discussion of the true date of the Passion. Supposing the year known, the calculators sought to define the day, by the synchronism between the 14th day of the paschal moon and a Friday. Supposing the year not known, it was attempted to fix it by the same synchronism. It will be seen, further on, that the dates assigned by some writers were certainly derived from paschal calculations conducted with faulty cycles.

§ 79. (1.) The consular date assigned almost with one consent by the Latin fathers is the year of the two Gemini, U. C. 782. A. D. 29. It occurs for the first time in Tertullian, *adv. Jud.* c. 8, *quæ passio perfecta est sub Tiberio Cæsare, Coss. Rubellio Gemino et Fufio Gemino, mense Martio, temporibus paschæ, viii kal. April, die prima azymorum, quo agnum ut occiderent ad vesperam a Moysse fuerat præceptum.* Again: *Hujus (Tiberii) quinto decimo anno imperii passus est Christus, annos habens quasi xxx quum pateretur.* (S. Jerome as we have seen § 40 read xxxiii.)—Here the date assigned is 25th March = passover day = 14 Nisan, A. D. 29, which is within one week of our astronomical deduction. The discrepancy of seven days will be explained hereafter.

(2.) Lactantius *Inst.* iv. 10, *Cujus (i. e. Tiberii) anno quinto-decimo, id est duobus Geminis coss. ante d. vii. Kal. Apr. Judæi Christum cruci affixerunt.* And *De Mort. Pers.* c. 2. *Extremis temporibus Tiberii Cæsaris, ut scriptum legimus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus a Judæis cruciatus est, post d. x. Kal. Apr. duobus Geminis Coss.*

(3.) Sulpicius Severus *Hist. Sac.* ii. 40, writing in the consulate of Stilicho, A. D. 400, says: *Dominus crucifixus est Fufio Gemino et Rubellio Gemino Coss., a quo tempore usque in Stilichonem consulem sunt anni cccclxxii.*

(4.) S. Augustin, whose testimony is peculiarly important, says, *de Civ. Dei*, xviii. *fin. Mortuus est Christus duobus Geminis Coss. viii. Kal. April.*

(5.) And, to sum up this traditional statement, Prosper in his *Chronicon* says: *Quidam ferunt anno xviii Tiberii Jesum Christum passum, et argumentum ejus rei ex evangelio assumunt*

Joannis, in quo post xv Tiberii Cæsaris annum triennio Dominus, prædicasse intelligatur. Sed quia usitatio traditio habet, Dominum nostrum xv anno Tiberii Cæsaris duobus Geminis Coss. crucifixum, nos sine præjudicio alterius opinionis successionem sequentium Consulum a supradictis Consulibus ordiemur juxta hanc traditionem.

"No where in the first five centuries," says Ideler (ii. 415), "do we find any other consular date of the death of Christ, than the year of the two Gemini, except in the Greek writer Epiphanius." Thus Victorius, both in the beginning of his Canon and in the Prologue, names the same consuls, only, being misled by the Fasti, he throws it back to the year 28 = A.M. 5229 of his reckoning.

§ 80. The following dates are defined otherwise than by consular years, a mode of reckoning little used by the Greeks.

(1.) S. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. § 145. 'Εγενήθη δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν τῷ ὀγδόῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκέλευσαν ἀπογραφὰς γενέσθαι ἐπὶ Αὐγούστου. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτ' ἀληθὲς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν γέγραπται οὕτως· ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ κ. τ. λ. (iii. 1.). καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὡς ἑτῶν λ' (iii. 23.). καὶ ὅτι ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον ἔδει αὐτὸν κηρῦξαι καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται οὕτως· ἐνιαυτὸν δεκτὸν Κυρίου κηρῦξαι ἀπέστειλὲν με. (Esai. lxi. 1. Luc. iv. 19.) τοῦτο καὶ ὁ προφήτης εἶπεν καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ οὖν ἔτει Τιβερίου καὶ πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ Αὐγούστου, οὕτω πληροῦται τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἕως οὗ ἔπαθεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἔπαθεν ἕως τῆς καταστροφῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ γίνονται ἔτη μβ'. μῆνες γ'. καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς καταστροφῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἕως Κομόδου τελευτῆς ἔτη ρκη'. μῆνες ι'. ἡμέραι γ'. It is manifest that he supposes our Saviour 30 years old at the Passion (not at the Baptism), that of these 30 years, 15 were spent under the reign of Augustus, 15 under Tiberius; consequently that the Passion falls toward the close of the 15th year of Tiberius. This indicates the year 29. But his date of the destruction of Jerusalem is a year too late'.—In a subsequent section S. Clement thus reports the conflicting results which

¹ Since Commodus died 31 Dec. A.D. 192. (Dion. Cass. lxxii. 22.) the numeral ρκη', 128 years, is six years in error.

ἀκριβολογούμενοι τινες had obtained. "Some refer it (the Passion) to the sixteenth year of Tiberius, 25th Phamenoth, some to the 25th Pharmuthi, others to the 19th Pharmuthi²."

(2.) With respect to the interval of 42 years between the Passion and the destruction of Jerusalem, Clement is followed by Origen: εἰ δὲ θέλεις ἄκουε· ἀπὸ τῆς ἑτοῦς Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκαφὴν τοῦ ναοῦ τετταράκοντα καὶ δύο πεπλήρωται ἔτη. *Hom. in Jer.* xiv. and *c. Cels.* iv. 22. (Greswell, iii. 613.). This is strictly correct, if the interval be measured from the beginning of the 15th Tiberius = Aug. A.D. 28.

(3.) Julius Africanus, quoted by S. Jerome, in *Dan.* ix. *Macedones regnaverunt annis ccc, atque exinde usque ad annum xv Tiberii Cæsaris quando passus est Christus, numerantur anni LX.*

(4.) S. Hippolytus Portuensis, in his Paschal Canon, marks the year 29, and the day Friday, 25 March, by a note, ΠΑΘΟΣ ΧΡΤΟΥ, appended to the paschal date of that year of the cycle which corresponds to the year 29. (*Infra*, § 426).

(5.) In the *Computus Paschalis*, ascribed to S. Cyprian, (§ 428.) the year is defined as the 16th of Tiberius, the day 9th April. This should be the year 30. But the omission of two years in this writer's reckoning makes the year virtually A.D. 28.

The variation between the years A.D. 29 and 30, or 15th and 16th Tiberius, may, perhaps, be due to a mistake on the part of the writers with respect to the epoch of the years of Tiberius. It was evident that the Lord's ministry lasted one year at least, therefore, if it began in the 15th of Tiberius it should end in the 16th. Thus interpreted, the statement reported by S. Clement may agree with the established Latin tradition, and with his own opinion.

(6.) Quintus Junius Hilario, *de Mundi Duratione*, (Greswell, i. 464.) counts from the consulate of Lucius Licinius Lucullus A.U. 603, to the 16th of Tiberius, 179 years. This places the passion U.C. 782, which is in fact the year of the two Gemini, but is divided between the fifteenth and sixteenth years of Tiberius: it is plain, then, that he identifies the *sixteenth* with the year of the Gemini. Again: from the Passion,

² *Infra*. § 83, note; and § 434.

which he dates ix Kal. April, he reckons to the consulate of Cæsario and Atticus 369 years. This gives for the Passion A.D. 28, and the error is precisely the same as that which we have noticed in the *Computus Paschalis*.

§ 81. Those writers who assign later dates generally state as their reason for so doing the three passovers mentioned by S. John.

Apollinarius of Laodicea (in S. Jerome, *Comm. Dan.* ix.) xxx. anno æt, *juxta Lucam, cepit Dominus evangelium prædicare, et juxta Johannem per tria paschata duos postea implevit annos. Exinde Tiberii sex supputantur anni.* The year thus marked is A.D. 31.

S. Jerome: *Comm. in Esai.* ix. *Scriptum est in Evangelio secundum Joannem per tria pascha Dominum venisse in Jerusalem, quæ duos annos efficiunt.* This father elsewhere identifies the 14th of Nero A.D. 68 with the 37th after the Passion, and the 7th of Nero with the 30th: (Greswell, i. 463): this makes his date U.C. 784, A.D. 31.

Eusebius, likewise appealing to S. John, estimates the Lord's ministry at $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. *Dem. Ev.* viii. 400: so Theodoret in *Dan.* ix. The object here was to make the term of the Lord's ministry identical with the half-week in Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks. Eusebius's date is Ol. 202. 4, A.D. 33, to which he was the more inclined "as in Phlegon of Tralles, a chronographer of the second century, and in other writers, he found the mention, in Ol. 202, of a great eclipse of the sun, accompanied by an earthquake, which he conceived must be the same with the darkness and earthquake of the Passion. He did not consider that the Jews celebrate their passover only at the full of the moon, and that an astronomical eclipse can happen only at the time of new moon." (*Ideler* ii. 418.)¹

"S. Epiphanius's date for the Nativity is Jan. 6, in the 42nd of Augustus B.C. 2, and in the 33rd [as he supposes] of Herod: ... for the Baptism, 8 Nov. A.D. 28: for the Passion, 20 March, A.D. 31. The age of our Lord at His Baptism, he

¹ "M. Wurm has cleared up this point by help of calculation, and has found that in Ol. 202. there was only one con-

siderable solar eclipse visible in Western Asia, namely that of 29 Nov. U.C. 782 = 29, A.D." *Id.* note.

supposes to be 29 years and 10 months exactly: His age at the Passion, 32 years 74 days: and the precise length of His ministry from the Baptism to the Crucifixion, 2 years 134 days." (Greswell, App. p. 87.)

§ 82. The opinions, then, of the early christian writers may be thus summed up.

(1.) There is a very ancient tradition, followed very generally by the Latin Fathers in particular, which assigns as the year of the Passion the 15th of Tiberius in the consulate of the two Gemini, or A. D. 29.

(2.) At a later period, some seem to have supposed that the ministry of the Lord beginning in the 15th of Tiberius, the Passion must be referred to the 16th, A. D. 30.

(3.) Others again, identifying the years of Tiberius with consular years, were led to designate A. D. 29 (Passover) as the 16th Tiberius.

(4.) Others, finding *three* passovers noted in the text of S. John's Gospel, found it necessary to measure two years at least from the first of those passovers to the Crucifixion.

And lastly, others, comparatively late writers, were led by their own interpretation of Daniel's prophecy to assign a term of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, measured from some point in the 15th of Tiberius so as to end at A. D. 33.

§ 83. Now we have seen that the year 29 is the only year between 28 and 33 which fully satisfies the astronomical condition that the 14th Nisan shall coincide with a Friday. *And this is the very year assigned by the almost uniform tradition of the Latin church, if not of the Alexandrine also.* Is it at all incredible (as Sanclemente suggests) that the true date of the year became known in the West by means of Pontius Pilate, who, as we have seen, returned to Rome in the death-year of Tiberius? or, through the apostles Peter and Paul, who suffered martyrdom at Rome?—or, is it anywise improbable that the latin Christians may have derived their knowledge of the true date from those *Acta Pilati*, to which we find Christians so confidently appealing in very early times? Thus S. Justin Martyr, addressing the emperor, says: *καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγονε δύνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων Ἀκτων.* (*Apol.* l. 56. see also § 71.) And Tertullian in his *Apologeticus* i. 6. *Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, et ipse jam*

pro sua conscientia Christianus Cæsari, tunc Tiberio, renunciavit. That these Acta, or the writing regarded as such, noted the very day of this great event, we know from the statement of Epiphanius, though that writer disparages the authority of the document. The passage is remarkably apposite to our purpose, and shall be given in the writer's own words. *Hær.* i. 420: Ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀκτῶν δῆθεν Πιλάτου ἀνέχουσι τὴν ἀκριβείαν εὐρηκεῖναι, ἐν οἷς ἐμφέρεται τῇ πρὸ ὀκτῶ καλ. ἀπριλλ. τὸν Σωτήρα πεπονθέναι. This is the 25th March, the date assigned by Tertullian, Hippolytus, Lactantius, S. Augustin. Now observe what follows:—ἔτι δὲ εὔρομεν ἀντίγραφα ἐκ τῶν Πιλάτου, ἐν οἷς σημαίνει πρὸ δεκαπέντε Καλ. Ἀπρ. τὸ πάθος γεγενῆσθαι. That is, there were copies of the Acta Pilati in Epiphanius's time in which the date given was 15 Tiberius 15 Kal. Apr. = 18th March, A. D. 29:—*the very day which was urged upon us by the astronomical element of the question.*

Nor is it difficult to explain the origin of the other date, 25 March. Before the council of Nice, that day was supposed to be still, as at the Julian reformation, the day of the vernal equinox. On that same day, as it was supposed, the Incarnation of the Eternal Word commenced, that is to say, nine months before the received date of the Nativity, 25 Dec. This day therefore seemed to have a peculiar fitness, which in fact is often dwelt upon by S. Augustin¹ and others. Hence the addition of one week to the true date may easily be accounted for. But this is not all. Hippolytus (A. D. 222) was led to this date by his own paschal cycle, which marked the year 29 as one in which the 14th of the moon fell on a Friday. It so happens that his cycle, a double octæteris, is in error, and the amount of error accumulated in 192 years amounts to just seven days². That is, in the year 221 A. D., the year preceding the commencement of his canon, the 14th of the paschal moon did fall, as he from actual observation states that it did, on the

¹ S. Augustin. *de Trin.* iv. 9. *Quæst.* in *Exod.* 90.—The same Father repeatedly comments on the fitness of the 25th Dec. to be the day of the Nativity, namely, as being the day of the winter

solstice, after which the days begin to lengthen. *Opp.* iv. 2123. A. v. 1284. D. *Serm.* 186—194.

² *Infra*, Institutes of Chron. § 426.

25th March. He assumed that at the end of every term of sixteen years, reckoned either way, from that year, the same concurrence must take place, and therefore that the date was the same in the year A. D. 29 which precedes A. D. 221 by 12 times 16, or 192 years. But the fact is, that eight Julian years fall short of 99 mean lunations by rather more than a day and a half, consequently the error accumulated in 24×8 years amounts to about 37 days, between which and one lunation there is a difference of 7 days, just the same difference, and in the same direction, as between the 18th March, the true paschal date, and the 25th, erroneously indicated by the cycle³.

§ 84. In conclusion, I observe, that the period which S. Epiphanius assigns to our Lord's life on earth is very nearly the same as that which results from the conclusion at which we have arrived. From the 8th December B. C. 5., our approximate date of the Nativity, to the 18th March A. D. 29, are 32 years 100 days. Epiphanius gives 32 years 74 days. Again: Epiphanius places the Nativity in the 33rd year of Herod, which he erroneously identifies with the 42nd of Augustus. The 33rd year of Herod began 1 Nisan B. C. 5. Epiphanius's year-date of the Nativity is, therefore, virtually the same as ours, and *the day* is only a month later. Consequently, his year of the Passion is virtually the same as ours: A. D. 29, and the day (13 kal. Apr.) only two days later. He was misled by the Fast Consulares, or mistook their meaning: for he gives the consular years thus:—

Coss. Duobus Geminis.

Coss. Rufo et Rubellione.

Coss. Vinicio et Longino Cassio.

But in fact the two Gemini are the same individuals as Rufus and Rubellio. He had heard that the two Gemini were

³ In the same way, I doubt not, those "over-curious" calculators of whom S. Clement of Alexandria speaks, obtained their dates. They used the cycle of 84 years, which being composed of a Callippic period (76 years) and an Octæteris is in error by about a day and a half in defect. The calculation probably started from the end of two such cycles, i. e.

A. D. $29 + 2 \times 84 = 197$ A. D., and consequently would give as the day of paschal full moon in A. D. 29 either 21 Mar. or 20 April, 3 days later than the truth. Thus the statement of S. Clement attests the year A. D. 29. That neither day of that year fell on a Friday did not occur to the calculators as any objection to their result.

consuls in the 15th of Tiberius, and therefore wholly identifies that year with the consular year; then, by mistake, he assigns a Rufus and Rubellio as the consuls of the 16th Tiberius, A. D. 29, and gives, rightly, Vinicius and Cassius as those of the year 30, in which year, as being two years from the year of the Baptism, he conceived himself obliged by the mention of three passovers in S. John to place the Crucifixion¹.

COROLLARY.—*On the duration of our Lord's Ministry, from the Baptism to the Passion.*

§ 85. It appears from the preceding argument, that the date of the Crucifixion can be no other than the passover of A. D. 29, or 15th Tiberius, which is the very date (as to the year) assigned by the constant tradition of the Latin Church, and (in year and day) by the *Acta Pilati*, as reported by S. Epiphanius.

Our conclusion, however, seems to have landed us in a difficulty of no slight moment. For S. Luke says in the beginning of his history of our Lord's ministry, ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος κ. τ. λ. ἐγένετο ῥῆμα Θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννῃ τὸν Ζαχαρίου υἱὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. This 15th year of Tiberius, according to the Roman reckoning, began 19 August A. D. 28, whence to the date, as above given, of the Crucifixion are but seven calendar months. It is obviously impossible that the ministry of John the Baptist should have begun so short a time before the Crucifixion, for S. John mentions at least *one* passover after our Lord's Baptism besides the passover of the Crucifixion: it follows therefore that the Baptism did not take place, nor John's ministry commence, in the 15th Tiberius, according to the strict Roman reckoning. And the difficulty is

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.* ii. 5, regards the calamities which came upon the Jews through the hostility of *Sejanus* as a judicial infliction τῶν κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τετολημμένων ἕνεκεν. Now the date of *Sejanus*'s overthrow is 18 Oct. A. D. 31. This opinion, as Mr. Greswell has shown, (*Diss.* i. 445. Ed. 2.) implies at least as early a date as A. D. 30.—Again: the

well-known story of Tiberius's proposition to the Senate for the worship of Christ, as understood by the ancients, implies the same thing. For it is said to have failed, *præcipue cum et Sejanus, præfectus Tiberii, suscipiendæ religioni obstinatissime contradiceret*. Orosius, *Hist.* vii. 4. (Greswell, *ib.* 444.)

aggravated by the fact that we read of *two* passovers between the Baptism and the Crucifixion, S. John ii. 13. vi. 4. At this rate, the Baptism must have preceded the Crucifixion by two years at least, which would place the beginning of the Baptist's ministry in the 13th of Tiberius at latest.

§ 86. How is this difficulty to be disposed of?—I answer, in the first place, that those of the ancients who assign the Passion to the 15th year of Tiberius, must have been as fully aware of the difficulty, if it existed, as we can be. Yet they leave it unnoticed.—Secondly, that the same Fathers concur in assigning to the ministry of our Lord after His Baptism a term of little more than one year¹.

(1.) S. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21. § 145. p. 147. Sylb. καὶ ὅτι ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον ἔδει αὐτὸν κηρῦξαι, καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται οὕτως· Ἐνιαυτὸν δεκτὸν Κυρίου κηρῦξαι ἀπέστειλén με. (See above § 80. *Comp.* vi. 11. § 87. p. 279, τριακόστῳ μὲν ἐκήρυξεν ὁ Κύριος ἔτει).

(2.) Origen *de Principiis* iv. 5. ἐνιαυτὸν γάρ πού καὶ ὀλίγους μῆνας ἐδίδαξεν. *Hom. in Levit.* ix. p. 351 (ed. Lomm.) *Si ergo considerem pontificem meum Dominum Jesum Christum, quomodo in carne quidem positus per totum annum erat cum populo, annum illum de quo ipse dicit, Evangelizare pauperibus misit me, et vocare annum Domini acceptum et diem remissionis: adverte quomodo semel in anno isto, in die repropitiationis intrat in sancta sanctorum, h. e. quum impleta dispensatione penetrat cælos et intrat ad Patrem, &c.—Hom. in Luc.* xxxii. p. 208. *Prædicare annum Domini acceptum: Juxta simplicem intelligentiam aiunt uno anno Salvatorem in Judæa Evangelium prædicasse, et hoc esse quod dicitur: prædicare &c.* Yet the same author, in the *Comm. in S. Matt.* t. 40, says: *Circa xl annum a xv Tiberii Cæsaris facta est destructio Jerusalem, et templi quod fuit in ea. Deduc ergo prædicationis Domini fere annos tres, et tempus resurrectionis ipsius, quando per dies xl apparens illis docebat eos de regno Dei, et invenies forsitan plus minus: quoniam circa dimidium septimane* (by "week" he means seventy years) *computans per decadas annorum, est completum quod dictum est: tolletur sacrificium, &c.*

¹ *Hæc omnium vetustissima est opinio, says Scaliger, Emend. Temp.* p. 562, who rejects it however.

It seems here at first sight as if Origen, contrary to his former opinion, (which, however, is attested by S. Pamphilus, *Apolog. pro Origene*, Routh. *Rel. Sacc.* iv. 314,) meant to assign a term of about three years to the preaching of our Lord. And to the same effect is a passage in his work against Celsus, ii. 12. “Aristotle is said to have companied with Plato twenty years,....ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας παρὰ τῷ Ἰησοῦ οὐδὲ τρία διέτριψεν ἔτη.” But, I suspect Origen here means something else, and perhaps is quite consistent with himself. He erroneously places the destruction of Jerusalem 40 years after the 15th of Tiberius. His date of that event is therefore, in this statement, A.D. 68. From this he requires us to deduct 35 years, for the half week : so we arrive at A.D. 33. Allow $3\frac{1}{4}$ years for the *prædicatio Domini* after the Resurrection : we arrive at A.D. 29. That is to say, he seems to extend the *prædicatio Domini* in a certain sense to between three and four years after the Resurrection, and then reckons $3\frac{1}{4}$ decades of years as the half week of Daniel, between the mystical “building up of the street and the wall,” (*reversus est Christus, et ædificavit plateam in qua sapientia fiducialiter agit, et murum in cujus fastigio prædicatur*) and the judgment on Jerusalem. The expression *tempus resurrectionis ipsius quando per dies xl.* (δι’ ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα) *apparens illis docebat eos de regno Dei*, seems to me to bear a different sense from that which at first sight appears. This conjecture was suggested to my mind by a remarkable passage of Eusebius, *Dem. Ev.* viii. 400. B. “The whole term of our Lord’s teaching and miracles is set down at $3\frac{1}{4}$ years, which is half a week....εἴη ἂν οὖν ἑβδομάς ἑτῶν μία ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ συνδιατριβῆς, ὃ τε πρὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ ὃ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ. Πρὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ παθούς ἐπὶ τρία καὶ ἡμῖν ἔτη τοῖς πᾶσιν ἑαυτὸν παρέχων, μαθηταῖς τε καὶ τοῖς μὴ τοιοῦτοις, ἀναγέγραπται...μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, τὸν ἴσον, ὡς εἰκὸς, τῶν ἑτῶν χρόνον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις συνῆν δι’ ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα ὀπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ συναλιζόμενος, καὶ λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς γοῦν αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων περιέχουσιν.” He evidently means to say that for $3\frac{1}{4}$ years after the Resurrection, the Lord shewed Himself from time to time to His Apostles. (Did he under-

stand δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα to mean, "at intervals of 40 days!"?)

It may also be remarked that Theodoret has something to the same effect, so far as relates to a marked period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years *after the Resurrection*. For this is the term which he reckons from the Crucifixion to the martyrdom of S. Stephen, "after which the Apostles ceased to preach exclusively to the Jews, and began to preach to the rest of the world." (Greswell, App. p. 86.) For these reasons I hesitate to adopt Mr. Greswell's inference, (i. 458, Ed. 2.) that Origen, at a later period, rejected the opinion which he had formerly maintained with respect to the duration of our Lord's ministry.

(3.) Tertullian, Julius Africanus, Hippolytus, Lactantius, the Computus Paschalis, Augustin, in short, all those writers who assign the Crucifixion to either of the years 29, 30, xv—xvi Tiberius, must of necessity have supposed that from the Baptism to the Passion was but one year, or little more. It is needless, therefore, to search their writings for express testimonies to this effect. Of Tertullian, however, it is to be remarked, that in his work against Marcion he dates the commencement of the Gospel from the 12th year of Tiberius, (A.D. 25) *Dominus a xii. Tiberii revelatus*—that is, I suppose, he believed that the ministry of John the Baptist commenced in the autumn of A.D. 25, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, the half-week of Daniel, before the Crucifixion.

(4.) Archelaus in the Dialogue with Manes (Routh, *Roll. Sacc.* iv. 218.) *nec in aliquo remoratus Dominus noster Jesus intra unius anni spatium languentium multitudines reddidit sanitati, mortuos luci.*

§ 87. On the other side, however, are some very early testimonies, or what seem to be such. Melito, bishop of Sardis, in the reign of M. Aurelius Antoninus Verus, (161—180 A.D.,

¹ In the *Æthiopic* text of the *Ascensio Esaiæ*, which seems to belong to the Gnostic apocryphal literature of the second or third century, Christ's sojourn on earth between the Resurrection and the Ascension is given as 545 days; evidently meaning a year and a half (365 + 180). The Valentinians and Ophites assigned

the term of 18 months to the same period. S. Iren. *Hær.* i. l. 5. and i. 34 *ad fin.* Probably these heretics wanted to make out a period of 37 6^m in all, and gave 27 to the ministry before the Passion, or perhaps 17 to S. John's, and 17 to that of Christ.

a contemporary therefore of S. Polycarp) in a fragment edited by Routh, *Rel. Sacc.* 1. 115.) has these words; "His Godhead He evinced by His miracles, ἐν τῇ τριετίᾳ τῇ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα, and His manhood ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα χρόνοις τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος." On which passage I remark, that this writer makes the whole life of our Lord on earth 33 years: which I take to be a vestige of an ancient tradition founded on the fact, that from the Incarnation, *i. e.* from the Annunciation, to the Passion were precisely 33 years. But, after the remark which has been made on the passage from Origen, it is not so clear to me that he makes the Passion the *terminus ad quem* of the 33 years, and by consequence assigns *three* years to the ministry of our Saviour.

The passage from the interpolated epistle of Ignatius, *Trallian.* x, quoted by Mr. Greswell (i. 451, Ed. 2.) is notoriously spurious, and comes from the pen of a writer who lived certainly not earlier than the fourth century. We have the original text, and its old Latin version, and this passage is in neither¹.

§ 88. The testimony of S. Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* ii. 39. p. 191, is important on more than one account, and therefore shall be given fully. The Valentinians, it seems, put a mystical sense, connected with their heresy, upon the fact assumed by them that our Lord was just 30 years old when He was baptized,

¹ The entire chapter in the genuine epistle consists of about four lines, which the interpolator has spun out to some fifty. In the genuine text there is not one word about the time of Christ's ministry; the interpolator, agreeably with the received notion of his age, makes Ignatius say concerning Christ, καὶ τρεῖς δεκάδας ἐτῶν πολιτευσάμενος, ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου ἀληθῶς καὶ οὐ δοκῆσει, καὶ τρεῖς ἐνιαυτοὺς κηρύξας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ποιήσας σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, ὑπὸ τῶν ψευδοῦνθαίων καὶ Π. Πιλάτου, &c. This Mr. Greswell considers "a noble testimony," adding: "*it has been usual to consider it an interpolation; but whether on sufficient grounds I am not prepared to say.*" Surely this learned writer must be aware of the grounds on which

it has been not "usually," but since the days of Ussher and Isaac Vossius, universally held by all scholars, that the shorter text of the Ignatian Epistles is the original, and the longer text of the old vulgate unquestionably the fabrication of a much later hand. And whereas he adds: "Its spirit and design, as taken in connexion with the context, are entirely in unison with the tenor of numerous other passages in the same epistles of Ignatius acknowledged to be genuine, and levelled in common against the various forms of ancient heresy, &c.," of course they are, for the fabricator did not invent, but amplify. In this way one might argue that Doddridge's paraphrase might claim to be considered as the original text of the New Testament.

and that He preached just one year of 12 months, "the acceptable year of the Lord." This Father, then, in refutation of this opinion, points out *three* passovers in S. John, between the Baptism and the Passion. These he enumerates thus: (1.) the passover before which the water was made wine (S. John ii. 13.): (2.) *post hæc iterum secunda vice ascendit in diem festum paschæ in Hierusalem, quando paralyticum qui juxta natatoriam jacebat xxxviii annos curavit.* That is, he assumes the festival John v. 1. to be a passover. (3.) The passover of the Crucifixion. Whence he infers: *Tria hæc paschatis tempora non sunt annus unus.* Hence it follows, I think, incontestably, that S. Irenæus did not read the words τὸ πάσχα in S. John vi. 4. If he was so anxious to find a passover where none was (v. 1.), he was not likely to overlook a passage where one *was* mentioned, especially as he notices the contents of that very passage, *et iterum inde secedens trans mare Tiberiadis, ubi et quum multa turba eum fuisset sequuta, de quinque panibus, &c.*—It is remarkable, and a circumstance which may help us to estimate the degree of importance due to the statements of this ancient Father in matters of this kind, that in the sequel of this chapter he asserts, *as a certain fact derived by tradition from S. John*, that our Lord was still teaching at the age of 40 or 50: *quam (ætatem) habens Dominus noster docebat sicut Evangelium* [S. John viii. 37?] *et omnes seniores testantur qui in Asia apud Joannem discipulum Domini convenerunt, id ipsum tradidisse eis Joannem, qui vixit ad Trajani tempora. Quidam autem eorum non solum Joannem sed et alios Apostolos viderunt, et hæc eadem ab ipsis audierunt, et testantur de hujusmodi relatione.*

§ 89. Among later writers, we have seen, it is usual to assign a period of two, three, or three and a half years to our Saviour's ministry, on the ground (1.) of three passovers mentioned by S. John ii. vi. xii. (2.) of the half week in Daniel's prophecy.

With respect to the first of these grounds, for the other I shall not consider in this place, I affirm (1.) that the reading of the text, John vi. 4, ἡν δὲ ἐγγύς τὸ πάσχα ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, though it is found, I believe, in all the MSS. and versions, could not have been found in the text of the two first centuries. Had it been there, S. Clement, Tertullian and

others, with these words before their eyes, could never have retained and handed down the positive statement that between the Baptism and the Passion only one year, *i. e.* two passovers, intervened. Later writers, as Apollinarius and Eusebius and Chrysostom, found the words in their text, and felt themselves bound thereby to depart from the more ancient tradition.

§ 90. (2.) It is certain that S. Irenæus did not read them in his copy: he is greatly concerned to make out a list of three passovers, and this he does by making the festival John v. 1. a passover; the festival in John vi. 4. he does not reckon as such.

(3.) And certain it is too, that Origen was not aware of the existence of these two words. Unfortunately, indeed, that part of his commentary which relates to the text in question is lost. But in the comment on iv. 35, "Say ye not there are yet four months, and then cometh the harvest?" he enables us to draw this inference with almost absolute certainty. He is contending that the Lord spake those words *not* at a time when it actually wanted four months to harvest: for, in that case, "the time must have been winter; but it was just after a passover, John ii. 13; for that the Lord did not tarry long at Ænon baptising, follows from iv. 43, 45. And after this was a feast of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem, v. i. 'Εὰν δὲ αὐτῇ (l. αὐτῇ or αὐτῇ) ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ πάσχα ᾦν, οὐ προσκεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς· στενοχωρεῖ τε τὸ ἀκόλουθον τῆς ἱστορίας, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεὶ μετ' ὀλίγα ἐπιφέρεται, ὅτι ᾦν ἐγγὺς ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡ σκηνοπηγία. *i. e.* "If this (John v. 1.) was the feast of the *passover*, its name is not given [as it surely would have been if the *passover* was meant], and the order of the history becomes embarrassed, especially as a little further on it comes to be said, 'The feast of the Jews was near, namely the Scenopegia.'" How could Origen have written thus if he had seen τὸ πάσχα at vi. 4? Origen, the father (as we say) of Biblical Criticism, to be guilty of such an oversight! no one who is at all acquainted with the writings of this learned, accurate and acute-minded man, and especially with his Commentaries on S. John, will imagine this to be possible. But are we then to suppose that John vi. 4. was wholly wanting in Origen's text, and that the passage cited is vii. 2? or, that instead of ᾦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ π. ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, he read,

ἦν δὲ ἐγγύς ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἡ σκηνοπηγία! or lastly, that he read simply, ἦν δὲ ἐγγύς ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, and that ἡ σκηνοπηγία is added by himself as his own explanation? The second or third of these suppositions seems to me more likely than the first, for the passage vii. 2. can hardly be said to come μετ' ὀλίγα after v. i. With respect to the last supposition, it is to be observed that ἡ ἑορτή, standing by itself always denotes the feast of Tabernacles¹. It is manifest from the passage above referred to, which is too long to be quoted at length in this place, that Origen understood by ἑορτή in chap. v. i. the Pentecost: and this seems to have been the established interpretation in the Greek church: so Cyrill. Alex., Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Euthymius² understand it.—I am at a loss to conceive what circumstantial evidence upon a critical question could be stronger than this. Accident has deprived us of Origen's comment on the passage vi. 4, and of the positive evidence which that comment must have supplied on the one side or the other. But then we know in general, that Origen held the ministry of our Lord to have occupied not more than a year and some months, which is incompatible with the received text of John vi. 4.—and further, we have a long argument upon a collateral point in which the words τὸ πάσχα in that passage are entirely *ignored* by this early and most critical writer.

§ 91. To the testimony of Irenæus and Origen, I confidently add that of another learned doctor of the Alexandrine church. S. Cyril, who has written an elaborate commentary on the Gospel of S. John, as entirely ignores the words in question as either Irenæus or Origen. This will be manifest to any one who will attentively read that Father's comment on John vi. 1. (lib. iii. c. 4. p. 268. Ed. Par. 1638.) He observes that wherever our Lord's departures from Jerusalem are mentioned a mystery is signified, viz. the withdrawal of his grace

¹ "The only festival which in the Talmudical language is ever called simply *חג* *chag*, 'the feast,' is the Scenopagia."—Lücke *Comm. in S. John*. t. ii. p. 8.

² Scaliger, Grotius, and Lightfoot make it the second passover. Kepler

and Petavius, the feast of Purim, a month earlier. Bengel holds with the ancients, that it was Pentecost. Lücke, who sums up and criticises the different views, leaves it doubtful whether it was Passover or Purim.

from the Jews and translation of it to the Gentiles. “*After these things*, &c: *i. e.* after the matters related in chap. v., the healing of the impotent man on the Sabbath-day, the Lord’s expostulation with the Jews, their malice, their plotting to put Him to death—After these things done and said, the Lord departs from Jerusalem as of necessity, and since the Jews’ *passover* was near, He even crossed the lake of Tiberias. Now since we have said that the cause which chiefly urged Him to withdraw, and to a place so distant from Jerusalem, was the proximity of the *passover*, I think it right to shew that Jesus did exceedingly well in declining to be found in Jerusalem at that particular conjuncture. For the Law of Moses ordered the Jews from all the region round about to go up to Jerusalem, [to keep the *passover*, one would expect from the preceding context: but no!]*—*there to keep that typical feast, the SCENOPEGIA. And here the spiritual man will understand the gathering together in Christ of all the saints, when, even from the whole world, after the resurrection of the dead, they will come together into the city which is above, the heavenly Jerusalem, there to offer thanks for the true Scenopegia, *i. e.* for the compacting together and perpetuity of our bodies, when corruption is dissolved and death fallen into death. But with respect to the historical meaning of what is here said, the number of them that went up to Jerusalem [to this feast] was immense, and it is to be supposed that the Pharisees were well able to influence the multitude, if they would raise a clamour against any man as a transgressor of the law...This the Lord well knew, and therefore withdrew Himself with the disciples beyond the sea of Tiberias. He shunned the Jews because they sought to kill Him, as the evangelist declares (John vii. 1.) But perhaps some one will say, ‘I grant that He no longer walked in Judæa that He might not undergo death before His hour, but that He avoided the feast also I do not yet perceive:’ [*i. e.* that you were right in alleging that ‘what chiefly urged Him to withdraw was the proximity of the feast’]. Observe then, that His brethren came to Him in Galilee saying, Depart hence, &c.; to whom He answers, “Go ye up to this feast; I go not up yet to this feast for my time is not yet fully come.” It is manifest therefore, that the Saviour departed from Jerusalem, not of His own accord, but to avoid per-

secution'."—Here is plain proof that S. Cyril did not read τὸ πάσχα in his copy of S. John. These words are twice inserted, indeed, in Cyril's text, but by a later hand fetching them from the received text of John vi. 4. The interpolator did not heed that by this supposed correction he made his author write nonsense: "He avoided Jerusalem because *the Passover* was near; for vast numbers would be then gathered together at Jerusalem, for the law required all the Jews to go up to the feast of *Tabernacles*." Nothing can be plainer than that for πάσχα in both places (ἐπέπερ ἦν ἐγγὺς τὸ π. and διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς εἶναι τὸ π.) we must replace ἡ σκηνοπηγία². It follows too from the latter part of the preceding extract that S. Cyril makes the *Scenopegia* of vi. 4. the same feast with that of vii. 2. for he alleges the latter passage in proof of what he had said, that the Lord's chief inducement to withdraw (vi. 1.) was the proximity of the feast described at vi. 4. Nor does anything occur in the remainder of the commentary on this and the following chapter, to shew that the writer had any doubt or misgiving on this point. He does not hint that there existed a different reading of the passage: to him the *ἐορτή* is the *σκηνοπηγία*: he assumes it as notorious and needing no discussion. Surely this must imply that he read in vi. 4. as in vii. 2. ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς ἡ ἐορτή τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἡ σκηνοπηγία. This, then, is a most important testimony: for it must be considered that the copies which would be used by

¹ Μετὰ τοίνυν ταῦτα τὰ πεπραγμένα τε καὶ εἰρημένα ἀπανίσταται τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὡς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ἐπέπερ ἦν ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα (1. ἡ σκηνοπηγία) τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς ὀλίγον ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς εὐρήσομεν καὶ αὐτὴν διέπλευσε τὴν Τιβεριάδος θάλασσαν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ τί μάλιστα κατασοβῆσαν αὐτὸν καὶ μεταχωρεῖν ἀναπερικὸς εἰς ἐτέρους τε οἰχέσθαι τόπους καὶ τοσοῦτον τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀπεσχοινομένης ἐκεῖνο δὴ μάλιστα ὑπάρχειν ἀρτίως εἰρήκαμεν τὸ ἐγγὺς εἶναι τὸ Πάσχα (1. τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν) τῶν Ἰουδαίων, δεικνύειν πρέπειν ὑπολαμβάνω καλῶς δὴ λίαν τὸ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις εὐρίσκεσθαι κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ παραιτησάμενον τὸν

Ἰησοῦν. Οὐκοῦν νόμος ὁ διὰ Μ. ἀπὸ πασῆς τῆς περιοικίδος ἀνατρέχειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐκέλευεν, ἐκεῖ τὴν ἐν τύπῳ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἐπιτελέσοντας ἐορτὴν. Καὶ νοήσει μὲν ἐντεῦθεν ὁ πνευματικός τὴν ἀπάντων τῶν ἀγίων ἐπισυναγωγὴν εἰς Χριστὸν, κ.τ.λ. τὸ δὲ ὅσον εἰπεῖν εἰς τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας γίνεσθαι πεφυκός, κ.τ.λ.

² I suspect that the vicious alteration of Cyril's text is due to no very early hand. Barradius, in his Commentary on the Gospels, notes simply that Cyril read ἡ σκηνοπηγία in John vi. 4. Were the alterations made by the Paris editors of 1638? Having access to no other edition but that, I cannot answer the question.

the bishop of Alexandria were those which had been collected and collated by Origen.

§ 92. I do not find that these testimonies have been considered by the critical editors and commentators of the New Testament. *Scholze* notes the variations as follows: "Chrysostom omits ἡ ἑορτὴ once: 87. 96. 97. *al.* and Syr. Peschito have τὸ πάσχα τῆς ἑορτῆς τ. 'Ι.: Syr. Pers. Ar. p. Erpen. Æth. ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ πάσχα." The interpolation is doubtless ancient, older in fact than the versions, and generally received when these were made. But consider the words themselves as they now stand. Suppose S. John wrote ἦν δὲ ἐγγύς τὸ πάσχα, or τὸ π. τῶν 'Ιουδαίων: what need was there to add ἑορτὴ here any more than in ii. 13, xi. 55, τὸ π. τ. 'Ι.? at most he might have said τὸ π., ἑορτὴ τ. 'Ι. ("a feast") or ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ πάσχα as at xiii. 1. Luke ii. 41, but τὸ π. 'Η ἑορτὴ τ. 'Ι. is, I believe, unexampled¹, and for this plain reason, because the passover is not "the feast of the Jews" κατ' ἐξοχήν: the preeminence implied in that expression belongs to the feast of Tabernacles. And, I think, the variations above noted may all be referred to a feeling of the impropriety of the text as it now stands: thus some MSS. and the Peschito read τὸ πάσχα τῆς ἑορτῆς τ. 'Ι. "the passover-day of the feast (of Azyma), other versions ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ π. τ. 'Ι. "the pass-over-feast of the Jews."

§ 93. Now the passage before cited from S. Irenæus suggests a critical probability with respect to the inducement which led to the interpolation of the words τὸ πάσχα. Irenæus, in his eagerness to refute the particular tenet which the Valentinians sought to connect with the chronology, made out a list of three passovers, with the help of an assumption, which Origen has condemned on good and sufficient grounds, and which does not seem to have been adopted by other interpreters until a later time, when it was sought to make out a period of 3½ years for our Lord's ministry. I suppose then, that the interpolation was made with a view to that particular con-

¹ The only passage at all resembling it in the N.T., Joh. ii. 23. ἐν τῇ πάσχα ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, (where Lachmann ought not to have bracketted ἐν) means "during

the passover, while the feast was proceeding;" so Meyer ad l. während der Passahzeit auf dem Feste (in der Festfeier begriffen).

troversy which Irenæus, it was felt, had not sufficiently settled : *i. e.* it might be urged against the Gnostics that our Lord's ministry certainly occupied two years at least, inasmuch as ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων vi. 4, must needs be τὸ πάσχα; hence these words, inserted first as a marginal gloss, might ultimately find their way into the text.

§ 94. If it be asked, Why was this notice of the proximity of the feast (of Tabernacles) inserted by S. John? one answer at least, is obvious: the whole of S. John's narrative is grouped round the Jewish festivals. This is the plan on which his gospel is framed. Therefore, when he proceeds to narrate the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand, he deems it necessary, it may be, to call attention to the fact that this miracle, like that of the water turned into wine, and that of the raising of Lazarus, occurred not long before a festival and a visit to Jerusalem².

And this leads to a further argument:

(5.) If we examine the order of the festivals noted by S. John, omitting the words τὸ πάσχα, we shall see that these festivals form just one complete cycle. Namely,

τὸ πάσχα, ii. 13. *Passover.*

ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, v. 1. *Pentecost.*

ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, vi. 4.

ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡ σκηνοπηγία, vii. 2. } *Tabernacles.*

τὰ ἑγκαίνια, x. 22. *Dedication.*

τὸ πάσχα. *Passover of the Crucifixion.*

Lastly: if we accept this view, it becomes comparatively easy to construct a Harmony of the four Gospels:—we can also fill up the whole time, with the events recorded; we are not obliged to leave intervals of several months in the time of our Lord's Ministry unaccounted for. This part of my subject will be best considered in a separate chapter, when we shall have placed the results of this discussion beyond all dispute by arguments which cannot be noticed in this place.

§ 95. To sum up this portion of the argument:—It being proved that the year of the Passion could be no other

² Or it may be, that the mention of the feast being near at hand, is meant to explain the fact of the great multitudes which were then gathered together.

than the year 29 B.C., which is the year designated by the oldest tradition,—and proved, that the first Passover was that of the year 28, it follows that *the Lord's ministry lasted little more than one year;—which the ancients assert, or assume to have been the case.* And this conclusion is not, as the later Fathers maintain, inconsistent with the notes of time contained in S. John's Gospel: for the note on which all depends is shown to be an interpolation by external as well as internal evidence.

And now the question proposed for discussion at the head of this section, is divested of much, if not all, of the difficulty which seemed to beset it. We need not hesitate to adopt, in a modified form, the explanation given by Sanclemente, namely, that the heading of S. Luke's third chapter contains the date, not of the mission of S. John the Baptist, but of *the year of our Lord's Ministry*, especially in reference to the great events with which it closed. As one half at least of the year belonged to the 15th of Tiberius, and nearly the whole of it if S. Luke followed the Jewish usage, and entirely the whole if he simply identified the imperial with the consular year beginning 1 January, he designates the year accordingly, as the 15th of Tiberius. It is not clear to me whether we ought to omit δὲ (as in some copies), and besides place a full stop before Ἐγένετο. But, even if we do not, the sense is the same as if it had been more punctiliously expressed in this fashion, "In the 15th of Tiberius, &c....the word of the Lord having come to John the Baptist, &c....Jesus himself was baptized. But Herod shut up John in prison, and from that time Jesus began to preach, &c."¹

¹ Sanclemente (as I learn from Ideler, *Handbuch* ii. 419) explains the difficulty thus:—"The note of time, Luke iii. 1. relates not to the Call of John the Baptist, but (as Tertullian, Clement, Lactantius, and Julius Africanus must have understood it) to Christ's sufferings and death. S. Luke, like the two first evangelists, gives the history only of the last year of Christ, from the time of the imprisonment and execution of John the Baptist, (comp. Euseb. H. E. iii. 24.) What he premises is merely a summary

account concerning John, from the beginning of his ministry to his execution, the latter is properly the *terminus a quo* with which he begins his narrative, and to which that note of time must be referred. What Sanclemente advances, in proof of this view, concerning the several chronological characters assigned by S. Luke, and especially the *highpriesthood of Caiaphas*, I must omit for the sake of brevity." Sanclemente does not assign the baptism of our Saviour to A.D. 28. and he recognizes at least three

NOTE.

SINCE the completion of the present work, I have met with Mann's Essay "*de veris annis D.N. Jesu Christi natali et emortuali*," (London 1752.) I was aware that this learned writer had contended for the ancient opinion concerning the duration of our Lord's Ministry, but I had no knowledge of the particular line of argument taken by him. His results are: that our Lord was born in the course of the year B.C. 7, baptized A.D. 25, crucified Friday 22nd March, A.D. 26. The following is an outline of the course of his argument:

The *annus natalis*, is thus deduced:—Herod died B.C. 4. and the birth of Christ preceded that event by two or three years. The grounds of this assertion are: (1.) the arrival of the Magi; which cannot be placed immediately before or soon after the Purification: (2.) the return of the Holy Family to Nazareth after the Purification, and thence again to Bethlehem before the arrival of the Magi; for this he takes to be the only possible way of reconciling S. Luke with S. Matthew: (3.) the ancient tradition, that Jesus was two years in Egypt, coupled with the prophecy Isai. vii. 16: (4.) the time of the census, which he makes to be U.C. 747. B.C. 7: (5.) the general peace throughout the Roman Empire in that year, signified in the Angelic hymn, Peace on earth.

The *annus emortualis* is defined (1.) by Daniel's Prophecy: Mr. Mann places the Passion at the end of the $7 + 62$ weeks = 483 years, which years he reckons from 458 B.C. Nisan: (2.) by the Lord's age at his Baptism, which preceded the Passion by not more than a year or 15 months: if He was born in the spring of B.C. 7, and baptized late in A.D. 24, or early in A.D. 25, His age would be less than 31 years: (3.) by the dates in Luke iii. which (*à priori*) must needs mean the year of the Lord's Preaching and Passion: (4.) Christ preached but one year; this is to be proved (i.) by the saying, "the acceptable year of the Lord;" (ii.) by the ancient tradition of the Church; (iii.) by the testimony of the three first gospels, which mention but two passovers; (iv.) with which S. John agrees; for c. vi. *has been transposed out of its place, which should be before c. v.*, and the feast intended was the Pentecost: (5.) Christ cleansed the temple but once; namely, just before His Passion; the 46 years therefore of the building of Herod's temple expired at the time of the Passion. (6.) The 14 Nisan coincided with Friday only in A.D. 26 and A.D. 33. [He is mistaken in the latter date, and has overlooked the earlier possible date of the Passover in A.D. 29.] (7.) The council of Cæsarea A.D. 195 and S. Clem. Alex. testify the date 22nd March. (See § 80.) Of course, Mr. Mann takes the 15th of Tiberius to be reckoned from his participation in the empire, in the life of Augustus.

passovers, that of John vi. 4. being one. Hence, I suppose, few will be inclined to accept his explanation of Luke iii. 1. But there would be nothing paradoxical

about it, if, together with the ancient date of the Passion, he had affirmed the ancient belief concerning the duration of our Lord's Ministry.

It appears then that Mr. Mann's processes and results differ materially from those which have been given in the present work. Especially, I would beg the reader to notice, that in this argument *the duration of our Lord's Ministry supposed to be proved, is made one of the elements in the calculation of the year of the Passion*; in mine, it comes in as a corollary from the determination of the year, which rests on other grounds. The like difference obtains also in the place which we severally assign to Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks: Mr. Mann would deduce the date of the Passion from the Prophecy; we have as yet taken no notice of the Prophecy, reserving it for a separate consideration when it will be shown how it is to be explained in connexion with our dates. Scripture chronologists are somehow especially prone to the error of attempting to *prove* a matter by considerations which, at most, agree with, or attest, or illustrate the matter, when proved, but of themselves prove it not.—I would further request the reader to notice the violent hypothesis to which the writer has recourse in respect of the arrangement of S. John's Gospel. Besides omitting τὸ πᾶν (vi. 4), which he does on general grounds merely, without noticing the critical argument which we have raised in § 90 ff., he contends for the transposition of the two chapters v. and vi.—It is not surprising, then, if the scheme advocated by this writer obtained no acceptance among the learned, inasmuch as he based it on insufficient grounds, and identified it with matters intrinsically improbable. One error lay in the writer's way of stating the proof, another in the specific result which identifies the year of the Passion with the year A. D. 26; which is contradicted by the concurrent testimony of all antiquity.—I add, that I am not acquainted with Priestley's more recent essay on the same side of the question, and that, so far as I am aware, the critical argument in § 90 ff. has not been touched by preceding chronologists or critics.

CHAPTER II.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE APOSTOLIC HISTORY.

AGREEABLY to the proposed plan and method of the present enquiry, I shall *first* examine how far the chronological characters contained in the Acts of the Apostles are determinative for the date of our Lord's Passion. I do not here assume as proved, that the year was A.D. 29., and so make that the starting point for the construction of the Chronology of the Acts; but in the reverse order, I undertake to shew that the earlier part of the Acts, in connexion with S. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, affords proof that the history contained in the Acts begins not later than A.D. 30, and indeed more probably, at A.D. 29. This result then, is to be regarded as confirmatory and corroborative of the evidence alleged in the preceding section. And, if the reader is solicitous, in the first instance, only about the constructive elements of the scheme as a whole, with a view to the proof of the cardinal dates around which the "Economy of Times and Seasons" revolves, he may from that point (§ 104) pass on to the next step of the proof, namely, that which concerns the verification of the date of the Babylonian Captivity, *i. e.* to the First Section of the Third Chapter of this Work. The remainder of the present chapter will be occupied with the determination and construction, in detail, of the Chronology of that part of the Apostolic History which is contained in, or connected with, the Acts of the Apostles and the other canonical scriptures of the New Testament.

SECTION I.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

§ 97. THE first twelve chapters of the Acts of the Apostles exhibit but one note of time which will be found strictly determinative for the chronology: that, namely, which belongs to the death of Herod Agrippa. This king began to reign in the very beginning of the reign of Caius, March, A.D. 37, and reigned seven years; four, as tetrarch under Caius, three, as king under Claudius, Ant. xix. 8, 2. At the time of his death *τρίτον έτος αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας έπεπλήρωτο*, i.e. the third year was complete from the time of the grant made by Claudius, xix. 5, 1. (*προσθήκην δὲ αὐτῷ ποιεῖται πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου βασιλευθεῖσαν ὃς ἦν πάππος αὐτοῦ, Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Σαμαρείαν*). Now the third year of Claudius himself was complete in January, A.D. 44. And, since Agrippa was tetrarch and king but seven years in all', and of these, four under Caius, it follows that his decease occurred in the early part of A.D. 44.

Now in the Acts c. xii., just between the notice of an arrival of S. Paul at Jerusalem and that of his departure, the historian interposes the mention of Agrippa's visit to Jerusalem, the martyrdom of S. James, and imprisonment of S. Peter, Agrippa's departure to Cæsarea, and his death there: whence it is an obvious inference, that S. Paul's visit to Jerusalem coincided with the time of Agrippa's visit and of his death. S. Luke adds, that S. Peter was under arrest during "the days of unleavened bread," xii. 3: hence it scarcely admits of a doubt, that S. Paul's visit to Jerusalem took place in the year 44 at the passover.

¹ B. J. ii. 11. 6. Agrippa dies *βεβα-
σιλευκῶς μὲν ἔτη τρία πρότιρον δὲ τῶν
τετραρχιῶν τρισὶν ἑτέροις ἔτεσιν ἀφη-*

γησάμενος. The three years of his tetrarchate are reckoned here from his arrival in Palestine, A.D. 38. *Supra* § 31.

§ 98. But S. Paul, in the Epistle to the Galatians, mentions two visits, and in such a way as to leave no room for the supposition of any other within the term of years there assigned. The first visit, he says, was *μετὰ ἑτὴ τρία*, namely, from his conversion, or else from his return to Damascus from the wilderness, i. 18. The second was *διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν*: but whether these fourteen years are measured from the first visit (which of course is the most natural supposition), or from the same epoch as the three years, remains to be determined. Now in the Acts the two first visits of S. Paul are placed, the one immediately after his escape from Damascus (where, or in its neighbourhood, he had spent the time after his conversion which is described as *ἡμέραι ἰκαναί*, ix. 23): the other, when he went up with Barnabas as the bearer of the collections which were made in prospect of the dearth foretold by Agabus, xi. 30. The second of these is the visit which is placed in connexion with the death of Herod Agrippa.

The other visits on record are:—(3.) that which was occasioned by the disputes at Antioch which gave rise to the Council at Jerusalem, Acts xv: and, (4.) the visit related Acts xviii. *fin.* when S. Paul having sailed from Corinth and arrived at Cæsarea went up thence and saluted the church at Jerusalem.—We need not pursue the enumeration any further. Of these, the 2nd, 3rd, or 4th, must have been the visit *διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν* in Gal. ii.: unless indeed S. Luke has omitted to mention one of the Apostle's visits; a supposition which we will consider presently.

§ 99. I think it certain that the second of the two visits mentioned in Gal. i. ii. is the same with that recorded in Acts xii. *i. e.* at the passover A.D. 44. For these reasons:

(1.) The descriptions in Gal. ii. Acts xi. xii. fully agree. S. Paul says, "I went up by, or, on account of revelation." And in Acts xi. a revelation is mentioned in v. 27. "Agabus signified *by the Spirit* the coming dearth," and in consequence of this revelation S. Paul went up to Jerusalem. Besides, as this visit was followed by the revelation which ordered SS. Paul and Barnabas to be sent to the Gentiles, it may be that the Apostle had received a private revelation to the same effect anterior to that visit.

Again: he says, "I communicated unto them that Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately, to them which were of reputation, &c." In the Acts, the public preaching to the Gentiles commenced at Antioch, and was the occasion of Barnabas being sent thither from Jerusalem. "Then departed Barnabas to Tarsus for to seek Saul; and when he had found him, he brought him unto Antioch, and it came to pass that a whole year they assembled themselves with the church and taught much people, &c.:" S. Paul, therefore, had begun before the year 44 to preach to the Gentiles. Of this "communication," nothing is said in the Acts; but then the narrative is very concise. All that is said of this visit is, that the contributions were sent to Jerusalem "by the hands of Barnabas and Saul;" "and Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem when they had fulfilled their ministry."—And again: S. Paul says, "When they saw that the Gospel of the Uncircumcision was committed unto me....they gave to us the right hands of fellowship that we should go unto the heathen.... only they would that we should remember the poor, ὃ καὶ ἐπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. In the Acts, the very purpose of his visit, the bearing alms to Jerusalem, was a proof of his σπουδῇ in this matter.—In short, the difference between the two accounts, Gal. ii. and Acts xi. xii., consists solely in the additional circumstances.

(2.) If these two accounts do not refer to the same visit, then the visit in Gal. ii. was either that of Acts xv. on occasion of the Council, or some other. But it could not be the visit in Acts xv., for that of Gal. ii. was private, that of Acts xv. public: in *that* the acknowledgment of S. Paul's ministry to the Gentiles was coupled with one condition only, "that he should remember the poor;" in *this*, with several, namely, the decrees of the council. In short, the discrepancy between the two accounts (as Paley has remarked) is such that they can hardly be referred to the same fact. Besides, it is evident upon an attentive examination of the scope of Gal. i. ii. that the second visit there mentioned could not be the visit which gave rise to the Council, and that it was prior to that event. S. Paul sets out with declaring himself an Apostle "not by man," the preacher of a Gospel "not of man." In proof of his assertion he recites his own history

from the time of his conversion, declaring that prior to the commencement of his ministry among the Gentiles he had no communication, of any moment to the formation of his body of doctrine, with the other Apostles. At the first visit, he went up *ιστορήσαι Πέτρον*, "to have a personal interview with Peter," and saw no other Apostle but James: at the second, he went up in consequence of a revelation, not to receive instructions, but for another purpose; and he availed himself of this opportunity to lay before the leading men of the church at Jerusalem, privately, the Gospel which he had already begun to preach to the Gentiles. The occasion of this private communication was the circulation of Judaistic notions by false brethren, ii. 4. This is not mentioned, it is true, in the Acts in connexion with the visit in A.D. 44. c. xi. xii., but in the nature of the case it was likely, and almost certain, to happen, as soon as the Gospel began to be preached to and received by Gentiles, which we know to have been the case before A.D. 44. Besides, as S. Paul is relating *all* the communications which he ever had with the Apostles at Jerusalem, it is certain he would not omit the visit in A.D. 44: but he *does* omit it if the visit in Gal. ii. be that of Acts xv. Besides, the whole matter in dispute between the Judaizers and the Gentile churches was definitively settled in the decrees of the Council: *after* which, it is incredible that Peter on his coming to Antioch should have dissembled in the manner related in Gal. ii.—On these accounts, it seems indisputable that the visit *διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἑτῶν* cannot be the visit on occasion of the council.

Now if the visit Gal. ii. be not that of Acts xv., it must be either the visit of Acts xi. xii. or some other which S. Luke has omitted to mention. But the only time, after the visit in 44 A.D., at which S. Paul could have gone up to Jerusalem, is the *χρόνος οὐκ ὀλίγος* during which the two Apostles abode at Antioch after the first circuit, Acts xiv. 28. If such a visit did take place at that time, how are we to account for S. Luke's silence concerning it? And besides, as has been already urged, the scope of S. Paul's argument in the Epistle obliges us to suppose that, down to the time of which he there speaks, he had held no other communication with the Apostles at Jerusalem than what is there related. But if the visit Gal. ii. 1. be a later visit than that in Acts xii. *i. e.* if it be a *third* visit,

then he *has* omitted to mention this *second* one: that is, he *had* other communications with the Apostles than he has here recited.

On these grounds, then, I identify the visit διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν in Gal. ii. with the visit which coincided with the death of Herod Agrippa, i. e. Passover A. D. 44¹.

§ 100. Now A. D. 44 being 14 years, complete or current, from some event, the date of that event, whatever it be, is either A. D. 30 or 31: it follows that the event from which the 14 years are reckoned cannot be the first visit mentioned in Gal. i.; for since that was μετὰ ἑτὴ τρία, i. e. at least two years complete, from S. Paul's conversion, the epoch of the 2 + 13 years, or date of the conversion, will be the passover of A. D. 29; which is the earliest possible date of the Crucifixion; consequently there is no time left for the series of events which occurred between the Crucifixion and the conversion of S. Paul. There remains therefore no resource², but to abandon the *prima facie* sense of the words, and to infer that both terms, the 3 years and the 14, are reckoned from the same epoch, viz. from the conversion of S. Paul: which event is hereby placed to the year 30 or 31, according as the 14 years are reckoned complete or current.—This is the proof of my assertion (§ 74) that *the Chronology of the Acts determines the Passion to a year not later than A. D. 30*. And as the expressions μετὰ ἑτὴ τρία and δι' ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων, understood of complete time, give the year 30 as the epoch, it follows that, in respect of the chronology of the Acts, the year 29 is more probable than the year 30.

¹ S. Irenæus *Hær.* iii. 13. seems to assume that the visit Gal. ii. is that of Acts xv. *Deinde post annos xiv. &c. Si quis igitur diligenter ex Act. Apost. scrutetur tempus de quo scriptum est* (Act. xv.) *ascendisse Hierosolymam propter prædictam quæstionem, inveniet eos qui prædicti sunt a Paulo annos concurrentes* (Gal. ii. 1.) Tertullian *adv. Marcion.* i. 20. argues that (Gal. ii. 1.) the second journey (Acts xii.) is meant.

² Unless, indeed, we suppose (with Ulrich, in the *Theolog. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1836.) that S. Paul wrote δι' ἐτῶν

τεσσάρων, ΔΙΑ Δ' ΕΤΩΝ, whence the reading ΔΙ' ΙΔ' ΕΤΩΝ might easily be generated. And in fact the *Paschal Chronicle*, p. 436. ed. Niebuhr. notices an opinion according to which this second visit occurred *four years* after S. Paul's conversion, which supposes the reading τεσσάρων in Gal. ii. 1. It does not appear, however, that this opinion rested on the authority of MSS.: perhaps it was only a critical conjecture. All extant MSS., fathers, and versions, give δεκατεσσάρων.

§ 101. Our date, then, of the Pentecostal Effusion is May A. D. 29. No great length of time is requisite for the subsequent events down to the martyrdom of S. Stephen. The incidents in Acts iii. iv. may have occurred within a few weeks, or even days, after Pentecost³, and indeed this is most likely, since the description of the faith and charity and "first love" of the church of Jerusalem follows at the end of this narrative, iv. 32—35. Nor is there anything to forbid the supposition that Gamaliel's advice was given soon after the same incident. The interval of quietude, during which the seven deacons were appointed, which continued until the martyrdom of S. Stephen, need not be supposed to have lasted many months: we get a more than sufficient interval, if we say that the martyrdom occurred at or before the passover of A. D. 30. The occasion of S. Stephen's arrest was the controversy with certain τῶν ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῆς λεγομένης Λιβερτίνων καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας, vi. 9. *i. e.* with certain of the foreign Jews of Rome, Africa and Cilicia⁴: the presence of these men at Jerusalem implies that a festival was going on at the time. As the movement was evidently tumultuary, no inference can be drawn from it with respect to the absence of the procurator: it seems idle to argue, that, as the Sanhedrim at this time had no power to pass sentence of death, they would not have dared to exercise it, if there had been a resident procurator at the time, and consequently that this incident must

³ The mention of *Annas ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ Καϊάφας καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκ γένους ἀρχιερατικοῦ*, iv. 6. only proves that this incident occurred before the year 36, in which (at latest) Caiaphas was deposed. That the title *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς* is here, as on former occasions, given to Annas in preference to Caiaphas, is to be explained in the manner suggested in a former note (§ 73), *i. e.* he was virtually and in popular estimation the high priest.

⁴ These *Libertini*, being here connected with a geographical description, have been supposed to be Jews of a city of Africa, which, at a later period, was an episcopal see: *episcopus Libertinensis* occurs in the subscriptions to the Acts of

the Council of Carthage in 411. *Suidas*: *Λιβερτῖνοι, ὄνομα Ἰθύνου*. If the word is Roman, it probably denotes the Jewish freed-men of Rome, of whom there were great numbers. *Tacit. Ann.* ii. 85. *Philo. legat. ad Cai.* Opp. ii. 568. I incline to the latter opinion: for *Libertum* or *Liberta* or *Libertinum* is unknown except from the subscription above quoted, and was probably too inconsiderable a place to give name to a synagogue. I scarcely need remark, that S. Luke speaks of *one* synagogue, not several: "some of the synagogue called after the Libertini (or Roman) and Cyrenæan and Alexandrine Jews, and (some) of the Jews from Cilicia."

belong to the conjuncture when Pilate was dismissed to Rome by Vitellius, and Judæa was left for a while without a resident governor.—Now whatever be the date of S. Stephen's martyrdom, the conversion of Saul belongs to about the same time. His mission to Damascus was likely to occur very soon after the outbreak of the persecution. An interval of even one year from the Crucifixion was sufficient to have spread the faith, by means of the Jews who came up to the festivals, to the synagogues of Syria. It may have been carried to Damascus by some of those who were converted on the day of Pentecost.

§ 102. Enough has been said to shew that so early a date as the first year after the Ascension is nowise inconsistent with any known facts of the history. We will now compare this result with the testimony of the ancients, founded on a tradition which it seems unreasonable to call in question. The date, then, of the martyrdom of S. Stephen assigned by the generality of ancient writers, is *the very year of the ascension*¹. Hence I suppose the true date to be A. D. 29, either at the feast of Tabernacles or the Encænia. As the conversion of Saul occurred but a few months, or perhaps even weeks, later, it must be assigned to the earlier part of A. D. 30. And this is the very year to which it is referred by S. Hippolytus (*περὶ τῶν β'. ἀποστόλων*), who says that S. Paul was converted in the year after the Ascension, A. D. 30, and suffered martyrdom 35 years after his conversion.—Three years he spent in privacy in Arabia, that is, in the neighbourhood of Damascus. At the end of the period which is thus described, he escaped from the conspiracy of the Jews of that city², and came to Jerusalem, where he tarried 15 days with Cephas, Gal. i. 18. Acts ix. 26. To this visit we must refer the vision related in Acts xxii. 17,

¹ *Plerique censent* die 26 Decemb. anni ejusdem Juliani quo Christus obiit, Stephanum lapidatum. Excerptor antiquus Chron. ex Africano, Eusebio et aliis ap. Scaligerum ita colligit, *cui omnes fere assentantur antiqui* ac recentiores. Bianchini *Dem. Hist. Ev.* cxx.

² Hence this incident should belong to A. D. 33 at latest. As, however, the passages 2 Cor. xi. 32. Acts ix. 24. have been supposed by some chronologists to

yield a valuable note of time, I must remark that the assumption seems to me to be altogether unfounded. The *ἰσχυρὸς* (2 Cor.) is neither more nor less than the Jewish head or governor of the Jewish residents, whose functions in reference to the Jews of the dispersion are thus described by Strabo, ap. Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 7. 2. (for though Strabo is speaking of Alexandria in particular, there is reason to believe that the several bodies of the

in which the Lord, appearing to him in the Temple, intimated that He would send him far off to the Gentiles: this, I suppose,

dispersion were similarly constituted each under its several head, *e.g.* there might be an *ethnarch* for Antioch, Corinth, &c., and any other city or region in which large numbers of Jews were settled): Καθίσταται δὲ καὶ ἐθνάρχης αὐτῶν, ὃς διοικεῖ τε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ διαιτᾷ κρίσεις καὶ συμβολαίων ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ προσταγμάτων ὡς ἂν πολιτείας ἀρχῶν αὐτοτελοῦς. As S. Paul speaks of the *ethnarch* Ἀρέτα τοῦ βασιλείως, and there is neither proof nor probability that Aretas was at any time master of Damascus, I suppose that this officer was appointed by Aretas to preside over the Jews of his dominion, in matters relating to their national polity, and that the Jews of Damascus, either having no *ethnarch* of their own, were conventionally subject to the Arabian *ethnarch*, and so had recourse to him on this occasion, or availed themselves of his assistance in a way that was not usual. On either supposition, what difficulty is there in representing to ourselves, that the Jews of Damascus acted with the knowledge and consent of the constituted Roman authorities? Those Jewish authorities at Damascus to whom S. Paul, three years previously, went with commission from the great Sanhedrim, requiring them to deliver into his custody "whomsoever he should find of this way, that he might bring them bound to Jerusalem," these same officials had now the like authority to detain S. Paul himself. There was no greater stretch of authority, or infringement upon Roman provincial laws, in the one case than in the other: in the one case, as in the other, they needed, at most, but to represent to the provincial city-magistrates, that their law required them to arrest such and such persons, and send them to Jerusalem: the rest would fall to the part of the *ethnarch* of Damascus, if that city had an *ethnarch* of its own; and, if not, we may suppose either that Aretas's *ethnarch* (for

Arabia) held a recognized jurisdiction of this kind in Damascus, or, that the Jews were authorized on this occasion to call in his assistance. What assistance he rendered, is expressed by S. Paul in the words ἐφρουρεῖ τὴν πόλιν, for which S. Luke has παρατηροῦντο (οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι) τὰς πύλας ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτός: *i.e.* the Jews, with the aid of the *ethnarch*, kept close watch at the gates, that Paul might not escape that way. The notion of a body of soldiers surrounding a great city to prevent the escape of one man, is ridiculous, and wholly unsuggested by the narrative. The *ethnarch* set watchmen or constables at every gate; that is all. Neander (*Pfanzung u. Leitung*, i. 123.) gratuitously invents a difficulty when he argues, that "if Damascus at that time belonged to the Roman province, the Arabian *ethnarch* would not have dared to surround the city with a guard, for the purpose of getting the person of a Roman citizen into his power, nor would the Roman authorities have allowed him to do so, or have been inclined at his request to deliver up a Roman citizen to the rage of the Jews." He assumes that the *ethnarch* was a military commander under Aretas: besides, how were the authorities to know beforehand that Paul was a Roman citizen?—The incident, such as I have represented it, is independent of any particular time, and A.D. 33 is as likely as any other year. Upon the assumption, however, that the "*ethnarch*" was the commandant of the city, appointed by Aretas, it is argued that "Aretas must at that time have been master of Damascus; for this, although it is not recorded by any other writer of those times, is the necessary inference from 2 Cor. xi., where the *ethnarch* of Aretas is represented as acting in the character of commandant; and the relation in which he stood to the πόλις Δαμασκηῶν is assumed as something well-known

occurred at the feast of Tabernacles A. D. 32, two years and six or nine months after the conversion. I rest this supposition on the fact, which was noticed in the last chapter, that the ancients speak of a period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years after the Crucifixion, during which the Gospel was preached to Jews only, and the Lord was still in a peculiar sense present from time to time with His disciples. As this is the first mention, after the Ascension, of a purpose respecting *the Gentiles*, and the last (except that in the Apocalypse) of a visible appearance of our Lord, I think it may indicate the conclusion of that *septennium* of which the ancients speak.

After this, and Saul's departure to Tarsus, we lose sight of him for several years. But the beginning of a New Dispensation is intimated by the conversion of Cornelius, which is related immediately after this visit of S. Paul. This event I should refer to the latter part of the same year 32 A. D.

known to the reader. And the history of this prince, related by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 5. 1. ff.) enables us to infer with a high degree of probability the time of his occupation of Damascus. Vitellius was already on his march against Aretas, when he received the news of Tiberius's death; upon which he sent the legions into winter quarters, and set out for Rome. Now for Aretas, in the hostile posture which he then occupied against Rome, this conjuncture was most opportune: the præses Syriae and commander of the forces, absent; the troops not in marching order; and a necessity of waiting fresh orders from Rome. He might naturally seize such an opportunity to fall upon the wealthy city Damascus. But he did not long retain possession: for when, in the second year of Caius (16 Mar. A. D. 38—39), the affairs of Arabia were put under regulation (Dion. Cass. lix. p. 649.) it is not to be supposed that so important a city as Damascus would be overlooked. Hence the time of Paul's escape from Damascus is limited between *summer* A. D. 37. and *spring* A. D. 39. But as it is not likely that during the remainder of A. D. 37, which still must

have been an unsettled time, *Aretas would have trusted Jews to keep watch at the city-gates* (!), since this implies that he felt himself secure and settled, there remains only the year 38 and the first months of 39. But these months of 39 also must be struck off, since according to Dion, Caligula apportioned Arabia in his second year. If, then, S. Paul's escape falls A. D. 38, his conversion, three years earlier, must be assigned to A. D. 35." Meyer, *Krit. Exeg. Kommentar; Apostelgesch.*, 10 f. This whole argument is sufficiently refuted by the very fact that Josephus is wholly silent concerning any such occupation of Damascus. If such had occurred, it is inconceivable that, after relating how Vitellius was commanded to bring the man dead or alive before the emperor, and how opportunely for Aretas the death of Tiberius intervened between the order and its execution, he should drop this man out of sight, if he had anything further to tell of him so remarkable as this, that in that same year he had the audacity to fall upon the great city Damascus, and took it and kept it for more than a year.

§ 103. It is true, that in this view of the case there remains a period of eleven years, of which S. Luke says no more than what is contained in two or three verses, xi. 19. ff. But then it should be considered that he is not relating the history of all and sundry the events of the early times of the Church. The main subject of his narrative is *the preaching of Christ to the Gentiles, the origins of the Catholic Church*. He has related pretty fully the preaching, first of all, to the Jews, then to the Samaritans, and lastly to the Gentile Cornelius. At this point of the history, a new order of things begins: by means of the brethren who were dispersed upon the persecution of Stephen, the Gospel was extensively made known in the synagogues beyond Judæa; thus the way was being secretly prepared for the preaching of Christ to all mankind: and here it is that the main subject of S. Luke's history begins.

§ 104. Here it may be remarked, that S. Luke nowhere informs us at what time the Apostles left Jerusalem on their mission to the world at large. According to a very ancient tradition preserved by Apollonius, a writer of the second century, this dispersion of the Apostles took place *twelve years after the Ascension*. "Ετι δέ, says Eusebius *H. E.* v. 18., *ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως, τὸν Σωτῆρα φησι προστεταχέναι τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλοις, ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἔτεσι μὴ χωρισθῆναι τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ*. The same tradition, Mr. Greswell remarks, was contained in the *Prædicatio Petri* as cited by Clement of Alexandria, in the shape of a command from our Lord, as follows: "After twelve years go ye forth into the world; lest any say, We have not heard." Grabii *Spicileg.* i. 67.

It is interesting to observe that these twelve years expired in A.D. 41¹, which is very nearly the time at which S. Luke, xi. 19, resumes his narrative. He had brought his history of the Church of Jerusalem down to the time of the first authorized preaching to the Gentiles. There he leaves it, and passes over several years to the time when the Apostles were dispersed, and when the brethren at Jerusalem first received tidings of

¹ It is also to be remarked, that in this year Agrippa became king in Judæa. Under the Roman procurators, the Apostles were comparatively in safety:

Agrippa persecuted as a Jew, at least with a politic zeal for the national religion: comp. *Ant.* xix. 6 and 7.

an extensive preaching of the Gospel to the heathen at Antioch.

§ 105. The Chronology of the latter part of the Acts, beginning at the 13th chapter, is independent of the preceding matters. Whatever may be the year of S. Paul's conversion, or the true account of his visits to Jerusalem mentioned in the Epistle to the Galatians, it is certain that the time of Acts xii. is A.D. 44. Our business is to define the time of some one or more incidents subsequent to that chapter: and first, the time of the decree of Claudius for the expulsion of the Jews from Rome: Acts xviii. 2. The well-known passage of Suetonius, *Claud.* 25, in which this decree is mentioned, would afford a clear and satisfactory indication, if we could make out the time of the passing of that decree. Unfortunately the incident is not related by Dion Cassius, *i. e.* not in our mutilated copies of his history. For the words of this historian, lx. 6. (τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πλεονάσαντας αὐθις ὥστε χαλεπῶς ἂν ἄνευ παραχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου σφῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰρχθῆναι, οὐκ ἐξήλασε μὲν, τῇ δὲ δὴ πατρίῳ νόμῳ βίῳ χρωμένους ἐκέλευσε μὴ συν-αθροίζεσθαι.) certainly do not relate to the event noted by Suetonius and S. Luke, but to a precautionary measure taken by Claudius in the first year of his reign.—The order of events in Suetonius is as follows: *Provincias Achaïam et Macedoniam, quas Tiberius ad curam suam transtulerat, senatui reddidit:—* Dion relates this under u.c. 797 = A.D. 44. *Lyçii...libertatem ademit, Rhodiis ob pœnitentiam veterum delictorum reddidit. Iliensibus quasi Romanæ gentis auctoribus tributa in perpetuum remisit....Judæos impulsore Chresto, &c.* Now it appears from Tac. *Ann.* xii. 58. that this immunity was granted to the Ilienses *D. Junio, Qu. Haterio Coss. i. e.* u.c. 806. And in the same year, adds Tacitus, *redditur Rhodiis libertas.* But Sueton. *Nero.* 7. places these incidents in a different year: *apud eundem consulem (sc. Claudium)...pro Rhodiis atque Iliensibus Græce verba fecit (sc. Nero): i. e.* in the 5th consulate of Claudius (see Torrent. in l.) = u.c. 804. A.D. 51.—But to continue our extract:—*Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes urbe expulit: Germanorum legatis in orchestra sedere permisit, simplicitate eorum et fiducia motus, quod in popularia deducti,*

quum animadvertissent Parthos et Armenios sedentes in senatu ad eadem loca sponte transierant, nihilo deteriore virtutem aut conditionem suam prædicantes. What embassy of the Parthians this can be, except that which is noticed by Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 10, under the year u.c. 802, A.D. 49, it is impossible to say: certainly that embassy was soon despatched, and no other of Parthians is found at Rome in the latter years of Claudius.— This is sufficient to shew that these several incidents are not related by Suetonius in the order of their occurrence: the pleading of Nero for the Ilienses belongs to A.D. 51, at earliest, yet is related before the mention of the Parthian embassy, which cannot be placed later than A.D. 49. Suetonius, then, leaves the matter doubtful: if the decree against the Jews was issued about the time of the pleading for the Ilienses, we must place it in A.D. 51: if at the time of the Parthian embassy, not later than 49.

§ 106. What may have been the specific cause of the decree against the Jews, we can only conjecture. The natural inference from the words of Suetonius would certainly seem to be, that the Jewish populace at Rome was in an excited state by reason of the preaching of *Christ*, i. e. of Christians. But there may have been other inducements as well. The Jews, it is well known, were often confounded with the common herd of *Chaldæi, mathematici, astrologi*. Now in the year 49 we find Agrippina, in Tac. *Ann.* xii. 22, just after her marriage, accusing her rival Lollia of dealings with *Chaldeans* and *magi*: and at a later period, A. D. 52, *de mathematicis Italia pellendis factum senatus consultum atrox et irritum*, *Ann.* xii. 52. With this compare the statement of Zonaras (i. e. of Dion Cassius, from whom Zonaras compiles): οἱ ἀστρολόγοι δὲ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἰταλίας ἠλάνθησαν καὶ οἱ αὐτοῖς συγγινόμενοι ἐκολάσθησαν: which is placed immediately after the account of Agrippina's elevation, and immediately before the account of Caractacus at Rome, i. e. between A. D. 49 and 50: just where Tacitus places the accusation of Lollia. Hence I am inclined to think that the decree against the mathematici was really issued in the year 49, i. e. soon after, and partly in consequence of, Agrippina's marriage. This deduction from Zonaras is important to our purpose, inasmuch as the decree against the Jews is assigned by the christian historian Orosius

(vii. 6.) to this very year. In default of further evidence, I acquiesce in this statement, and conceive that in truth the Jews were involved with the *magi*, *mathematici* and *astrologi* in a common sentence of expulsion, partly by reason of their supposed connexion with this class of persons, partly, as the statement of the unenquiring Suetonius implies (to us who are better informed), because the heat of their controversy with the early preachers of the Gospel rendered them annoying to the civil magistrates at Rome, just as we know to have been the case at this same time in Macedonia and Achaia. In the very beginning of Claudius's reign they were already, as we see in Dion Cassius, lx. 6, objects of suspicion : Suetonius's expression, *assidus tumultuantes*, implies that this was not the first time : Claudius, it seems, would fain have expelled them in the very beginning of his reign, but dared not. Now, perhaps, he took advantage of the stir which was raised against the *Chaldæi* to get rid of the Jews, not (ostensibly) on the score of their religion, but on pretence of their connexion with magical arts alleged to be employed against the person of the emperor.—If I may be allowed a further conjecture, I would suggest that Seneca's recal and advancement at court, the act of Agrippina immediately after her marriage, may be connected with this measure against the Jews : perhaps it was suggested by him.—It deserves also to be remarked, that the Jews in Palestine began at this very conjuncture (A. D. 49) to manifest a disaffection towards the emperor. The exasperated state of feeling which now began to shew itself in Judæa was, I doubt not, provoked by the emperor's measures, and by the decree of expulsion in particular. Josephus relates events in this order : *Ant.* xx. 5. 2. ff. *B. J.* ii. 12. " In the 8th of Claudius, (A. D. 48) Cumanus arrived as successor to Tiberius Alexander, and Herod of Chalcis died... During his procuratorship, at a passover, a popular commotion occurred in which 20,000 Jews lost their lives. "τῆς πάσχα προσαγορευομένης ἐορτῆς ἐνστάσης... πολλοῦ καὶ πανταχόθεν πλήθους συναχθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν, δείσας ὁ Κούμανος μὴ νεώτερον τι παρὰ τούτων προσπέσει, stationed a cohort in arms at the porticoes of the Temple. A gross insult offered by one of the soldiers provoked the Jews to an assault, and the whole legion was marched upon them, &c." It naturally occurs to ask

why these precautions were taken at this particular time? What reason had Cumanus to fear a commotion at this pass-over? His two predecessors, Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander, Josephus informs us, *μηδὲν παρακινούντες τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ ἔθνος διεφύλαξαν*. *B. J.* ii. 11. 6. Cumanus arrived A. D. 48, and thenceforth the face of things was changed. What more likely, than that the tidings of Claudius's harsh enactment against the Jews of Rome, which if the decree was issued early in A. D. 49, might reach Judæa before the passover of that year, furnished the inducement to these precautions, and so led to the insurrection? In the same light I am inclined to regard the incident which followed, *viz.* the assault and robbery committed by disaffected Jews on Stephanus, a servant of Claudius in Palestine. *Ant.* xx. 5. 4.

I see no reason, then, to doubt that the decree was issued A. D. 49, the year mentioned by Orosius.

§ 107. The date of *Gallio's* appointment to the government of Achaia is altogether unknown: the fact itself of his appointment is nowhere else on record, though his brother Seneca (Ep. cv.) in a letter written at a much later date, may perhaps allude to it in the mention of an attack of fever which Gallio once had in that place. It appears from Seneca's mention of him in the *Consolatio ad Helviam* (xvi. 12.) written about A. D. 43, that he had even then risen to eminence in civil offices, *honores industria consecutus est*. But the time noted in the Acts is of course much later. It is evident from the narrative itself that he was not in office, or not arrived, when S. Paul reached Corinth, Acts xviii. 5-12. *i. e.* soon after the decree against the Jews, which we have seen reason to assign to the year 49. But the fact of his appearance in Achaia as proprætor within eighteen months after that event, tallies extremely well with the view of the circumstances connected with that edict. Seneca's recal and advancement at court through the favour of Agrippina, and the edict against the Jews, were (if the latter belongs to A. D. 49) very nearly contemporary events. Soon after the decree, Seneca's brother is advanced to the government of Achaia. He was not likely, one would think, to obtain this preferment while his brother Seneca was in exile, under the implacable displeasure of the reigning empress (A. D. 41-48), but, when Seneca stood high

in favour at court, the advancement of the elder brother might soon follow, and according to S. Luke, did follow within a year or two, *i. e.* if Orosius is right in his date of the edict. I notice this, only by way of shewing how consistent S. Luke's narrative is with all that can be collected from contemporary history. As *a note of time*, the mention of Gallio is only so far serviceable, as it constitutes a probability, that S. Paul's departure from Corinth lies after A.D. 49, namely, because it is probable that Gallio would not be in such an office earlier than that year, at any time between A.D. 41 and 49.

§ 108. In the next place, we have to inquire what evidence may be derived from the narrative of S. Paul's arrest at Jerusalem, as related in the 22nd and following chapters of the Acts.

At that time Felix was procurator, a person named Ananias was exercising the office of high priest, yet under such circumstances that S. Paul might naturally be ignorant of the fact: and lastly, a certain Egyptian impostor had appeared, and that (as it is implied, xxi. 38) but recently. Josephus will enable us to deduce from these particulars a pretty clear indication of the time denoted by S. Luke's narrative.

§ 109. Felix, it is evident, became procurator of Judæa in one of the three last years of Claudius. Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Κλαύδιος Φήλικα Πάλλατος ἀδελφὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προστήσομενον πραγμάτων. Τῆς δὲ ἀρχῆς δωδέκατον ἔτος ἤδη πεπληρωκὸς, δωρεῖται τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τῇ Φιλίππου τετραρχίᾳ.... Λαβὼν δὲ τὴν δωρεὰν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος Ἀγρίππας ἐκδίδωσι πρὸς γάμον Ἀζίζῳ... Δρούσιλλαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν.... Διαλύονται δὲ τῇ Δρουσίλλῃ πρὸς τὸν Ἀζίζον οἱ γάμοι μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τοιαύτης ἐμπεσοῦσης αἰτίας. Καθ' ὃν καιρὸν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπετρόπευσε Φηλιξ, θεασάμενος ταύτην... ἔπειθε τὸν ἄνδρα καταλιποῦσαν αὐτῷ γήμασθαι... ἡ δὲ πείθεται τῷ Φ. γήμασθαι. *Αἰ.* xx. 7. 1. 2. In like manner *B. J.* ii. 12. 8. Μετὰ ταῦτα Φήλικα ἐκπέμπει... ἐκ δὲ τῆς Χάλκιδος Ἀγρ. εἰς μείζονα βασιλείαν μετατίθῃσι, δούς αὐτῷ τὴν Φιλίππου γενομένην τετραρχίαν... αὐτὸς δὲ διοικήσας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔτεσι ιγ, μηνὶν ἢ καὶ ἡμ. κ'. τελευτᾷ. It is evident, then, that the appointment of Felix took place not later than the expiration of the 12th year of Claudius, *i. e.* not later than Jan. A.D. 53, yet not long before it, for both in the

Antiquities and in the *Wars*, this incident is closely connected with the advancement of Agrippa, which occurred when Claudius had just completed his 12th year. It appears further, from the first of the two passages, that S. Paul's appearance before Felix, at a time when Drusilla was married to him, cannot be placed in the very beginning of the government of Felix, for Drusilla's marriage with Azizus was subsequent to the advancement of Agrippa, *i. e.* after Jan. A.D. 53. Of course then, with a proper allowance of time for Agrippa's taking possession of his new government, for Drusilla's first marriage, and her seduction by Felix, we cannot imagine her already wedded to Felix within a week or two of the Pentecost of A.D. 53. xxiv. 1. 24. Thus *the earliest possible date* that can be assigned to S. Paul's arrest at Jerusalem, is the Pentecost of A.D. 54.

§ 110. What then may be *the latest possible date*? It is not recorded by Josephus or other historians how long a time Felix was procurator of Judæa, nor yet, which would answer our purpose as well, how long his successor Festus held that office. But, *Ant.* xx. 8. 9, we are informed that on the appointment of Festus, the leading Jews of Cæsarea went to Rome with complaints against Felix, "and assuredly he would have suffered for his wrongs committed against the Jews *εἰ μὴ πολλὰ αὐτὸν ὁ Νέρων τῷ ἀδελφῷ Πάλλαντι παρακαλέσαντι συνεχώρησε μάλιστα δὴ τότε διὰ τιμῆς ἔχων ἐκεῖνον.*" Now Nero succeeded to the purple 13 Oct. A.D. 54, and the ascendancy of Pallas was of no long continuance after that event. Tacitus *Ann.* xiii. 14. relates that Nero *demovet Pallantem cura rerum quis a Claudio impositus velut arbitrum regni agebat*, and this was not long before the completion of Britannicus's 14th year: *propinquo die quo quartum decimum ætatis annum Britannicus explebat*, *ib.* 15. But Britannicus was born 13 Feb. A.D. 42. *in secundo consulatu, et vicesimo imperii die* (sc. Claudii). Sueton. *Claud.* 27. Comp. Dion. Cass. lx. 10. 12. Pallas¹ therefore, had ceased to be *μάλιστα διὰ τιμῆς*

¹ There is a statement of Tacitus *Ann.* xii. 25, which is clearly mistaken or corrupt. *His evictus* (sc. Claudius) *biennio majorem natu Domitium filio* (sc. Britannico) *anteponit*. Now Nero

was born 15th Dec. A.D. 37. Sueton. *Nero* 6. (comp. Dion. Cass. lxi. 3.) And with this Tacitus accords, *Ann.* xiii. 6, where, *sine anni*, *i. e.* in Dec. after the death of Claudius, A.D. 54, Nero is described

in January, A.D. 56. Dion, indeed, places the death of Britannicus (which followed soon after the deposal of Pallas) in A.D. 55. U.C. 808, meaning doubtless the very end of the year. And this agrees with Tacitus, who relates *u. s.* the deadly offence given by Britannicus during the *Saturnalia* (15—20 Dec.) Thus we may infer that Pallas had ceased to enjoy the pre-eminent influence ascribed to him by Josephus, as early as Dec. A.D. 55.—Here then we obtain an extreme limit to the procuratorship of Felix: it cannot have continued later than the autumn of A.D. 55.

§ 111. But we have seen that S. Paul's hearing before Felix, Acts xxiv., cannot be placed earlier than May or June, A.D. 54. The two results are incompatible if the *terminus a quo* of the *διετία* xxiv. 27, be necessarily that first hearing, since between that hearing and the departure of Felix our limits give at most an interval of twelve or fifteen months. But does S. Luke really say that S. Paul continued two years in confinement under Felix? That is not *necessarily* the meaning of his words, *διετίας δὲ πληρωθείσης ἔλαβεν διάδοχον ὁ Φηλιξ κ. τ. λ.* xxiv. 27: the *διετία* may be measured from some epoch concerning Felix only, not the Apostle: and, indeed, the historical connexion of the narrative makes it probable that such was the writer's meaning. It needed not two whole years to satisfy Felix that his covetous purpose was not likely to be gratified by his prisoner (*v.* 26): and if the Apostle, together with his companions, among whom was S. Luke, had really been detained that length of time, should we not have had a different kind of notice, at least a fuller mention of the circumstances? Let any unprejudiced reader consider whether the narrative xxiv. 23—27, implies this length of time. Besides, the eagerness of the Jews would surely have been damped, if so long a pause had intervened; yet in the following chapter we find the high priest and chief men of the Jews making it one of their first concerns, when Festus had been but three days in his government, to influence him against S. Paul, in a matter

scribed as *vir annos xvii. egressus*. If Britannicus was but two years younger than Nero, he was nearly fifteen at that time; yet further on, a whole year later, *Ann.* xiii. 15, Tacitus himself makes

Britannicus not yet fourteen years complete. For *biennio* *Ann.* xii. 25, we may perhaps read *quadriennio*; the numeral iv. might easily be corrupted into ii.

which one should rather think would have slipped from their minds, especially considering what far greater grievances and animosities must have arisen in the space of two years under the government of a Felix.

§ 112. On these grounds, then, and in virtue of the preceding combinations, I understand the “two years” of xxiv. 27, to denote *the term during which Felix was procurator of Judæa*. The grammatical construction admits this sense as well as, if not better than, the other¹: and the circumstances of the narrative demand it. The only objection, and that apparently a weighty one, lies in the statement of S. Paul, xxiv. 10, ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὄντα σε κριτὴν τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ ἐπιστάμενος. How could this be, if Felix was in his government but two years in all? The difficulty, however, is not confined to the statement in the Acts; it affects, as much and even more, the representation of Tacitus, who, writing of the year of the consulate of Faustus Sulla and Salvius Otho (= A.D. 52) says of Felix: *At non frater ejus* (sc. Pallantis) *patri moderatione agebat*, jam pridem Judææ impositus *et cuncta malefacta sibi impune ratus tanta potentia subnixo*. It was late in 52 or early in 53, that Felix received his appointment. In what sense, then, can it be true, that he was in 52 “jam pridem Judææ impositus?” Yet Tacitus proceeds circumstantially to relate what follows: *Sane præbuerant Judæi speciem motus orta seditione... Interim Felix intempestivis remediis delicta accendebat*, æmulo ad deterrima Ventidio Cumano, *cui pars provinciæ habebatur, ita divisus ut huic Galilæorum natio, Felici Samaritæ parebant... Arsissetque bello Provincia, ni Quadratus Syriæ rector subvenisset. Nec diu adversus Judæos, qui in necem militum proruperant, dubitatum, quin capite pænas luerent. Cumanus et Felix cunctationem afferebant, quia Claudius, caussis rebellionis auditis, jus statuendi* (sc. Quadrato) *etiam de procuratoribus* (sc. Cumano et Felice) *dederat. Sed Quadratus Felicem inter judices ostentavit receptum in tribunal, quo studia accusantium deterrerentur; damnatusque flagitiorum quæ duo deliquerant Cumanus, et quies provinciæ reddita*. Commentators,

¹ For, διετίας δὲ πληρωθείσης ἔλαβεν is equivalent to διετίαν δὲ πληρώσας ἔλαβεν, and it strikes me that the writer

would not have expressed himself thus, if he had meant only μετὰ δὲ δύο ἔτη οὐ μετὰ διετῇ χρόνον.

indeed, allege that Tacitus was completely mistaken, since Felix did not set foot in Palestine until after, and in consequence of, the deposal of Cumanus. But how is so circumstantial a misstatement to be accounted for? It was easy for Tacitus to mistake the real state of the case in supposing that Felix was *procurator* of Samaria and Cumanus of *Gabilee*; but it is extremely improbable, that the affair in which Quadratus, Cumanus, and Felix, are represented as actors, should be entirely unfounded in respect of Felix. At the least, one is obliged to infer, notwithstanding the silence of Josephus, that Felix held some sort of office in Palestine during the procuratorship of Cumanus.

§ 113. Now with this, compare what Suetonius says, *Claud.* 28. *Libertorum præcipus suspectis Posiden...nec minus Felicem quem cohortibus et aliis¹ provinciæque Judææ præposuit.* Which I take to mean, that Felix served Claudius in Judæa,

¹ Under the Cæsars the term *alæ* denotes the troops of cavalry raised from the allies, and attached to the legions in place of the thirty *turmæ* which of old were levied from among the equites. See the proof of this statement (against Salmasius *de Re Mil.*) in Schellii *Nott. in Hygin. de Castram.* ap. Græv. *Ant. Rom.* t. x. 1080 ff. and abundant illustrations in Gruter's *Corpus Inscript. pæsim.* The order of promotion in Claudius's time is described by Sueton. *Claud.* 25. *Equestres militias ita ordinavit ut post cohortem, alam; post alam, tribunatum legionis daret:* i.e. the Roman equites served first as prefects of foreign cohorts, then of *alæ*, and so rose to be tribunes of legions. Græv. in *l.* Under Augustus, the *præfectus alæ* would seem to rank above the *tribunus legionis*, Suet. *Aug.* 38, and Casaubon. in *l.* (though the meaning of that passage may be, that Augustus, in his anxiety to accustom the senatorial youth to military service, appointed them not only tribunes of legions, but even to the inferior offices, the *equestres militias*, viz. the prefecture of cohorts and *alæ*.) Now Suetonius may possibly mean to say, that Felix was promoted to various prefectures of cohorts and *alæ* and subsequently to a province, that of

Judæa. Comp. *Vit. Plin.* ascribed to Suetonius, where it is related of the elder Pliny, *equestribus militiis industrie functus, procuraciones quoque splendidissimas atque continuas summa integritate administravit:* and Plin. *Ep.* vii. 25. (Terentius) *equestribus militiis atque etiam procuracione prov. Narb. integerime functus.* See also Gruter. *Corp. Insc. Lat.* passim. But the words of Suetonius in the text not only will bear, but even (if I am not mistaken) suggest the sense I have put upon them, viz. in virtue of their grammatical collocation: quem cohortibus-et-aliis provinciæque Judææ præposuit. For when the attributive (adj. or genitive) belonging alike to each of two nouns is placed after them, the Latin idiom, I think, requires *que*. Compare the following expressions taken at random from Suetonius and Tacitus. *Senatus populusque Rom.*—*Scriptores senatoresque eorumdem temporum*—*conjugem liberosque ejus*—*proditores nuper hostesque ejus*—*diem locumque fœderis*—*taciturnitatem pudoremque quorundam*—*exultationes succlamationesque populi*—*circa conventus mercatoresque Graciæ*—*angustiis flexurisque viorum*—*expugnationem direptionemque oppidi*.—The principle is obvious: the

first, in command of the provincial or social troops in that country, and then, as procurator.

In the former capacity, in which he would act under, or coördinately with, the procurator (Cumanus), he was, I take it, what Josephus calls ἱππάρχης. When Vitellius sent Pilate to take his trial at Rome A. D. 36, he appointed Marcellus ἐπιμελητής *ad interim*. *Ant.* xviii. 4. 2. One of the first acts of Caius, A. D. 37, on investing Agrippa with the tetrarchy of his father Philip, was to send out Maryllus as ἱππάρχης ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας. Why he is termed ἱππάρχης, and not ἐπιμελητής or ἐπιτρόπος, does not appear, nor does any further mention of this officer occur in the history of those times. Maryllus exercised, doubtless, the functions of procurator, yet not *eo nomine*, but as commander of the cavalry, i. e. *præfectus alarum*. Claudius, in the beginning of his reign, made Judæa once more a kingdom under Agrippa; on whose death, A. D. 44, it again became a province and received as ἐπιτρόπος, Cuspius Fadus. Yet during those three years of Agrippa's reign, I should suppose there was still an imperial officer in Judæa bearing the title hipparch, or *præfectus alarum*, and subsequently, that the same office, in its military functions, was kept up, i. e. that together with the procurator there was a commander of the *cohortes et ala*. The *ala*, or social squadron, which was

enclitic conjunction, as the most compendious, serves to refer both terms, as parts of a whole, to the limiting term which is about to follow. Sometimes this rule is observed even at the expense of the strict logical meaning of the case, e. g. where the genitive is *objective* to the first and *subjective* to the second, as Suet. *Claud.* 42. *Nec minori cura Græca studia sequutus est, amorem præstantiamque linguæ prædicans.* Hence the rule would seem to be, that a genitive following two nouns coupled by "que" must belong to both of them: (except, of course, when the first member has a genitive of its own: as *tormenta questionum pænasque porrioidarum*.—Thus Suet. *Claud.* 41. instead of *in libris ac diurnis titulusque operum*, which besides is unmeaning, we must read *in libris actorum diurnorum* [Suetonius perhaps wrote *ACT. DIURN.*]

titulusque operum.) When the two nouns are coupled by any other conjunction, the context, or the nature of the case, must determine whether the genitive belongs to one or both. But when the genitive belongs only to the latter of the two, the conjunction must not be *que*: e. g. *tuum loco ac presidio militum; machinamenta et astus oppugnationum*, where *presidioque, astusque*, would be wrong. The only exception is, when no ambiguity can arise, e. g. *ipsi conjugisque ipsorum*, Liv. I have devoted thus much space to the proof of this grammatical rule, as I do not find that it has been noticed by commentators and grammarians. It is true, *Judæa* here may be the dative: if so, the sentence is ill-constructed, because ambiguous. *Sed de his satis.*

kept in Judæa was composed principally of Cæsareans and Sebastenes, *Ant.* xx. 8. 7. whence xx. 6. 1. it is called Σεβαστηνῶν εἶλη¹. *Comp. B. J.* ii. 12. 5. When Cuspius Fadus was sent out as procurator, Claudius purposed "to remove the ala of the Cæsareans and Sebastenes and the five cohorts into Pontus, as a punishment for the gross disrespect with which they had treated the memory of Agrippa" [this seems to imply that they were troops in the imperial pay, serving under an imperial officer]: "and to supply their place out of the Roman legions which were stationed in Syria. This order however, was not executed; for they sent an embassy and found means to pacify Cæsar, &c." *Ant.* xix: *ult.* These were the troops, I suppose, as commander of which Maryllus took his title of *hipparch*, these the *cohortes et alæ* which Felix commanded under Cumanus. Josephus, it is true, does not mention Felix in this capacity, but he does mention the fact that Cumanus proceeded to his assault upon the Galileans ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν εἶλην καὶ πεζῶν τέσσαρα τάγματα. Tacitus connects Felix with Cumanus as an accomplice in that transaction, but by a venial mistake makes him procurator of *Samaria*, probably because he found him in command of troops of which a large proportion were of Sebaste, the capital of Samaria. Suetonius alone, if I do not mistake his meaning, represents the matter in its true circumstances. But indeed neither is Josephus altogether silent concerning an earlier connexion of Felix with the province of Judæa. For he relates *Ant.* xx. 8. 5 that Felix was sent out as procurator of Judæa in consequence, partly, of a request made to that effect by Jonathan the high priest: namely, as it appears from the preceding context, at the time when this Jonathan had been sent by Quadratus together with the leaders in the movement, both Jews and Samaritans, to be tried at the emperor's tribunal. How Jonathan came to think of Felix in particular as a fit person for the vacant procuratorship, is explained, if we will accept Tacitus's account of the matter as substantially correct.

¹ This must not be confounded with the σπεῖρα Σεβαστή, *Act.* xxvii. 1. which doubtless was the same as the Σκ. Ἰταλίκῃ to which Cornelius belonged. Of the five cohorts stationed at Cæsarea, four, perhaps, were provincial troops, one

composed of Italians or Romans, and distinguished from them by the military name σκ. *Cohors Augusta*; σκ. Ἰταλ. is the popular name by which it would be spoken of in Palestine.

Felix then had truly been ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν κριτῆς τῷ ἔθνει, although his actual *procuratorship* lasted but two years in all, as reckoned from his arrival in Judæa in that capacity to the arrival of his successor. Nor is it difficult to account for so early a vacation of his office. His brother Pallas, μάλιστα δὴ τότε διὰ τιμῆς ὦν, may have called him to Rome for higher preferment².

§ 114. Now we have seen that Felix was appointed to the procuratorship at the close of A. D. 52, or the beginning of A. D. 53. He would not arrive in Judæa before the summer of the latter year; his two years of residence would expire at the same time of A. D. 55. At the Pentecost of that year, accordingly, I place S. Paul's arrest at Jerusalem.

And with this agree the other notes of time. The high priest Jonathan (son of Ananus) was assassinated by sicarii at the instigation of Felix, *Ant.* xx. 8. 5, seemingly at a festival: I should suppose, at the passover of this very year A. D. 55. The high priesthood was bestowed on Ismael son of Phabi, by Agrippa, towards the close of Felix's procuratorship. *Ant.* xx. 8. 8. During the vacancy the office may have been exercised by Ananias, and S. Paul might naturally, as one but lately arrived at Jerusalem, not be aware of the fact, further than that there was at the time no high priest actually appointed³.

² See a further discussion of the question relating to the times of Felix and his successors in the NOTE appended to this section.

³ This Ananias, son of Nebedæus, succeeded Joseph son of Camydus by appointment of Herod king of Chalcis, during the procuratorship of Tiberius Alexander, *cir.* A. D. 47 or 48. *Ant.* xx. 5. 2. In consequence of the affair between the Jews and the Samaritans in the procuratorship of Cumanus, he was sent prisoner to Rome by the president of Syria, Ummidius Quadratus, to take his trial before Claudius. *ib.* 6. 2. The cause was speedily heard and decided in favour of the Jews. That he was deposed is nowhere expressed in the *Antiquities*, yet at xx. 8. 5. Jonathan, at the time of his assassination, is described as high priest; and, at § 8 following,

Agrippa gives the high priesthood to Ismael son of Phabei: this, towards the close of Felix's administration. In the *Wars*, ii. 12. 5, Jonathan, son of Ananus, is called the high priest at the time of the Samaritan quarrel (παρόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ γυνάριοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωνάθης υἱὸς Ἀνάνου); and he was sent to Rome with Ananias (δύο δὲ ἐτέρους τῶν δυνατωτάτων καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς Ἰωνάθην καὶ Ἀνανίαν... ἀνέπεμψεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα): on which occasion, doubtless, it was, that Jonathan requested of Cæsar that Felix might be sent out as governor in place of Cumanus, who was deposed. (*Ant.* xx. 8. 5.) Putting these two accounts together, I infer that, at the time of the Samaritan affair, Jonathan was high priest as successor to Ananias, by appointment of Quadratus, and that he held the office until his death.

The same remark applies also to the mention of the Egyptian impostor. For this person made himself notorious after, not before, Nero's accession. (*Ant.* xx. 8. 6. *κατὰ τοῦτον*

As immediate predecessor of Jonathan, and as a man in other respects highly distinguished, it was natural that Ananias should assume the functions of the office *ad interim*, on the demise of the see by the death of Jonathan. And this seems the best explanation of S. Paul's ignorance, *οὐκ ᾔδειν ὅτι ἀρχιερεὺς ἐστίν*: which certainly cannot mean (as some interpret), "I did not bethink me, or, recollect:" the words may mean, "I was not aware that there is at present any high priest:" but this is not likely, for one could hardly suppose that the office would be suffered to remain actually vacant *ad interim*, and whoever occupied it would be for the time high priest, though not formally appointed. The apostle might know, too, that *Ananias* was *pro tempore* in office, but perhaps he was not acquainted with his person. "I knew not that he is high priest" is grammatically correct, and tallies with the facts. It should be remarked, that Ananias was still possessed of high influence after this time, though never re-appointed. On the arrival of Albinus, xx. 9. 2. *ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ μέγα προέκοπτε δόξης καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εὐνοίας τε καὶ τιμῆς ἤξειοτο λαμπρῶς. ἦν γὰρ χρημάτων ποριστικός· καθ' ἡμέραν οὖν τὸν Ἀλβίνου καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα δώροις ἐθεράπευεν*: where he is still called *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς* though another was in office: so again at the time of his murder, in the beginning of the war, *B. J.* ii. 17. 9. But it is not therefore likely that he is so called in the Acts, solely in respect of his having been once high priest; for throughout the narrative he appears as the principal actor. (Comp. xxiv. 1.) Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch* s. v. *Ananias*, thinks it more likely that he was actual high priest both before and after his deportation, i. e. from his appointment by Herod of Chalcis to the appointment of Ismael

son of Phabei. But, as I before remarked, Josephus shews, in the *Wars*, that Jonathan was certainly in office after Ananias and before Ismael. It may be said indeed that the title *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς*, *B. J.* ii. 12. 5, 6. *Ant.* xx. 8. 5, is given here only in respect of his having once held the office: (he succeeded Caiaphas by appointment of Vitellius xviii. 4. 3. by whom, however, he was speedily deposed, *ib.* 5. 3. A.D. 37. passover.) But this is unlikely; for in *B. J.* ii. 12. 5. he is styled absolutely *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς*, and *ib.* 6. (*τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἀνανίαν*) he is preeminent above Ananias, which he was in no respect, if not he, but Ananias, was actual high priest at the time; for Ananias was a far more distinguished man, in personal respects, than Jonathan. From Acts xxii. 5. *ὡς καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς μαρτυρεῖ μοι*, it might be inferred that the high priest from whom Paul received his commission was still in office; and this would very well suit Jonathan, if the journey to Damascus belonged to the year 36, when this man was in fact high priest: for then S. Paul might be understood to appeal to the personal knowledge of the high priest before whom he stood, by whom, when formerly in office, he was commissioned. But the conversion of S. Paul, I have endeavoured to shew, lies six years before the first appointment of Jonathan; and the context, Acts xxii.—xxiv. implies that Paul was now pleading before *Ananias*. Of course, however, it is not necessary to suppose that the apostle appeals to the personal knowledge of the high priest before whom he stood, or who was then in office, nor even (as Meyer explains it) of some former high priest who was still living: he might mean only to say, that the recorded acts, or the *ἐπιστολαὶ* and sign manual of the high priest and sanhedrim of those days would attest the fact to any who would make enquiry.

τὸν καιρὸν comp. *ib.* 4. τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς: comp. *B. J.* ii. 13. 5.) That the event was recent is plainly implied in the words of Lysias, πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν, Acts xxi. 38¹.

§ 115. Thus far I have endeavoured to deduce, combine, and construct, the evidence furnished by the Acts and contemporary history. Our result is this:—that S. Paul's arrest took place at the Pentecost of the first year of Nero: whence it follows that he was brought to Rome in the spring of the second year of Nero, inasmuch as the *διετία*, Acts xxiv. *fin.* relates not to S. Paul's imprisonment, but to the term of Felix's residence in Judæa as procurator. And now the reader may compare with this result the statement of Eusebius (in Chron.) who assigns *S. Paul's arrival at Rome to the second year of Nero*: and of S. Jerome, who says that "S. Paul came to Rome in the 25th year after the Crucifixion, i. e. in the second year of Nero, at the time when Festus succeeded to Felix as procurator of Judæa."

§ 116. We have therefore a period of precisely eleven years, extending from Acts xii. 3 = passover of A. D. 44 to Acts xxi. 6 = passover of A. D. 55: which must be so distributed that Acts xviii. 2. shall coincide with the earlier half of A. D. 49.

In the former of these portions, the notes of time are altogether vague, such as *ἡμέρας τινάς, ἱκανὸν χρόνον*, and any adjustment of the chronology in detail can be but approximate. Thus it is uncertain whether the first mission of Paul and Barnabas to the Gentiles occurred in the year 44, after their return from Jerusalem, or in the following year. If the year be 44, I should suppose the time would be Pentecost, and I am inclined to think this was the year, because else it is likely S. Paul would have gone up to the festivals, which would have been mentioned.

¹ Lysias's first impression, on hearing *ὅτι ἄλλη συγκέχνηται Ἱερουσαλήμ*, v. 31. seems to have been, that Paul was the Egyptian himself. The proper grammatical sense of v. 38, *οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἶ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος*, is, "Thou art not then, after all, (as I had supposed) that Egyptian?"

The Egyptian himself, it should be observed, had escaped, when so many of his deluded adherents were taken. The appearance of this impostor doubtless coincided with some festival, I suppose the passover of A. D. 53.

§ 117. The first circuit, through Cyprus, and in Asia as far north as Antioch in Pisidia, and thence on the round through Lycaonia, must have occupied the remainder of the year at least. At Antioch we have the history of two sabbaths, but the apostles staid there long enough for the word of the Lord to spread through the whole country, xiii. 49 : at Iconium and Lystra, not long : at Derbe long enough to baptize a good many, xiv. 21. Thence they return to Lystra, Iconium and Antioch, confirming the disciples, and end by ordaining elders : surely this implies a probation of several months. Hence I conceive that the return to Antioch in Syria cannot be placed earlier than a full year, perhaps even 18 months, after the departure on the circuit : *i. e.* not earlier than spring or autumn of A. D. 45. Between the return to Antioch and the council of Jerusalem the narrative interposes *χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον*, xiv. 28. After the council, *ποιήσαντες χρόνον*, xv. 33, the apostles depart on a second circuit. S. Paul's tour in Asia, down to his departure for Macedonia, may have occupied the remainder of the year, supposing it to have begun in the spring. Then between the arrival at Philippi, which probably would not be in the dead of winter, and the meeting with Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth in the summer of A. D. 49, the history may enable us to interpose three or four months at most. Hence the *second circuit* must in all likelihood have begun in the spring of A. D. 48, and the council at Jerusalem must be assigned to the winter of A. D. 47, or early in A. D. 48 : and the *χρόνος οὐκ ὀλίγος*, xiv. 28, will be somewhat more than two years.

Here I pause to remark, that the language of S. Paul in his Epistles to the Thessalonians, written A. D. 49, becomes more significant when regarded in connexion with the facts above alleged § 107, which mark this year as a disastrous crisis in the history of the Jews. The decree for their expulsion from Rome, the (as I think, *consequent*) insurrection in Jerusalem, the dire slaughter at the passover of that year ... all which events would be known at Thessalonica in the summer of the same year, might naturally prompt the thought that the Day of the Lord was then instant : these circumstances also put a special emphasis upon that expression of S. Paul, *ἔφθακεν ἐπ' αὐτούς ἡ ὀργὴ εἰς τέλος*.

§ 118. At Corinth, the Apostle spent 18 months before the disturbance in Gallio's time, xviii. 11, and after it, still *ἡμέρας ἱκανάς*, before he set sail for Syria on a visit to Jerusalem. Suppose him to have arrived at Corinth in June A. D. 49, then this visit to Jerusalem cannot be placed earlier than Passover or Pentecost A. D. 51.

After this, *ποιήσας χρόνον τινα* at Antioch, he set out for Asia, made a circuit of visitation throughout Galatia and Phrygia, xviii. 23, and thence came down to Ephesus, where he abode 2 years and 3 months, xix. 8, 10, which period, together with the time denoted in the words *αὐτὸς ἐπέσχε χρόνον*, xix. 22, is given by S. Paul himself, in round numbers, as *three years*, xx. 31. Now the 2 years and 3 months expired at the mission of Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia, xix. 22, shortly after which S. Paul sent the First Epistle to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. iv. 17, written during the paschal season, 1 Cor. xv., and before Pentecost, 1 Cor. xvi. 8. Hence the 2 years 3 months must be measured back from the pass-over of A. D. 54, and consequently bear date from December 51 or January 52.

§ 119. Thus we have the interval between Pentecost A. D. 54, and passover, A. D. 55, for the incidents related xx. 1—6, which is not too much, as it included a tour in Macedonia, xx. 2, "round about unto Illyricum," Rom. xv. 19.

It remains only to be remarked, that within two or three months of S. Paul's arrest, Festus arrived as successor to Felix; after the fast (10th Tisri) of the same year, the Apostle is on his voyage to Rome, where he arrives, as the ancients declare, in the spring of A. D. 56, the second year of Nero. Two years after this conjuncture, the history of the Acts comes to a close.

NOTE.

MUCH, and most undue, stress has been laid on an incident related by Josephus in his account of his own life, as though it furnished a sure note of time for the determination of the year in which Felix was succeeded by Festus.—He says, that when he was 26 years old—therefore at the earliest in A.D. 62, for he was born in the 1st of Caius, *Vit.* 1.—he went to Rome for the purpose of effecting the deliverance of certain priests, his familiar friends, whom *Felix*, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐπετρόπευεν, had upon some slight and trivial charge sent prisoners to Rome. He effected his object by means of Poppæa, then Nero's wife—(she became so in A.D. 62. *Tacit. Ann.* xiv. 60). Upon this it is argued, (especially against so early a date as A.D. 55.) that neither was Josephus likely to delay his endeavours for the liberation of his friends, nor the priests themselves to remain imprisoned many years: consequently, that Felix may have left his government perhaps A.D. 60, but not earlier.—This is very inconclusive reasoning. In the first place, these priests may have been συνήθεις with Josephus at the time noted in c. 2. i.e. from his 14th to his 16th year A.D. 51—53, before he joined the Essenes, with whom he continued three years: suppose the priests were sent off at any time between 53 and 55, i.e. during the two years which we assign to the government of Felix, and that they remained imprisoned 7 or 8 or 9 years. In this there is nothing surprising: the case was trivial, needed no great dispatch, and was not likely to attract attention; nor have we any reason to suppose that the course of imperial justice was swift in such matters, even during the five first years of Nero. It would have been no wonder if a few Jewish priests had lingered on in confinement till their death, unheeded by any but their gaoler. “But it is very unlikely that Josephus should so long delay his endeavours for the liberation of his friends.” How unlikely at all? He was but 18 years old when Felix, by our date, left Judæa: suppose him ever so generously interested on their behalf, what could a stripling do in the business? But in truth, we mistake the character of the man, if we rely on his own plausible, self-complacent account of his motives in this or any other business. He was, as Niebuhr somewhere says of him, an accomplished rogue (*Erzschuft*), and we shall do him no injustice if we represent his proceedings in this business somewhat thus:—He had been six or seven years in public life, when it occurred to him that he might now turn the misfortune of his old friends to good account for his own ambitious purposes. He bethought him that here was an opportunity of favourably introducing himself to the notice of Nero's sometime harlot, now wife, the all-influential Poppæa (*ea diu pellex et adulteri Neronis, mox mariti potens*, *Tac. Ann.* xiv. 60: she became his mistress A.D. 58. xiii. 45.) whose partiality to the Jewish religion was well known (θεοσεβής γὰρ ἦν *Ant.* xx. 8. 11.) Accordingly, he betakes himself to Rome, and after a perilous voyage (undertaken, if we will believe him, solely from motives of friendship, and above all because he learnt that his friends strictly main-

tained their religious obligations through all their troubles, *μάλιστα δὲ πυθόμενος ὅτι καίπερ ἐν κακοῖς ὄντες οὐκ ἐξελάθοντο τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας, διατρέφοντο δὲ σύκοις καὶ κάρνοις*), arriving at Puteoli, without loss of time he contracts a friendship with one Alityrus, a person, the villainess of whose character is sufficiently bespoken by the fact, that, being a Jew by birth, he was nevertheless as a composer, or declaimer, of *mimi*, a special favourite of Nero: (*Ἰουδαῖος τὸ γένος, μιμολόγος δ' ἦν οὗτος κάλλιστα τῷ Νέρωνι καταθύμιος.*) By this detestable apostate he is introduced to the infamous Poppæa, successfully exerts himself with her for the release of his friends, is besides honoured by her with great gifts and so returns home: where, as was to be expected, we find him advocating the cause of the Romans—until self-interest preponderated on the other side. This I take to be a much likelier account of his motives and conduct than that which supposes him full of a generous and disinterested zeal in the cause of his friends. Hence I see no difficulty in construing this note of time in accordance with that noticed in the text, although I admit that the priests were sent to Rome by *Felix*, and that Josephus visited Rome in the course of A.D. 62—63. I perceive, however, that Mr. Greswell, iv. 234, suggests that the mission “is ascribed by a lapse of memory to Felix instead of *Festus*.” This is an unnecessary, as well as a violent expedient: besides, Mr. G. is inclined to identify this incident with that mentioned in *Ant.* xx. 8. 11; which is wholly improbable. These priests were sent as *prisoners* to take their trial, those as delegates at their own request.

To speak now of this latter incident, which falls in the time of Festus, and so may afford a note of time in connexion with this procurator:—the history of this government occupies two sections in *Ant.* xx. 8., viz. 10 and 11. He rid the province, in great measure, of the banditti who infested it (comp. *B. J.* ii. 14. 1.) At this conjuncture, *κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν*, Agrippa erected a building near the Temple, and commanding a view of its inner courts, so that the priests were overlooked while in discharge of their duties. The Jews taking offence at this, reared a high wall which intercepted the view not only from Agrippa’s dining-room, but from the western porch in which the Roman troops were stationed in time of the festivals. Agrippa, and especially Festus, were indignant, and insisted that the wall should be taken down. The Jews requested and obtained permission to refer the matter to Cæsar, and accordingly sent ten leading men and Ismaël the high priest and Helkias the treasurer. And Nero having heard their matter, not only pardoned what had been done, but permitted them to leave the wall standing, *τῇ γυναικὶ Ποππηῇ, θεοσεβῆς γὰρ ἦν, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων δεηθείσῃ χαριζόμενος*. It is added, that Poppæa dismissed the ten, but detained Helkias and Ismael as hostages in attendance upon herself.

Now if the phrase “Nero’s wife” be not a mere emphemistic anticipation (which doubtless it may be, for we know from Tacitus that Poppæa could do what she would with Nero not less as his harlot, than when she became his wife), this mission must be referred to some time after the summer of

A.D. 62, and Festus would be still procurator in A.D. 62. For the death of Festus, in his government, is evidently placed after the conclusion of this dispute, *Ant.* xx. 9. 1. And indeed it may be shown that Poppæa was barely married before Festus's death; for his successor Albinus, sent out when the intelligence of the procurator's decease had reached Nero, was certainly in his government in October, A.D. 62. This point is thus proved:—Jesus son of Ananus, the prophet of "woe to Jerusalem!" continued his denunciations through a period of 7 years and 5 months until his death, during the siege. *B. J.* vi. 5. 3. Moreover, he began to utter his fearful outcry at a feast of Tabernacles when Albinus was in office, *πρὸ τεσσάρων ἐτῶν τοῦ πολέμου*. Now Josephus ordinarily dates the beginning of the war from the spring of A.D. 66.—its true, *i.e.* more decided, commencement lies in October of that year. Both notes accord: for the Scenopægia of A.D. 62, lies $3\frac{1}{2}$ years before the one, and just 4 years before the other epoch: and from the same festival to the beginning of the siege are 7 years, 6 months. There can be no doubt then, that Albinus was in office during that feast, *i.e.* in Oct. A.D. 62. This point proved, it follows that Poppæa was not married at the time in question; *i.e.* that the deputation lies before June, A.D. 62. For this is the order of events: Agrippa, hearing that Ismael was to be detained at Rome, gives the high priesthood to Simon Kabi: Festus dies; Agrippa deposes Simon and makes Ananus his successor; Ananus takes advantage of the interim between the death of the procurator and the arrival of his successor, to inflict capital punishment on certain offenders; the Pharisees (Ananus being a Sadducee) are indignant, and send to Albinus, then at Alexandria on the way to his government, a complaint against this illegal act; Albinus sends a threatening letter to Ananus, whom Agrippa, for this, deposes after he had been high priest *three months*. It is impossible to crowd all these incidents into the interval between the marriage of Poppæa and the arrival of Albinus, which interval is itself at most *three months*. It follows, then, that the exercise of Poppæa's influence on behalf of Ismael and his colleagues preceded the arrival of Albinus by a space of time sufficient, at least, to include the following items: 1. A voyage from Rome (*ταῦτα ὡς ἐπύθετο*, xx. 8. 11. *fin.*), 2. the term of high priesthood of Joseph Kabi, 3. the three months of Ananus. It is not likely that the second of these items occupied less than half-a-year, and it might occupy twice or thrice that length of time. Hence it is uncertain by what exact space the elevation of Joseph, and consequently, the hearing of the deputation at Rome preceded Oct. A.D. 62. In other words, the time of Festus's death and of the appointment of Albinus is so far open to dispute¹. It is possible, then,

¹ Since Josephus visited Rome when he had completed his 26th year, *i.e.* A.D. 63, Poppæa was at that time certainly married: and his visit lies at least a year after that of the deputies. Perhaps it

was in consequence of the report which they brought home of Poppæa's friendly disposition towards the Jews, that Josephus conceived the design of going to Rome for the purpose of ingratiating

and for ought that appears, not unlikely, that Albinus arrived in the province in A.D. 61., for there is no reason to suppose that the feast of Tabernacles at which Jesus son of Ananus was brought before him, was the first festival that had occurred since his arrival. And indeed if the celebrated clause concerning James in *Ant.* xx. 9. 1. καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτὸ [τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ] καὶ τινὰς ἑτέρους, be substantially genuine, of which I see no cause to doubt, the ancient christian tradition concerning the year and time of S. James's martyrdom establishes this point. For Hegesippus (*Rel. Sacc.* i. 194.) relates that the martyrdom happened at a passover, and S. Jerome, *Script. Eccl. Cat.* 2, on the authority of the *Hypotyposes* of S. Clement, assigns it to the 7th of Nero, i.e. A.D. 61: so does Eusebius, *Chron. Armeno-lat.*, and Syncellus, i. 634. If this be true, Festus died before the passover of that year, Ananus was high priest during the passover, Albinus reached Judæa in the course of the following summer, Joseph Kabi was high priest in A.D. 60, and the deputation was sent in A.D. 59 or 60.

The time at which Gessius Florus, the last procurator before the destruction of Jerusalem, succeeded to Albinus is thus made out. The war broke out in the 2nd year of Florus and 12th of Nero, in the month of April, *Ant.* xx. 11. 1, therefore in A.D. 66, for the 1st of Nero began 13 Oct. A.D. 54. Therefore Florus began at some time between April 64 and April 65.—Hence the order of succession is as follows:

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Felix arrived in Judæa as procurator, A.D..... | 53 |
| Festus.....(Summer) . A.D..... | 55 |
| Albinus (on the death of Festus) soon after the passover..... | 61 |
| Gessius Florus between (April)..... | 64 and 65 |

himself with her. This order of events likewise serves to shew of how small importance his friends the priests must have been. If their persons or cause had been of much moment, surely the deputies, or Ismael and Helkias who were detained at

the empress's court, would have brought forward their matter. As they did not so, it is all the more likely that these men were friendless and unimportant: which is sufficient to account for their long detention.

SUMMARY OF THE PRECEDING RESULTS.

- A.D. 20. 18 *Mar.* The Passion.
 8 *May.* Pentecost.
 Dec. or Jan. A.D. 30. Martyrdom of S. Stephen.
30. *Spring or Summer,* Conversion of S. Paul.
32. *Tabernacles* (about): Conversion of Cornelius.
33. *Passover?* S. Paul's first visit to Jerusalem.
- *41. *After Passover.* Dispersion of the Apostles.
43. SS. Barnabas and Paul at Antioch.
44. *Passover.* Imprisonment of S. Peter, preceded by the martyrdom of S. James, son of Zebedee. SS. Barnabas and Paul at Jerusalem, (*Gal. ii. 1.*)
 Pentecost. Mission of Barnabas and Paul to the Gentiles.
45. *Autumn?* Barnabas and Paul at Antioch. S. Peter, *Gal. ii.*
47. *End* (or 48 *begin.*) Council at Jerusalem.
48. *Spring.* S. Paul's second circuit in Asia: first in *Galatia.*
49. *Spring.* S. Paul called into Macedonia: residence of some weeks at Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens. Jews expelled from Rome early in this year: 20,000 Jews lose their lives at the *Passover.* S. Paul at Corinth, about Midsummer.
- A.D. 50, *end* or 51 *beg.* S. Paul before Gallio.
51. *Passover or Pentecost.* S. Paul at Jerusalem: short stay at Antioch: third tour in Asia.
- 51, *end* or 52 *beg.* S. Paul at Ephesus.
54. *Passover.* S. Paul sends Timothy and Erastus before to Macedonia and Corinth: remains at Ephesus until Pentecost. Up-roar of the artizans. Departure from Ephesus, tour through Macedonia, all the summer.
54. *end.* S. Paul winters at Corinth, three months: journeys over-land to Philippi:
55. *Passover:* at Troas.
 Pentecost: at Jerusalem.
 Autumn: voyage to Rome.
 Winter: in Malta.
56. *Spring.* Arrival at Rome.
58. End of the two years noted by S. Luke.

SECTION II.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WRITINGS OF THE APOSTLES AND EVANGELISTS.

I. THE EPISTLES OF S. PAUL.

(1.) THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

§ 121. THE first *recorded* visit of S. Paul to Galatia occurred during the *second circuit*. If this was really the first visit, the Epistle to the Galatians cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 48. It is remarkable however, that this epistle contains no allusion to the decrees of the council: whence some have inferred that it was written before the council was held, *i. e.* in the heat of the disputes at Antioch which gave occasion to the council. The epistle, it is said, is addressed not exclusively to the churches of Galatia properly so called, which is first mentioned in S. Paul's history at Acts xvi. 6, but to Galatians in a wider sense of the term, which includes, according to Ptolemy v. 3, nearly the whole of Phrygia, *Pisidia* and *Lycaonia*. But Ptolemy's definition must surely be intended, not for Galatia as such, but for the territory subject to the kings or tetrarchs of Galatia. The last of these, Amyntas, who died A.D. 26, possessed proper Galatia and Pisidia with some districts of Lycaonia and Pamphylia, Dion. Cass. xlix. 32. Strabo, xii. 569. After his death, Galatia with Lycaonia formed one province, Dion. Cass. liii. 26, and this seems to have continued down to the time of Galba, when Galatia was united with Paphlagonia, Tacit. *Hist.* ii. 9. 1. Now since S. Luke and all contemporary writers (e. g. Plin. *H.N.* v. 25.) clearly distinguish Lycaonia and Pisidia from Galatia, it is very unlikely that S. Paul would address the churches of the two former regions under the name *Galatæ*. Were it necessary to suppose the epistle written before the second circuit in Asia, it were far less improbable to assume that the Galatæ of this epistle were converted while

Paul and Barnabas preached in the *περίχωρος Λύστρας καὶ Δέρβης*, Acts xiv. 6, 7.—And doubtless the supposition that the Galatian churches were founded during the first circuit has this circumstance in its favour, that Barnabas is spoken of in this epistle as well known to the Galatians: for Barnabas was not with Paul on the second circuit. But the Apostle's silence on the subject of the decrees, is not hard to account for. He breaks off, from the tone of narrative, into expostulation and reproof, just where the next thing to be mentioned, after the notice of Peter's dissimulation, was the settling of the matter in controversy by the apostles and elders at Jerusalem. (ii. 15, or iii. 1.) With respect to their knowledge of Barnabas, they may have had it in some other way: *e.g.* he may have visited them in the interval between S. Paul's first preaching and the epistle. On the whole, it must be admitted, I think, that the matter is doubtful; and I should content myself with saying, that the epistle was written at some time between A.D. 47, before the council, and A.D. 51. (S. Paul's third tour in Asia). Nor indeed do I see what objection could be conclusively urged against the view taken by Neander, *Pfla. u. Leit.* i. 291. viz. that it was written during the apostle's residence at Ephesus after the third tour in Asia. Mr. Greswell, I perceive, takes the same view, iv. 173. ff. but upon grounds which appear to me unsatisfactory¹.

(2.) THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS.

§ 122. It is evident that the first epistle was written after S. Paul's stay at Athens, iii. 1, and after his arrival in Achaia, i. 7, 8, therefore some time in the year 49. The second epistle, having been written to obviate a misconception

¹ The point is not of sufficient importance for an examination of the arguments: but I may remark, that the argument derived from *τὸ πρότερον*, Gal. iv. 13, as if it must needs mean the former of two occasions, both of which were past, "and consequently must distinctly imply that he had been *twice* in Galatia, but neither more nor less than *twice*, before

he wrote the epistle," is very weak. *Πρότερος* of course means the earlier of two, but whether both are past, or one present or in contemplation, the context must determine: and *τὸ πρότερον* here, as in innumerable other passages, is simply *τὸ πρὶν*, "aforetime" (for the N. T. see Joh. vi. 62. ix. 8.)

occasioned by the first, may be assigned to the same period, namely, to the year 49 or 50, before S. Paul's departure from Corinth. (Comp. *supra* § 118.)

(3.) THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS*.

§ 123. THIS epistle was written from Ephesus, (xvi. 8) where, at the time of writing, S. Paul purposed to tarry until Pentecost.

* It is inferred from 1 Cor. v. 9, by most modern commentators, since Calvin, and by *all* recent German critics, that S. Paul had written an earlier epistle, which is now lost. So far as the article is concerned, the epistle spoken of may be that which the apostle was then writing: this is manifest from Rom. xvi. 22. Col. iv. 16. 1 Thess. v. 27. 2 Thess. iii. 14. There is nothing parallel to our passage in 2 Cor. vii. 7. (which is quoted as decisive), inasmuch as the context of that passage plainly shews that a former, not the present, letter is the subject of discourse. Neither does *ἔγραψα* make any difficulty. It belongs to the epistolary style that the aorist of this verb is often used in reference to something immediately preceding, not *instead of γέγραφα* or *γράφω*, by an "enallage of tenses," as the grammarians and critics of a former generation used to speak, but where one or other of those tenses might have been used with equal propriety. Of this we have clear instances in ix. 15. of this epistle, *οὐκ ἔγραψα ταῦτα*, referring to vv. 4-14. Philm. v. 19. *ἐγὼ Παῦλος ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ, ἐγὼ ἀποτίσω*, referring to v. 18. so *id.* 21. Gal. vi. 11. Rom. xv. 15. 1 Pet. v. 12. 1 Joh. ii. 21. 26. v. 13. So in our passage *ἔγραψα* may refer to the verses immediately preceding, 1-8. Not adverting to this very common use of the aorist, some critics have imagined that the thrice repeated *ἔγραψα* in 1 Joh. ii. 13, 14. refers to an earlier writing of the apostle; to a *lost* epistle (Michaelis,

Anmerk. in l.) or to his gospel (Lange): others again have confounded it with *γράφω*, thus obliterating the evidently-studied emphasis of the passage: in fact, *ἔγραψα* refers to the *preceding* context i. 5—ii. 11, as *γράφω* does to the *subsequent* context ii. 15—iii. 22. (See Lücke's ingenious and beautiful exposition of this passage).—But, it is objected, *ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ* is "strangely superfluous" (Meyer in l.) if the reference be to the verses immediately preceding. Not at all, if the apostle meant to intimate that the precept was delivered in this very epistle. If it had been "I wrote to you to separate from among you him that hath done this thing," the addition might have been superfluous: for no one would fail to perceive that he was carrying on the subject on which he had begun to touch. On the other hand, if it had been, "I wrote to you not to keep company; &c." the readers might have asked, When? in some former, or in the present letter? What precedes is an injunction concerning an *individual case*: after a brief digression, he resumes the subject; and as the thought which he was about to express shaped itself in his mind in the form of a *general rule*, he might very naturally and not at all unnecessarily knit the general rule about to be enunciated to the specific direction just before given, by premising *ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ*: *q. d.* Ye see by this present letter—in that I have enjoined you to separate the evil-doer from among you—that I enjoin you to have

The allusions to the paschal solemnity, v. 7, 8, imply that it was written about the time of the passover, but rather before than after it.—Apollos had been at Corinth, iii. 4, but was returned to Ephesus, xvi. 12.—Timothy was absent on a mission into Greece and was to be expected at Corinth. Now when S. Paul arrived at Ephesus, Apollos was at Corinth, xix. 1: *i. e.* in the beginning of A. D. 52. This epistle then was certainly not written before the *second* year of the residence at Ephesus, (A. D. 53.) And it follows from the mention of Timothy that it was written in the *third* year (A. D. 54.): for Acts xix. 22. ff. “Paul” (towards the close of his residence) “purposed when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia to go to Jerusalem: so he sent into Macedonia Timothy and Erastus, but himself abode in Asia for a season.”—We may therefore reasonably assign as the date of this epistle, the passover-time of A. D. 54¹.

(4.) THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

§ 124. At the writing of this epistle, the Apostle had left Ephesus, i. 8, and had arrived in Macedonia by way of Troas, ii. 12, 13; vii. 5; viii. 1; ix. 2. Titus, whom he had sent before (perhaps as the bearer of the first epistle) and expected to meet at Troas, joined him in Macedonia, and brought intelligence of the wholesome effect produced by the former epistle. He writes to prepare the Corinthians for a second visit² (xiii. 10), which took place that

have no company with fornicators.—The sense by this addition would become equivalent to this: Ταῦτα ἔγραψα, μὴ θέλων ὑμᾶς συναναμ. πόρνοις.—This passage therefore is inconclusive: it may refer, no doubt, to an earlier communication, but it admits, so far as the words go, of being referred to the very letter which the Apostle was then writing.

¹ The subscription in the Vulgate text, ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Φιλίππων, was probably derived from xvi. 5, Μακεδονίαν γὰρ διέρχουμαι. Cod. B. has ἐγράφη ἀπὸ

Ῥφέσου.

² Erasmus, Baronius, Mill, and many others of the elder commentators, infer from passages of this epistle that S. Paul had been already *twice* at Corinth before it was written: and this is the view of all the recent and contemporary German writers whom I have consulted. Paley, in his *Horæ Paulinæ* (2 Cor. No xi.), treats this view as if it rested only on one passage (xiii. 1), and as if it required the epistle to be placed after the second of the two visits recorded

winter, Acts xx. 1, 2. Hence the time of this epistle

in the Acts. But the commentators allege other passages, and place the second visit *between* the two mentioned by S. Luke. (Thus *Baronius, Michaelis, Anger*, in his essay on the Chronology of the Acts, make the second visit a return to Corinth after an absence during the term of 18 months, mentioned Acts xviii. 11. Others, as *Olshausen, Rückert, Meyer*, refer it to the two years' residence at Ephesus, Acts xix. 10. Lastly, *Neander, Pfa. u. Leit.* i. 329. makes it a passing visit, *ἐν παρόδῳ*, 1 Cor. xvi. 7, during the tour of visitations, Acts xviii. 23, which he thinks must have extended from Phrygia along the coast of the Mediterranean, and included a voyage into Greece.) The argument for this view may be stated thus:

(1.) 2 Cor. xii. 13, 14, the apostle obviously means, that as he had already twice resided at Corinth without burthening the church, so neither will he burthen them now in this intended third sojourn: *αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ οὐ κατενάρκησα ὑμῶν ... ἰδοὺ τρίτον τοῦτο ἐτοίμως ἔχω ἔλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐ καταναρκήσω*: where, if the meaning be, that he now for the third time announces his intention, we must supply, "and this time I will do as I say," which does not fit well into the context.

(2.) ii. 1. *τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἐν λόγῳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔλθεῖν*, implies that he had once already come to them in sorrow, i. e. in the exercise of a painful severity: for *πάλιν*, by its position, belongs to the entire clause *ἐν λόγῳ ἔλθεῖν*.—So xii. 21. *μὴ πάλιν ἐλθόντες μου ταπεινώσει με ὁ θεός μου*, *πάλιν* is superfluous (for v. 20. we had *μὴ πως ἔλθων* without the adverb) if it belong only to *ἐλθόντες*, and not to the whole clause: "lest a second time at my coming God humble me." But the first visit, described Acts xviii., was not sorrowful and humiliating; these circumstances, therefore, bespeak a second visit which was so.

(3.) Hence xiii. 1, though it admits,

per se, of a different interpretation, may and should be understood thus, "I am now about to pay you a third visit,"—"and then I will sit in judgment, hear evidence, and decide according to the testimony of two or three witnesses. I have told you before, and do tell you before, as I did when present the second time (at my second visit), so at this time in my absence...that if I come again I will not spare." Thus Meyer interprets, weakly enough. But Neander thus: "and as in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established, so what I now threaten for the second and third time shall be fulfilled. I have forewarned you [viz. during my second visit], and I forewarn you the second time (*τὸ δεύτερον*) as if I were present (*ὡς παρών*), although I am absent now (*ῶν*, this last warning opposed to the former when he was present), that if I come again I will not spare (will not be so lenient as on the second visit)."

But, to begin with the last of these passages: surely the several numerical statements, the *τρίτον τοῦτο*, *δύο καὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων*, and *τὸ δεύτερον*, must all have the same reference. And so they have, if we interpret the passage in connexion with the facts of the case. Namely, the apostle thrice sent word, twice before this epistle was sent, that he was coming. *First*, he sent word from Ephesus before the first epistle was sent, that he would take Corinth in his way to Macedonia, 2 Cor. i. 15-17, (where, by the bye, *δευτέραν χάριν* shews conclusively that this would have been the *second* visit). *How* this first announcement was sent I need not stop to enquire, it is enough that it reached Corinth before the first epistle. *Next*, he saw good to change his original purpose, and announced by his first epistle that *now* (*ἄρτι*) he purposed not to take them in passing, but to terminate his tour by a longer sojourn at Corinth, 1 Cor. xvi. 5-7. Comp. iv. 17-19. And now for the *third*

manifestly lies between the Pentecost and the winter of the

time he announces by his second epistle from Macedonia that he will do as he had said in the former epistle. The emphasis of the enumeration here (xiii. 1), and xii. 14, is explained by the insinuation of his adversaries that he would not come, 1 Cor. iv. 17-19. This then is what he says: "I now announce to you for the third time, I am coming: in the mouth of two witnesses and of three shall every word be established: this third announcement shall make all sure. I have forewarned and do forewarn you that if I come again, I will not spare: I have forewarned you [*twice already, first when I first sent word that I was coming;*] the second time in my former epistle when I addressed you, *ὡς παρών*, as though I had been present, and now being absent, I repeat the warning for the third time." But why does he thus describe the second warning? plainly with reference to what he had said in the first epistle: "Some are puffed up, as though I would not come, but I will come speedily...shall I come with a rod, &c.: It is commonly reported that there is fornication among you....and are ye puffed up, and have not rather mourned that the guilty person be removed from among you? *ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὼν τῷ σώματι παρὼν δὲ τῷ πνεύματι ἤδη κέκρικα ὅς ἐστι ΠΑΡΩΝ τὸν οὕτως κ. τ. λ.*" 1 Cor. v. 3. This is completely parallel to, and explanatory of, our passage, which thus interpreted has emphasis and rhetorical concinnity. The grammatical construction is, *προεῖρηκα καὶ προλέγω, ὡς παρὼν [προβλέγων] τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ ἀπὼν [προλέγω] νῦν*: the *προεῖρηκα* includes the first and second announcements, of which however he specifies only the second, and because that second came by letter at a time when he had promised to be with them in person, and his adversaries had put an evil construction upon his continued absence, therefore he now hints at what he had before

said, viz. that his former injunction by letter had all the force of his personal presence: hence the antithesis here between *παρὼν* and *ἀπὼν*, to which he reverts again at v. 10, *ταῦτα ἀπὼν γράφω ἵνα παρὼν μὴ κ. τ. λ.*

As for the first argument, it is sufficient, now, to observe that *τρίτον τοῦτο* refers to the whole clause following, *ἐτ. ἔχω ἐλθεῖν π. ὑ. καὶ οὐ καταναρκῆσαι*: q. d. I have been with you once and did not burthen you, I am ready to come again and will not burthen you, and this I announce now for the third time: I said so in my first announcement, I said it in my former epistle, (ix. 15. ff.). I now say it again."

And for the second; we need not, with Theodoret, restrict the *πάλιν* in ii. 1. to *ἐλθεῖν* alone, for of course it belongs to the whole clause; nor, with Chrysostom, interpret the former "sorrowful coming" to mean (absolutely) the former epistle; the meaning is, I was *at first*, i. e. at my first message, minded to come to you direct from Ephesus, which would have been a sorrowful visit; but I have determined not to do so *again*: the *πάλιν* does not imply that he *had* come *ἐν λύπῃ*, but that he must have come in grief if his first intention had taken effect. In the remaining passage *πάλιν* obviously belongs to *ἐλθόντος*, and is no more superfluous there than *εἰς τὸ πάλιν* in xiii. 2. following after *ἔρχομαι* without the adverb in v. 1.

Since the hypothesis of three visits rests upon these passages, and has against it the silence of S. Luke and the obvious import of 2 Cor. i. 15, it is now sufficiently disproved. In a previous note, it was argued that 1 Cor. v. 9, does not *necessarily* imply a former epistle. In connexion with the present discussion, I think it not unlikely that in point of fact *ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ* does refer to a brief written communication in which the apostle announced the intention de-

year in which S. Paul left Ephesus, in our chronology A. D. 54¹.

§ 125. Hence the vision or ecstasy mentioned, 2 Cor. xii. 2, according to the usual interpretation of that passage, *i. e.* if it speak of "a man in Christ, who, *fourteen years ago*, was caught up into heaven, &c." must be referred to A. D. 40, or 41, one of the years during which we have no explicit information about S. Paul. But it seems to me, that this is neither the necessary, nor the true meaning of that passage. I render it thus²: "*I knew a person in Christ fourteen years ago*;" *i. e.* a person who had been fourteen years in Christ, and then was caught up, &c.: that is, I refer the words *πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων* not to *ἀπαγέντα*, but to *ἄνθρωπον ἐν Χριστῷ* *sc. ὄντα*, or *γενόμενον*. Then the expression *ἄνθρ. ἐν Χρ.* is emphatic, as much as to say, "no novice, to be puffed up, but an old disciple, one who had been in Christ many years." S. Paul, it seems to me, is here reciting the cardinal events of his history, those on which his apostleship to the Gentiles hinged, in much the same way as he does in Gal. i. ii. There he mentions, under that point of view, two visits to Jerusalem, the first after his escape from Damascus, the second *δι' ἐτῶν δεκαττεσσάρων*. Both occasions, we know from his own statement were rendered memorable to him by visions or revelations:

scribed in 2 Cor. i. 15. ff. and gave them a brief hint concerning their duty, *μὴ συναμίγνυσθε πόρνοις*.

¹ From the expression viii. 10; ix. 2. *ἀπὸ πέμ्वαι*, it has been inferred that S. Paul wrote after the beginning of a new year, therefore after 1 Tisri: for *ἀπὸ πέμ्वαι* does not mean "a year ago," but "last year" (*im vorigen Jahre*, Meyer): "since ye have already made a beginning, last year, not only to do (the thing, *i. e.* to make a collection for the saints), but to do it willingly:" and if he wrote this at any time before 1 Tisri (A. D. 54.) he speaks of a time anterior to 1 Tisri 53, seven or eight months before the First Epistle to the Corinthians. I do not perceive the cogency of this argument: for the collection, although the first mention of it occurs at 1 Cor. xvi. 1. (*passover*,

A. D. 54), may have been begun many months before. It is, however, in itself probable, that our epistle was written several months after the departure from Ephesus.

² So, I perceive, Grotius explains it: *hominem talem qui per annos 14 jam Christo serviat*. The commentators who take the other interpretation, account for the mention of the time by considerations which seem far-fetched: *e. g.* S. Chrysostom, that S. Paul had held his peace about this memorable grace fourteen years, and would still have continued silent, but that the adversaries constrained him "to glory." Bengel: that speaking of himself in the third person as of a stranger, he naturally mentions the time: *nam longo tempore alius a se quisque factus videtur*.

on the former occasion, the Lord appeared to him in the Temple, saying, "I will send thee far hence *to the Gentiles*," Acts xxii. 21; on the second, he went up *κατ' ἀποκάλυψιν*. Gal. ii. 1, 2. Here in 2 Cor. xi. he is speaking of "visions and revelations of the Lord:" he has just before spoken of his escape from Damascus, which is the first of the two conjunctures on which he lays such stress in his argument with the Galatians: and immediately after, he speaks of a specific revelation in connexion with a note of time precisely similar to that by which he characterizes the second of those conjunctures in the other epistle. Hence it seems probable, *prima facie*, that the time denoted by the phrase, *πρὸ δεκατ. ἐτ.* in 2 Cor. xii. may be the same as that denoted by the phrase *δι' ἐτ. δεκατ.* in Gal. ii.; that the rapture or ecstasy of the man who had been in Christ fourteen years, refers to the same great event in S. Paul's history as is referred to in Gal. ii. 1: "then, after 14 years, [viz. after his conversion] I went up to Jerusalem....*κατ' ἀποκάλυψιν*." And this inference is confirmed, to my mind, by an attentive consideration of the scope of the whole passage and its context.—*Εἰ καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ τὰ τῆς ἀσθενείας μου καυχῆσομαι*, xi. 30. This is not the conclusion of the preceding recital, in which he has been comparing himself with his antagonists, generally, *v.* 21; as a Jew, 22; as a laborious minister of Christ, 23–29; for these particulars belong to the declaration of his *τολμᾶν*, *v.* 21, which is the antithesis to *ἀσθενεία*. He says, I have as strong grounds of boldness as any man can have: but I waive these, and whereas these men who are so highly emboldened by a sense of their prerogatives disdain me as "weak," (*κατὰ ἀτιμίαν λέγω ὡς ὅτι ἡσθενήκαμεν* 21.) *i. e.* as one who is conscious of a want of the like authority and prerogatives, I will boast of the things which pertain to my "weakness." This verse then, is introductory to what follows, *i. e.* to a recital *τῶν τῆς ἀσθενείας*, of the occasions, grounds or circumstances of that position and attitude of S. Paul in the church, which his opponents called *ἀσθένεια*, especially how it came to pass, that he waived those prerogatives: comp. Phil. iii. 3–8. After solemn protestation of his veracity, he begins the recital calmly, as if he were about to deliver a detailed account of his commission to the apostolate of the Gentiles. That commission, we know, was first given in a vision which he had

at Jerusalem, three years after his conversion, immediately after his escape from Damascus. Accordingly, he relates the circumstances of his escape, as if he were about to give the whole history of his commission with the like circumstantiality of detail: *e.g.* in the words of Acts xxii. 17. "And when I was come to Jerusalem, as I was praying in the temple, I fell into an ecstasy and saw the Lord, who said to me, &c." But, whether carried away by the vehemence of his feelings, or perhaps reflecting that they to whom he was writing, knew these passages of his personal history already, he presently breaks off from the tenor and tone of detailed narration,—breaks off, be it observed, at the very point where the next thing to be narrated was a vision and revelation,—and falls back into the tone of argument and remonstrance. *Καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ, οὐ συμφέρον μὲν, ἐλεύσομαι δὲ καὶ εἰς ὀπτασίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις Κυρίου*: *q.d.* You doubtless know what befel me in Jerusalem after that escape from Damascus: you cannot be ignorant of the memorable communications which thenceforth, on two distinct occasions, were made to me in the spirit by the Lord? You compel me to glory, inexpedient though it be, and I must remind you of those visions and revelations, and apprise you how they were concerned in my "weakness" (as ye speak). You are aware then that there was once a man, who, when he had been fourteen years in Christ, was rapt out of the bodily consciousness even into the third heaven—a man, who in like manner was rapt into paradise, and heard unspeakable words? Ye know the matter of these communications, how that the *Gentiles* should be fellow-heirs, and the grace therein given unto me that *I* should preach to the Gentiles, and the consequence thereof to me, that those things which were gain to me I accounted loss, renouncing all former grounds of 'strength,' so making myself "weak"?—Such, it seems to me, is the general drift of the discourse, in respect of the antithesis between the *τολμᾶν* and *ὑβρις* of the false teachers and the *ταπεινότης* and so-called *ἀσθένεια* of S. Paul. Apart from this, it might be more generally expressed in this way: he is stating the grounds of that assertion, x. 6. *εἰ τις ἐαυτῷ πέποιθεν Χριστοῦ εἶναι, τοῦτο πάλιν λογίξσθω ἐφ' ἐαυτοῦ, ὅτι καθὼς αὐτὸς Χριστοῦ οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς*. After touching upon other matters, he states the principal grounds of this

πεποιθῆναι at xi. 31—xii. 5, but allusively, as writing to persons who knew the facts and their bearings. Now if we were to search S. Paul's history as related in the Acts and Epistles, for the purpose of stating on his behalf the grounds of his confidence that he was Christ's apostle to the Gentiles, certainly we should single out (as he himself has done elsewhere, Gal. i. ii.) two particular conjunctures of his personal history. The first of these is clearly expressed here: the second, one would think, ought likewise to be expressed, and *is*, if we understand the words *πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων* in the proposed sense.

(5.) THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

§ 126. THIS epistle was written, according to the subscription, from Corinth, and sent by Phœbe, servant of the church at Cenchreæ. With this statement the internal evidence fully agrees. It was written from Corinth, xvi. 23, at a time when S. Paul had "no more place in these parts," xv. 23, and was about to set out for Jerusalem, bearing the collections which had been made in Achaia and Macedonia, xv. 25, 26.

Hence its date lies just before the passover of A. D. 55.

(6.) THE EPISTLES TO THE PHILIPPIANS, EPHESIANS, COLOSSIANS, AND PHILEMON.

§ 127. ALL these were written from Rome, during the Apostle's imprisonment, which, we know from the Acts, lasted two whole years, Phil. i. 7. 12, 13, &c. ii. 12. 23, &c. Eph. iii. 1, 13; vi. 19. Col. i. 24; ii. 1; iv. 3, 9. 18. Philem. 9, 10. 13. It is evident that they were written in the latter of these two years; therefore sometime in A. D. 57-58.

(7.) THE EPISTLES TO TIMOTHY AND TITUS.

§ 128. OF these, *the First Epistle to Timothy* and that to *Titus* must, from the prevailing similarity both of matter and diction, have been written at the same time. The time of their composition must have been later than S. Paul's first

imprisonment and release: *i. e.* later than A. D. 58. On a visit to Macedonia, he had left Timothy at Ephesus, i. 3, as perhaps at the same time, Titus in Crete. In the Acts, there is no conjuncture to which these incidents can be referred. He requires Titus to come to him at Nicopolis (in Epirus), for there he has determined to winter, Tit. iii. 12. He was therefore at this time on the continent of Greece: but the exact date cannot be determined.

The Second Epistle to Timothy was written, according to the subscription, "from Rome, when Paul was brought before Nero the second time." Comp. ii. 9. iv. 6. ff.

§ 129. That S. Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome under Nero, is the concurrent belief of all antiquity. There is also an ancient tradition preserved by Hippolytus, that S. Paul lived and preached just 35 years after his conversion. But 35 years measured from A. D. 30, which is this writer's date of S. Paul's conversion, expire in A. D. 65. And this is about the date assigned by the most ancient authorities.

(1.) S. Jerome places the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul in the 37th year after the Ascension. Jerome is inconsistent in his dates of the Crucifixion, and here as elsewhere, he may be relating a tradition as he found it, without caring to adjust it to his own views of the chronology. If so, this 37th year, reckoned from A. D. 29, is the year 65.

(2.) Rufinus, in S. Hieron. Opp. v. 296, allots 24 years to S. Peter's presidency over the church of Rome. As S. Peter was commonly supposed to have first seen Rome in A. D. 42, the date thus obtained is 66, or perhaps 65.

(3.) Orosius places the pestilence at Rome (which occurred in the latter part of A. D. 65) after the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul.

(4.) Sulpicius Severus, *Hist.* ii. 41, 42, places the conjoint martyrdom at the time when the Jews were about breaking out into open revolt: this was A. D. 66. He may therefore mean the year 65.

(5.) Epiphanius, *Opp.* i. 107, places both in the 12th of Nero. This began 13 Oct. A. D. 65.

Hence the date of the First Epistle to Timothy and of that to Titus lies between A. D. 58, when S. Paul's first imprisonment terminated, and A. D. 65, the year of his martyrdom.

The date of the Second Epistle to Timothy must be A. D. 64 or 65.

§ 130. In the foregoing statement I have assumed as certain, that S. Paul's first imprisonment did not terminate in his martyrdom. The assumption rests on the following grounds.

(1.) It seems to me to admit of no further question that S. Paul's imprisonment in Rome began A. D. 56: and the ecclesiastical tradition of his martyrdom in A. D. 65, is too constant not to command assent. That the imprisonment should have lasted 9 years is incredible, and altogether unsupported by ecclesiastical writers. Hence those moderns (since Petavius) who assume but one imprisonment are obliged, contrary to all that is known on the subject, to date the imprisonment at Jerusalem as late as A. D. 60, at the earliest.

(2.) The Christian Fathers, generally, distinguish two imprisonments, with a term of years between, in which they place the preaching of the gospel by S. Paul in Spain: so S. Athanasius, *Opp.* Ed. Paris, i. 956. S. Cyril. Hieros. *Catech.* 17. S. Epiphanius. *Hær.* xxvii. 6. S. Jerom. in *Amos* v. *Esai.* xi. S. Chrys. *Præf. in Ep. ad. Hebr.* Theodoret. in *Phil.* i. 25. 2 *Tim.* iv. 17.—Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 22, does not mention the preaching in Spain, but relates the current tradition (λόγος ἔχει) and appeals in support of it to the Second Epistle to Timothy. Now let it be granted that the notion of S. Paul's preaching in Spain originated in Rom. xv. 24. 28, still it is plain that the whole body of ecclesiastical writers could not be mistaken as to the matter of fact, whether S. Paul was twice imprisoned or but once. (The only ancient testimony alleged on the other side is that of an apocryphal writer, calling himself Abdias, *Hist. Apost.* ii. 7, 8, Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr. N. T.* 452, ff.) And indeed the tradition, or hypothesis, of S. Paul's preaching in countries further west than Italy, derives no slight support from the assertion of his contemporary, and perhaps disciple, S. Clement: Παῦλος... κῆρυξ γενόμενος ἐν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν, δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν, καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπῆλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου: *Ep.* i. *ad. Cor.* § 5. The expression τέρμα δύσεως, taken in its most obvious sense, means

Spain, and hence it would seem that S. Paul lived to execute the purpose which he had expressed several years before, Rom. xv. 24. If it does not mean Spain, certainly it cannot be a mere rhetorical flourish, meaning no more than Rome or Italy: Clement, writing at Rome, would never have used so unnatural an hyperbole. Grant that *τέρμα δύσεως* may mean simply "the West," as Ernesti explains it: still this cannot be its meaning in this context. For he had said just before that Paul preached *in the East and West, and taught the whole world righteousness*; when therefore he adds, *καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν*, he can only mean that the Apostle extended his labours *far into the West*. Now if Clement knew that S. Paul was but once in Italy and at Rome, and then as a prisoner, and that his one imprisonment terminated in his death, with what propriety or truth could he have said of him that he preached in the East and West, and taught the whole world, then came to the extreme west, and lastly, bore testimony before rulers and suffered martyrdom?

Lastly: the epistles to Timothy and Titus are altogether opposed to the hypothesis of a single imprisonment. Not to urge that at the time when S. Paul on his voyage to Rome touched *at Crete* there seem, from S. Luke's silence, to have been no Christians in that island; those who advocate this view are obliged to assign the Cretan journey, Tit. i. 3, of which the Acts are profoundly silent, to the time of residence at Ephesus, Acts xix., and moreover to date the Epistle to Titus and the first to Timothy from Macedonia between the departure from Ephesus and the wintering at Corinth. Now at the date of these epistles S. Paul had determined (*κέκρικα*) to winter at Nicopolis, Tit. iii. 12. If he acted upon this intention, then this wintering must be placed during a term which S. Luke dismisses with four words, *διελθὼν τὰ μερῇ ἐκεῖνα*, xx. 2. (a most unlikely supposition,) and so, after his repeated promises to come to Corinth, there lies a period of full eighteen months between his departure from Ephesus and arrival at that city! If he did not winter at Nicopolis, it implies a fickleness totally at variance with his character, that after promising to pass the winter at Corinth, he should then "resolve" to winter in Epirus, and end at last by acting upon his first intention.

Again, if S. Paul was but once a prisoner at Rome, the Second Epistle to Timothy is a clumsy forgery. We know from the Epistle to the Philippians that Timothy was with the Apostle during part at least of the one imprisonment: now the Second Epistle to Timothy is addressed as to one who needed to be informed of the writer's situation and prospects. But suppose that imprisonment to have lasted several years, so that Timothy was at Rome when the Epistle to the Philippians was written, and then returned to Ephesus, whence towards the close of the imprisonment, and in the near prospect of his martyrdom, S. Paul now summoned him by this second epistle,—still, how is this to be reconciled with the instructions about “the cloak and books and parchments which were left at Troas with Carpus,” 2 Tim. iv. 13, and the information at v. 20., “Erastus abode at Corinth, but Trophimus I left at Miletus sick?” When were the cloak and books left at Troas? Why, on this hypothesis, at latest, when Paul was on his way from Corinth to Jerusalem, Acts xx. 6, at least three years before the earliest date that can be assigned to this epistle. Again, that Erastus abode at Corinth, if this refers to S. Paul's final departure from Corinth on that occasion, Acts xx. 4, it was superfluous to inform Timothy, who was on that very occasion with S. Paul, and equally superfluous to inform him, the Bishop of Ephesus, that Trophimus was on that same voyage left sick at Miletus, besides the incongruity and unmeaningness of thus adverting to matters which happened so long ago. If S. Paul was but once a prisoner at Rome, these three incidents must, one and all, be referred to the time of that voyage, and if so, he might, indeed, notice them in a first communication, at an interval of a few weeks or months after these things happened; but to suppose that he would write thus to Timothy full three years afterwards, is absurd on the face of it. Nay, in respect of Trophimus (unless he be a different person from the Ephesian of that name in the Acts) it is not even true: Trophimus was not left behind at Miletus on that occasion, but accompanied Paul to Jerusalem, where his presence in the Temple gave occasion to the tumult in consequence of which S. Paul was apprehended, xxi. 29. These considerations are sufficient to refute this hypothesis, which was first, I believe, started by Petavius. We must either,

with the more reckless critics of the German school, deny the genuineness of these epistles on the ground (alleged by Winer, *Bibl. Real-Wörterb.* s. v. Paulus) that it is impossible to reconcile their contents with the known history and chronology of S. Paul's life, or we must acquiesce in the uniform and unhesitating tradition of the early church, according to which, S. Paul was twice a prisoner at Rome¹.

(8.) THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

§ 131. If this epistle was written by S. Paul, it must be assigned to the close of his first imprisonment at Rome: for xiii. 19, he requests the prayers of the church that he "may be restored to them the sooner;" v. 23 he informs them that Timothy is set at liberty, "with whom," he adds, "if he come sooner, I will see you," namely, at Jerusalem. The 24th verse proves that it was written from Italy. This epistle, therefore, cannot be referred to the second imprisonment, for it is evident from the Second Epistle to Timothy that the Apostle well knew how that imprisonment would terminate.

But indeed, I have never been able to satisfy myself, either by external or internal evidence, that S. Paul was the

¹ An ingenious solution of the difficulty with respect to Trophimus deserves to be noticed. S. Paul, it is said, is speaking of those persons whose presence as witnesses would be useful to him on his trial, and who had undertaken to come to Rome for that purpose: and he here informs Timothy, that one of these, Erastus, did not accompany the deputies, after all, but stayed behind at Corinth, while Trophimus, whose evidence concerning the disturbances in the Temple was peculiarly important, was taken ill on the journey and left behind at Miletus; ἀπέλειπον, in the third person plural, "they, the deputation, left him." By this casualty, the apostle's cause, on his approaching trial, was left denuded of very important evidence: therefore Timothy must make all the more haste, and must bring with him the

books and writings—to be used also as evidence. On which Neander u.s. i. 415, justly remarks, that the common rendering of ἀπέλειπον is much the most obvious, that, as Timothy himself resided at Ephesus, the circumstance of Trophimus's detention must have been known to him, and the mention of it would have been accompanied with an αἰς οἰδᾶς, or the like, and that after all, the evidence of Trophimus was of little importance, since the trivial charge relative to the riot in the Temple was not that on which Paul was sent to Rome. The real gravamen of the accusation was this, that he proclaimed among Roman citizens the downfall of the state religion, and preached a *religio nova et illicita*; and in this respect Trophimus could not help him in the least."

author of this epistle. Rather, I think it was written by some apostolic man, some disciple or companion of S. Paul, after the martyrdom of the two Apostles at Rome in the year 65. It is to this event, I think, that the writer refers especially in xiii. 7: "Remember your guides which *spoke* unto you the word of God, of whom, reviewing the issue of their conversation (τὴν ἔκβασιν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς), imitate ye the faith." In this view of the case, we must suppose that Timothy, in obedience to S. Paul's injunction, had joined him at Rome, and was, in consequence, cast into prison. Hence the year 65 or 66 is the earliest date that can be assigned to this epistle. And certainly, it was written before the destruction of the Temple and cessation of the Mosaic ritual: see x. 1—3¹.

II. THE EPISTLES OF S. PETER.

§ 132. THE tradition according to which the Apostle S. Peter suffered at Rome, in the same year or at the same time with S. Paul, is too well attested to be set aside in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, and perhaps would never have been called in question but for the undue use which has been made of it in support of the pretensions of the see of Rome. It is distinctly announced by Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, who wrote in the latter half of the second century. "Both Peter and Paul," he says, "had planted the church of Corinth, and had alike taught there, *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν.*" Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 25. Caius the Roman presbyter,

¹ Ancient as well as modern writers have remarked a strong similarity of style and sentiment between this epistle and that of S. Clement to the Corinthians. S. Jerom seems to hint his belief, that both were written by the same hand: *quæ mihi videtur characteri epistola quæ sub Pauli nomine ad Hebræos fertur convenire. Sed et multis de eadem epistola non solum sensibus sed juxta verborum quoque ordinem abutitur. Omnino grandis in utraque similitudo est.* de Vir. illustr. c. 15. Grabe, Spicileg.

Patr. t. i. recites the more obvious parallels between the two epistles. There can be no doubt that S. Clement had seen the Epistle to the Hebrews, if he was not the author of it. Now Clement's epistle was certainly written before the destruction of the Temple: this may be inferred, not only from the description of the ritual in the present tense, at § 41, but still more from the absence of all allusion to that great and signal catastrophe.

who wrote at the end of the second century, appealed, in proof of the fact, to the sepulchres of the two Apostles, which were well known in his days, and affirms that they jointly founded the church of Rome. (Euseb. *u. s.*) After the second century, the tradition seems to have been undoubtedly received by all the churches.

§ 133. But there is a further tradition, on which Romanists have much insisted, that S. Peter visited Rome as early as the 2nd year of Claudius, *i. e.* A.D. 42. There, it is said, he disputed with Simon Magus, and (Euseb. *E. H.* ii. 17.) conversed with Philo Judæus (who may very likely have been in Rome at that time: Philo *de Legat. ad Caium*). The tradition is interesting, in connexion with that before cited, according to which the apostles left Jerusalem 12 years after the ascension, *i. e.* about May or June, A.D. 41. If it be a fiction, its authors were, doubtless, guided in their choice of the year by the other tradition, in virtue of which the 2nd of Claudius was the earliest date that could be assigned to such a visit. Nor is the silence of S. Luke conclusive against this early visit, for in fact he drops the history of S. Peter after the conversion of Cornelius, with the exception of the imprisonment in the year 44, Acts xii.—But the silence of the early writers on this subject, it must be owned, is not so easily accounted for. Neither Dionysius nor Caius mentions any presence of S. Peter at Rome before the reign of Nero: S. Justin Martyr, who has so much to say about Simon Magus, never once hints that S. Peter was with him at Rome. Dionysius likewise makes the visit to Rome posterior to the preaching at Corinth; and it is certain that the Gospel was not preached at Corinth before S. Paul's first arrival there, *i. e.* 49 A.D.—Hence, and because the tradition is unnoticed by any ecclesiastical writer before Eusebius, it may fairly be rejected. Yet perhaps there is some portion of truth in it, *viz.* that the gospel *was* preached at Rome, by emissaries from S. Peter, among the Jews, almost immediately after the dispersion of the Apostles.

§ 134. That S. Peter preached at Corinth is attested by the unexceptionable evidence of Dionysius, its bishop, and is implied in S. Paul's first epistle to that church, i. 12; ix. 5. But S. Peter had left Corinth when that epistle was written

(Passover A.D. 54). Hence the time of his residence at Corinth lies between the spring of 51 and that of 54. If from Corinth he passed to Rome, it would seem that his residence there was over before the spring of 55, for in the salutations addressed by S. Paul, at that time, to the christians at Rome, no mention is made of S. Peter. Yet he was not at Jerusalem at the Pentecost of 55, Acts xxi. 18. How he was employed in the interval between this visit to Corinth, and perhaps to Rome, and his martyrdom, A.D. 65, we have no means of ascertaining.

§ 135. *The First Epistle* was written from a place which S. Peter calls Babylon, v. 13. The ancients understand him to speak of Rome, by its apocalyptic name. Of the moderns, some suppose the literal Babylon to be meant, and infer that S. Peter's sphere of action lay especially among the dispersed Jews in the Parthian empire. (Neander, *Pfla. u. Leit.* p. 509.) Others think this Babylon was the insignificant town of that name in Egypt, which Strabo describes as a *φρούριον ἐρημνόν*, and which was still standing in the 5th century. (*Hist. Lausiac.* c. 25. Neander. *ib.*) But the old Babylon, there is reason to believe, was almost as much a wilderness in S. Peter's time as it is now. Strabo applies to it the verse of a comedian, *ἐρημία μεγάλη ἔστιν ἡ μεγάλη πόλις* xvi. 1048; and Pliny, *H. N.* vi. 26. *Durat adhuc ibi Jovis Beli templum... Cætero in solitudinem rediit, exhausta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id conditæ a Nicatoræ.* (See also other passages quoted by Mr. Greswell, *Diss.* i. 129.) Mr. Greswell adopts the hypothesis of the Egyptian Babylon, in favour of which he urges the tradition of S. Mark's episcopate at Alexandria. "S. Mark would not be appointed to this station but by S. Peter, who also must consequently have visited Alexandria,—and as S. Mark was clearly present with S. Peter at Babylon, when he wrote the epistle, if he wrote the epistle in Egyptian Babylon, they were both present in Egypt together."

§ 136. For my own part, however, I believe with the ancients, that "Babylon" here mystically denotes Rome. S. Peter writes on the eve of an approaching judgment, a "judgment to begin at the House of God." Now since the four great judgments on Jerusalem are represented (in Daniel iii.) by the image of four metals, of which Babylon was the head, hence Babylon

is the mystical, apocalyptic name for each of the four powers so knit together. Of these great crises, when S. Peter wrote, two were past; the third empire, Rome, was about to perform its part as the executioner of wrath, the fourth is yet to come. The metropolis of the fourth power, in the Apocalypse, is called Babylon, yet is described in terms derived from Rome. I think then, that S. Peter, writing from Rome on the eve of the impending judgment, the third or Roman crisis of prophecy, might naturally, and with a significance which would be understood by them to whom he wrote, speak of that city by its mystical or spiritual name. (Comp. Rev. xi. 8. "the great city" Jerusalem, which is spiritually called "Sodom and Egypt.")

§ 137. The epistle was sent by the hands of Silvanus or Silas. This person does not appear in the history of S. Paul after the first residence at Corinth, A.D. 49. Acts xvii. 15. 1 Thess. i. 1. 2 Thess. i. 1. He was originally of the church of Jerusalem, and a chief member of it, xv. 22, deputed by the council to be the bearer of the apostolic letters from Jerusalem, and accompanied S. Paul on his second circuit in Asia, and thence into Greece as far as Corinth, where we lose sight of him. The next time that he appears, it is in the company of S. Peter, at Babylon or Rome. But we have seen reason to believe that S. Peter was at Corinth in the interval between the first and second residence of S. Paul: hence it is not unlikely that Silas, being left by S. Paul at Corinth at the end of his first residence, attached himself to S. Peter on his arrival there shortly after, and became the companion of his travels. Thus far there is nothing conclusive for the date of the first epistle, for Silvanus might be with S. Peter during his first residence in Rome, which, we have seen, was ended before 55 A.D.

§ 138. From the contents of the epistle no more can be gathered, than that it was written at a time when the persecution of the Christians as *κακοποιοί* had begun. Hence some infer that it was written after S. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, at a time when, in consequence of the reports scattered by Nero, the Christians were stigmatized as *genus hominum maleficum* (Neander *Pfl. u. Leit.* p. 452). But this is by no means conclusive. The *πειρασμός* and *πύρωσις* of the Asiatic churches to which S. Peter wrote, began at an earlier

period: before the spring of A.D. 54, S. Paul had been "fighting with beasts at Ephesus:" even on his first arrival in Macedonia, the Christians are described as persons *οἱ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀναστατώντες*, Acts xvii. 6: see also Acts xx. 19. So far, it is conceivable that S. Peter may have sent this epistle from Rome, about the year 54 or 55, to the Asiatic churches, by the hands of Silvanus, as a person who was well known to them. But on the other hand, it is equally conceivable that the epistle was sent at a later date. At what time S. Peter returned to Rome we are not informed. He seems not to have been there at the beginning of S. Paul's imprisonment, *i. e.* in 56 A.D. If ecclesiastical writers give the true date of S. Mark's martyrdom in assigning it to the 8th year of Nero, which began 13 Oct. A.D. 61, it would follow that the first epistle cannot have been written later than A.D. 62.

The epistle is addressed to the churches of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia. Now, it does not appear that any churches were founded by S. Paul himself in Pontus and Bithynia before his first imprisonment, A.D. 55. On this account it seems likely that this epistle belongs to the latter part of the period which has been defined. And as S. Paul would in all probability have been mentioned by name if it was written from Rome while he was there, we may perhaps infer that it was written *after* the termination of the first imprisonment, *i. e.* after A.D. 58.

§ 139. The genuineness of the *Second Epistle* has often been called in question, but on very insufficient grounds¹. If it be not S. Peter's, it is an imposture, for it openly pretends to be from him. But if it were an imposture, it would surely betray itself by more palpable marks of fraud than any which have been alleged (e. g. by Neander *Pfl. u. Leit.* p. 455). The principal objection, the diversity of style between this and the other epistle, is sufficiently answered by the consideration of the scope and character of this epistle. It is like that of S. Jude, and in part like the Epistles to Timothy, and that of S. James, *prophetical* or *apocalyptic*. As such, it is the result of a different kind of inspiration, which the writer himself has described

¹ The reader who desires to see this question fully discussed, is referred to Olshausen, *Opuscula Theologica*, 1834. p. 1—88.

i. 21. in the words ὑπὸ Πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι. The same consideration sufficiently explains the difference of style between the Apocalypse and the other writings of S. John. If the illustration may be permitted, the difference is of the same sort as would appear in the poems and the correspondence of the same writer.—The objection which is derived from the use made in this epistle of the very words of S. Jude, is of no moment: the Old Testament prophets, it is well known, cite the very words of their predecessors; nay, the writer himself sufficiently intimates that he is enlarging upon the text of some other inspired man: iii. 1, 2.

Admitting, then, the genuineness, we must assign this epistle to the year 65 A. D. just before S. Peter's martyrdom.

(III.) THE EPISTLES OF S. JAMES AND S. JUDE.

§ 140. James, "the brother of the Lord," not originally one of the twelve, nor the James son of Alphaeus who is enumerated in the catalogues, became bishop of Jerusalem after the martyrdom of James son of Zebedee. In this office he continued till his martyrdom in A. D. 61, or, at latest, 62, when the high priest Ananus availed himself of the interval between the death of Festus and the arrival of his successor Albinus to put him to death. Joseph. Ant. xx. 9. 1. (See above p. 125). How long a time before the martyrdom this epistle was written we are not informed. Its denunciation of impending woe inclines to refer it to one of the last years of the Apostle's life.

§ 141. "Jude, the brother of James," was one of the ἀδελφοὶ of the Lord, therefore not originally one of the twelve, and not the same with the Judas, Lebbaeus or Thaddæus of the catalogues, with whom he is often confounded by ecclesiastical writers. It seems to me that his epistle was written before the second of S. Peter. See Olshausen, *Opusc. Theol.* p. 56.

§ 142. For the sake of completeness, it seems desirable to annex to this section a short inquiry into the dates of the composition of the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of S. John. What I have to say concerning

the Apocalypse must be reserved for a later occasion, inasmuch as some of the arguments to be alleged will want their full force unless taken in connexion with matters, not yet explained, concerning prophecy in general, and "the Economy of Times and Seasons."

The testimony of the ancients is very full and express, that the four gospels were delivered to the Church in the order in which they now stand. Mr. Greswell sums up the evidence in these words: "with one exception only.....(the ancient fathers, as) Papias, Hegesippus, Irenæus, Tertullian, the Latin Presbyter Caius, Pantæus, Origen, Epiphanius, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Jerome, and a multitude of others, do all either actually or implicitly affirm that the gospels were written in the order in which they stand." Diss. i. 67. The exception is the author of the *Hypotyposes*, who, as reported by Eusebius, affirms (ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων) that the gospels which contain the genealogies were the first written.—Modern critics since Griesbach (*Opusc.* ii. p. 358.) have generally concurred with this latter view.

THE GOSPEL OF S. MATTHEW.

§ 143. THAT this gospel was originally composed in Hebrew, i.e. in the dialect of Palestine (Aramaïc or Syro-chaldee), for the use of the churches of the Jewish Christians, is unanimously and unequivocally affirmed by the voice of all antiquity, and seems never to have been called in question until Erasmus and Beza first maintained the contrary. As the fact is a matter of considerable importance for the determination of the time at which this gospel was written, and also of its relation to the gospels of Mark and Luke,—which, again, is of moment towards the formation of a chronological harmony of our Saviour's Ministry—it will not be irrelevant to the direct scope of this work to state the evidence of the fact, and to answer the objections which have been raised against it¹.

(1.) The earliest extant testimony is that of Papias, Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 19. (*Rel. Sacc.* i. 13.), resting on the tradition of

¹ The following statement of the evidence is taken from Meyer, *Krit. Exeg. Komment. in das N. T. Matth.* Einleit.

men contemporary with the apostles, Aristion and John the Presbyter. Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο, ἡρμήνευσε δὲ αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δύνατος ἕκαστος. It is useless to attempt to invalidate this clear and conspicuous testimony by alleging that Eusebius himself, in the same chapter, describes its author as a very feeble-minded man, (πάνυ σμικρὸς τὸν νοῦν φαίνεται.) Grant that he were such, yet he is an honest witness, and perfectly competent to attest a simple matter of fact. Nor does Eusebius apply this censure to Papias's testimony as to this matter: his object is to take off the edge of the testimony born by this very ancient writer to the doctrine of Christ's Second Advent and reign on earth.

(2.) S. Irenæus *adv. Hær.* iii. 1. Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν.—To this testimony it is objected, that Irenæus does but repeat the saying of Papias; that the testimony is not independent. Now certainly Irenæus was well acquainted with the writings of Papias, whom, as the companion of S. Polycarp, he held in high esteem: but that he merely echoes the statement of his predecessor is as unproved an assertion, as that the statement itself is unworthy of credit. Besides, it is extremely improbable that Papias, singly, should be the founder of a tradition so generally received as this is.

(3.) The next testimony is altogether independent of the authority of Papias. Namely, of *Pantænus* the following story is related by Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 10. Ὁ Πάνταϊνος καὶ εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἐλθεῖν λέγεται. Ἐνθα λόγος εὑρεῖν αὐτὸν προφθάσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον παρά τισιν αὐτόθι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπεγνωκόσιν· οἷς Βαρθολομαῖον τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἕνα κηρύττειν, αὐτοῖς τε Ἑβραίων γράμμασι τὴν τοῦ Ματθαίου καταλεῖψαι γραφὴν, κ. τ. λ. It is not indeed recorded whether the Hebrew gospel left by S. Bartholomew were a Hebrew original or a translation from the Greek. But the ancients breathe not a syllable of a Hebrew version made from the Greek, and if Eusebius, who himself, as we shall presently see, is express for a Hebrew original, had understood the story to relate to a Hebrew translation, he would doubtless have expressed the matter

more distinctly. The same remark applies to the passage of S. Jerome, *de Vir. Eccl.* 36. "Reperit (Pantænus) Bartholomæum de xii Apostolis adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi juxta Matthæi evangelium prædicasse, quod Hebraicis literis scriptum revertens Alexandriam secum detulit."

(4.) To the same effect is the testimony of the father of scriptural criticism, the acute and learned Origen: *ap. Eus. H. E.* vi. 25. ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν γέγραπται τὸ κατὰ τὸν ποτὲ τελώνην, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπόστολον ἰ. X. Ματθαῖον, ἐκδεδωκότα αὐτὸ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ πιστεύασιν γράμμασιν Ἑβραϊκοῖς συντεταγμένον. The assertion rests on tradition (ἐν παραδόσει μαθῶν) i. e. on the received ecclesiastical tradition, the declaration of the Church and its teachers from the beginning, for that was the meaning of the word παράδοσις when Origen wrote. And, let it be observed, Origen had not a thought of controverting the tradition.

(5.) Eusebius himself, *H. E.* iii. 24. Ματθαῖος πρότερον Ἑβραίοις κηρύξας, ὡς ἔμελλε καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέροισι ἰέναι, πατρίῳ γλώττῃ γραφῇ παραδούς τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ λείπον τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ τούτοις ἀφ' ὧν ἐστέλλετο διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἀπεπλήρου.—"But Eusebius relates this merely as an historian: his own opinion as a critic was opposed to it; this is proved by what he says as a commentator upon *Psa.* lxxviii. 2. ἀντὶ τοῦ, 'φθέγξομαι προβλήματα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς' Ἑβραῖος ὧν ὁ M. οἰκεία ἐκδόσει κέχρηται, εἰπὼν· 'εῤεύξομαι κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς.' For the οἰκεία ἐκδοσις must mean Matthew's 'own translation' of the Hebrew passage of the Psalm."—Quite the contrary: ἐκδοσις is not 'translation,' but 'edition'; οἰκεία not 'own,' but 'that of his own country.' What Eusebius says is, that Matthew "used the edition of his own country," i. e. he gave the words in Hebrew as he found them. Besides, if ἐκδοσις must needs mean 'translation,' οἰκεία ἐκδοσις will mean a translation into Aramaic.

(6.) S. Jerome, *Præf. in Matt.* *Matthæus in Judæa evangelium Hebræo sermone edidit ob eorum vel maxime causam qui in Jesum crediderant ex Judæis*, and *de vir. eccl.* 3. *Matthæus, qui et Levi, ex publicano Apostolus, primus in Judæa propter eos qui ex circumcisione crediderant, evangelium Christi Hebraicis literis verbisque composuit, quod quis postea in Græcum transtulerit non satis certum est.*

To these testimonies many more of later times might be added, but these are enough to prove the point, in the absence of all testimony to the contrary.

§ 144. This Hebrew original was the basis of the *Evangelium Hebræorum* which S. Jerome translated into greek and latin. In the nature of the case it would be used first by the Jewish church, then by the sects (Nazarenes and Ebionites) which branched off from that church. These sects, at a very early period, began to corrupt, interpolate, and mutilate the apostolical gospel, as S. Irenæus declares: ἐν τῇ γοῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίῳ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ὀνομαζομένῳ, οὐχ ὅλην δὲ πληρεστάτῳ, ἀλλὰ νενοθευμένῳ καὶ ἡκρωτηριασμένῳ, 'Εβραϊκὸν δὲ τοῦτο καλοῦσι, κ. τ. λ. *adv. Hær.* xxx. 13. No wonder then, if, by S. Jerome's time, it had become so widely different from the canonical gospel as to require translation, if its contents were to be known.

§ 145. By what person our canonical greek version was made, the ancients do not inform us. From Papias we can only infer that for a time there was no translation, wherefore ἡρμήνευσεν ὡς ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος, i. e. individual Christians according to their knowledge of the language made its contents known to others as well as they could: in other words, this was, for a time, the only canonical gospel, and there was no authorized version of it. But it is evident that Mark and Luke had before them the greek version of Matthew; hence the want of which Papias speaks was supplied before A.D. 60, at latest. The fathers after the 4th century assign the translation, some to James, the brother of the Lord (Pseudo-Athanas. *Opp.* ii. 155), others to S. John (Theophylact), others to Barnabas, Luke, or Paul. Casaubon infers, justly, from this diversity of opinion, *ipsis Apostolorum temporibus, ab uno illorum, aut illorum auspiciis Græcum textum ex Hebraico esse confectum.* *Exerc.* 15. in *Baronii Annal.* xii. 388. S. Jerome, we have seen, left this point undecided: *quis postea in Græcum translulerit incertum est.*

§ 146. As to the time of its composition: Theophylact has preserved a tradition according to which the Hebrew gospel was composed eight years after the Ascension, in our chronology A.D. 37, or if Theophylact reckons from his own date of the Ascension, perhaps A.D. 41. And this is the more

probable, because, as we have seen, that is the year in which the apostles are said to have departed from Jerusalem to their missions among the heathen, at which time, according to Eusebius, S. Matthew left his gospel with the churches of Palestine, *H. E.* iii. 24. (*supra* No. 5.). But S. Irenæus (No. 2.) assigns it to the time when Peter and Paul were founding the church at Rome. If this means the time of SS. Peter and Paul's presence together at Rome (suppose A.D. 60—65), the statement is incredible. But the historical and chronological traditions of Irenæus are often erroneous. Possibly he here confuses two different conjunctures, the supposed presence of S. Peter at Rome about A.D. 41, (§ 133.) and the last meeting of the two Apostles in the year of their martyrdom.

§ 147. That the greek version was made in Palestine (hence ascribed by Pseudo-Athanasius to S. James the bishop of Jerusalem) is indicated by the absence of all such explanatory notices as we find in S. Mark and S. Luke. The verbal coincidences between all three, imply that the greek of S. Matthew was in the hands of Mark and Luke. In a subsequent chapter we shall find cause to believe, that the order of the earlier part of the narrative in our first canonical gospel is not that in which S. Matthew left it: whence it would follow, that the second and third gospels were not in the hands of the translator: for if they had been, it may fairly be supposed he would not have reduced the narrative of the hebrew gospel into an order different from theirs, which is the order of time. In this view of the case, we cannot well refer the greek version to a later date than A.D. 56.

THE GOSPELS OF S. MARK, AND S. LUKE.

§ 148. THE Acts mention a disciple named Mark, the son of a certain Mary in whose house at Jerusalem the Apostles often assembled, xii. 12. A Mark, sister's son to Barnabas, was the companion of Paul and Barnabas on the first mission in Cyprus, xii. 25; xiii. 5; xv. 36. A Mark was with S. Paul during his first imprisonment at Rome, Col. iv. 10. Philem. 24; and again, in the second, 2 Tim. iv. 11, the same person

is sent for to attend S. Paul. Lastly, a person whom S. Peter calls "Marcus my son" was with him at Rome at the time of writing the first epistle, v. 13.

Now S. Papias, and after him all the ancients, affirm that the author of the second gospel was Mark the companion of S. Peter.

§ 149. Some commentators and chronologists have imagined that these various notices cannot be reconciled, so as to apply to one and the same individual. Thus Mr. Greswell argues that the Mark of 1 Pet. v. 13, the author of the gospel, must have been a different individual from the Mark of Paul's epistles. Cave refers the foregoing notices to *three* distinct persons. But the ancients knew of no such distinction: and all the preceding notices may be consistently referred to a single individual, the author of the gospel. For, we may suppose that S. Mark was originally a convert of S. Peter, therefore called his "son": that after the rupture between Paul and Barnabas, he for a time attached himself to S. Peter, and was with him during that residence at Rome which, as we saw, terminated before A.D. 55: that he either remained at Rome when S. Peter departed, or returned thither during the time of S. Paul's first imprisonment (Col. iv. 10. Phil. 24.): that he was still at Rome when S. Peter returned, after A.D. 58. § 138. (1 Pet. v. 13.), and still at large, but somewhere in the East, about A.D. 64, when S. Paul desired Timothy "to bring with him Mark, because he was profitable for the ministry" (2 Tim. iv. 11.): lastly, that after the martyrdom of the two Apostles, Mark entered upon his labours as the bishop of Alexandria. (S. Epiphanius. *Hær.* li. 6. Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 16. S. Jerom. *de Vir. Eccl.* 8. Nicephorus *H. E.* ii. 43.) S. Jerome, it is true, assigns S. Mark's martyrdom to the 8th year of Nero, (A.D. 61–62.) which, if it be true, will overthrow the preceding combination. But the tradition is not uniform: for S. Irenæus¹ says the gospel was composed μετὰ τὴν ἐξοδὸν of SS. Peter and Paul, and Dorotheus assigns the martyrdom in the reign of Trajan.

¹ On this point Irenæus is contradicted by S. Clem. Alex. ap. Eus. *H. E.* vi. 14. Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 15. S. Epiphanius.

Hær. li. 6. S. Jerom. *de Vir. Eccl.* according to whom the gospel was written in the lifetime of both Apostles.

§ 150. There can be but little doubt of the time of *S. Luke's Gospel*. It forms one history with the Acts, and these terminate abruptly at the end of the two years of S. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, A.D. 58. Hence it is an obvious inference, that the Acts were composed, or finished, in the interval between the spring of A.D. 58. and S. Paul's first trial and release, and the gospel not much earlier, i.e. between 56 and 58. There is internal evidence that the Theophilus to whom they are inscribed, was resident in Italy: viz. the minute explanatory notices of eastern customs and localities, contrasted with the absence of all such notices as soon as the narrative reaches Italy, Acts xxviii. 12—15. Hence it would seem that both were composed at Rome, where S. Luke was in attendance on S. Paul, Acts xxvii. 1. ff. Col. iv. 14. Philem. 24. S. Jerome, indeed, *Præf. in Matt.* says that this gospel was written "in Achaïæ Bœotiæque partibus:" and the Syr. Peshito dates it from Alexandria. But the ancients, generally, are silent, probably because the internal evidence, Acts xxviii. *fn.*, sufficiently indicated both time and place.

§ 151. The date of S. Luke's gospel being thus, within moderate limits, ascertained, the determination for S. Mark's hinges upon the question of priority: namely, whether S. Mark wrote before S. Luke, or *vice versa*. The ancients, generally, maintain the former, but with at least one important exception, S. Clement of Alexandria, according to whom, the gospels which contain the genealogies were the first composed. (§ 142.) And the generality of modern critics are led by internal evidence to concur with the latter statement. See Griesbach. *Opusc.* ii. 358. Fritzsche *Proll. in S. Marc.* xxxv. ff. The evidence is thus briefly summed up by Meyer, *Matth. Einleit.* 21. "Mark sometimes follows S. Matthew, sometimes S. Luke: his text is very often blended out of both, an epitome sometimes of one, sometimes of both." This is not the place to enter more fully into the discussion of either hypothesis. Both are compatible with our chronology: if Mark wrote *before* Luke, he wrote while he was with S. Peter at Rome, before A.D. 55. (§ 134.): if *after*, while he was with the same apostle at the date of S. Peter's first epistle, after A.D. 58. (§ 138.) For that he wrote under the direction of S. Peter

is too clearly attested by the ancients to be gainsaid¹. (Papias ap. Eus. *H. E.* iii. 39. Iren. iii. 1. Tertull. *c. Marcion.* iv. 5. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 8.)

But, it may be asked, What could be S. Mark's motive (or S. Peter's rather), for the composition of a third gospel, when the church of the Hebrews already possessed one, and the Gentile churches another? I suppose the answer should be, that the plan and purport of S. Mark's gospel occupy an intermediate place between the gospel of the Hebrews and the gospel of the Gentiles: that it was in this respect appropriate to, and requisite for, the use of both Jewish and Gentile Christians in the apostolic age. For even then there may have been at work that one-sided and exclusive turn of mind which at a later time led Jewish sects to reject all other gospels but S. Matthew's, and Gentile sects all but S. Luke's.

THE GOSPEL AND EPISTLES OF S. JOHN.

§ 152. In the Acts of the Apostles we find John with Peter before the martyrdom of Stephen, and again, in the mission to the Samaritans, whence (viii. 25.) both apostles returned to Jerusalem, and this is the last mention of S. John in the Acts.

At S. Paul's first visit, A. D. 33, S. John seems not to have been at Jerusalem: Gal. i. 18: but at the second visit, A. D. 44, S. Paul found him there in company with Peter and James. He is not mentioned on occasion of the council, 47-48. At the last visit, A. D. 55, S. James seems to have been the only Apostle present in Jerusalem.

§ 153. Nicephorus, *H. E.* ii. 42, affirms ἐκ παραδόσεως that this Apostle was stationary at Jerusalem until the death of the Blessed Virgin. This event Eusebius in *Chron.* places 15 years after the Ascension, i. e. in our chronology A. D. 44. This agrees very well with the negative testimony of the Acts and Epistles of S. Paul, in which we find no mention of S. John's presence in Jerusalem after the year 44.

¹ Did S. Jerome in referring the martyrdom of S. Mark to the 8th of Nero, | A. D. 61—62 mistake a tradition, which assigned his gospel to that year?

Long afterwards, we find the Apostle stationed until the day of his death in Asia Minor, as head of the churches in that region. Polycrates bishop of Ephesus, in the second century, writing to the Roman bishop, Victor, asserts that John, who lay in the Lord's bosom, was among (τὰ μεγάλα στοιχεία) the primary elements of the Church in Asia, and died in Ephesus. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 31; v. 24. S. Irenæus assumes as a well-known fact, that the Apostle lived many years in Ephesus, namely, into the reign of Trajan, ii. 39; iii. 1. 3. And the tradition is unhesitatingly propagated by S. Clem. Alex. (*q. div. salv.* 42. See Eus. *H. E.* iii. 23.) Origen, (Eus. *H. E.* iii. 1.) Eusebius, (*H. E.* iii. 23. &c.) and Jerome (*in Gal.* vi. and *de Vir. Eccl.* 9.) Now this could not be before, or during, S. Paul's circuits in Asia Minor, *i. e.* before A. D. 55: nor before the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, A. D. 58: nor before the Epistles to Timothy A. D. 58—65: for in all these writings not a trace occurs of S. John's presence in Asia Minor. It is also a natural supposition, that after S. Paul's decease, while *Timothy* presided over the church of Ephesus, S. John as yet was not settled in that city. But after the martyrdom of Timothy, which is placed by the martyrologies in the reign of Domitian, we find S. John acting as head of the Church in Asia Minor. Thus according to the *Apostolical Constitutions*, (vii. 46.) a certain John was appointed Timothy's successor in the see of Ephesus. Thus it appears that S. John's presidency in Asia cannot be dated much earlier than the destruction of Jerusalem, which it may however have preceded by a year or two, inasmuch as the date of Timothy's martyrdom is not certainly known.

§ 154. Now it seems to be generally acknowledged by the ancients, that S. John's gospel was delivered to the Church during the years which he spent in Ephesus. He is said by S. Clem. Alex. and S. Irenæus to have lived into the reign of Trajan, which began A. D. 98. Eusebius (*in Chron.*) supposes him still alive in the 3rd year of this reign, A. D. 100: S. Jerome assigns his decease to that or the following year: the Paschal Chronicle places it 72 years after the Ascension, in our chronology A. D. 101. At what time during this period of more than 30 years (A. D. 70—100) his gospel was written, is a question which cannot be determined by internal or scriptural

evidence. The passage, chap. v. 2, in which S. John speaks of the pool of Bethesda with its porches, as though it were still to be seen, ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, κ.τ.λ. is easily explained as a lively reminiscence of the locality as it used to be; besides, the pool with its porches may have survived the destruction of Jerusalem. We must have recourse then to tradition. According to Theophylact, the gospel was written 32 years after the Ascension = A. D. 61, in our chronology. I am inclined to combine this notice with the tradition preserved by S. Hippolytus, *de xii Apostolis*, that S. John composed his gospel during his exile in Patmos, or rather, as we find it in the *Synopsis s. Scripturæ* ascribed to S. Athanasius, that he there first dictated it in a kind of outline, and subsequently delivered it to the church of Ephesus by the hands of Gaius. It is true, this account of the matter assumes S. John's authorship of the Apocalypse: an assumption which, after all that has been written on the other side, I see no need to call in question. But the inquiry as it relates to the authorship of that book must be reserved for a later portion of this work, being mixed up with considerations respecting the scope and structure of Prophecy and the economy of its fulfilments, which remain to be explained when we shall have brought the strictly chronological investigation to an end.

THE EPISTLES OF S. JOHN.

§ 155. "Of the time and place of their composition, ecclesiastical history," says Lücke, "affords no sure information, scarcely a conjecture even. And on this point they are themselves so silent, that even modern criticism with all its penetration has not succeeded in eliciting from them any satisfactory reply."

"As to the time, thus much only seems certain, that the first epistle was written after the gospel. The reference to the gospel, the presumption that it was already in the hands of the reader—or as some say, was accompanied by the epistle,—is too plainly expressed in i. 1–4. to be mistaken. As a general rule, the shorter, condensed expression of one and the same writer, especially where the idea is peculiar to him, always implies posteriority in time :

that greater fullness of expression which attends the first development and shaping of the idea, marks what is earlier. By this rule, the abbreviated formulæ of this epistle in respect of the Λόγος, i. 1, 2. ὁ λόγος τῆς ζωῆς, ἡ ζωὴ αἰώνιος ἥτις ἦν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἐφανερώθη ἡμῖν—must have been written at a later period than the more copious and intelligible expressions of the gospel, i. 1. ff. So the formula 'I. X. ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθ. iv. 2. comp. gosp. i. 14. If to this we add, that the whole epistle is based upon a view of the person and life of Jesus Christ, which we find expounded only in the gospel, and lastly, that the epistle is interwoven with reminiscences and allusions to Christ's discourses in the gospel, nothing is more probable than that the epistle was written *after* the gospel."

"From ii. 18. ἐσχάτῃ ὥρᾳ ἐστὶν many commentators infer that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem: so Grotius, Hammond, Michaelis: while others, as Baronius, Basnage, Mill, Le Clerc, from the same expression infer just the contrary."

I must leave the question undecided: for myself, inclining to the opinion that it was written before, but very shortly before, the destruction of Jerusalem.

§ 156. But *to whom* was it written? In the title of S. Augustine's tractate it is superscribed *ad Parthos*, and so in the context of another treatise. *Quæst. Ev.* ii. 39. Idacius Clarus gives it the same title, and according to Griesbach, several latin MSS.: so does Cassiodorus, *Inst. Div. litt. Opp.* ii. 516, who extends it to the other two; and Bede, *multi scriptorum eccles., in quibus est S. Athanasius Alexandrinæ præsul ecclesiæ, primam Joannis ep. scriptam ad Parthos esse testantur*. That S. Athanasius so described it, is not elsewhere on record, and the Greek church nowhere recognizes the superscription. Only one subscription of Ep. 2, in Griesbach *Ood.* 62, of the 14th or 15th century, has 'Ιωανν. 'β. πρὸς Πάρθους. The legend of S. John's preaching to the Parthians may have originated from the superscription merely: nothing of the kind occurs in the earliest and authentic traditions, although S. Jerome, *Catal. Script.* ix., mentions S. John's preaching in India, which however is not otherwise attested. Hence, and because an epistle written to Parthians, i. e. Parthian Jews, would certainly not have been composed

in Greek, but in Aramaic¹, modern critics generally reject the Augustinian superscription. Some suppose the error originated in an earlier superscription *πρὸς παρθένους*. *Michaelis*, that it is a gloss intended to explain the frequent terms "light" and "darkness," by the supposition that it was written to Christians familiar with the Persian theology. *Hug*, that the superscription, *πρὸς παρθένους*, originally belonged to the second epistle, of which S. Clem. Alex. says, *secunda Joannis Ep., quæ ad virgines scripta est, simplicissima est*. *Fragm. Hypotyp.* Potter 1011: whence some copies (only two, however, of the 11th and 13th centuries) have *πρὸς πάρθους* as subscription to the second epistle.—Others again have conjectured that *ad Parthos* is a corruption of *ad paruos*.

Lücke, from whom I have copied these remarks on the superscription, attaches the greatest probability to Gieseler's explanation, who supposes that the latin *ad Parthos* originated in an older subscription of Ep. 1 and 2. *Ἰωάννου τοῦ παρθένου*. In support of which, he informs us that the superscription of the Apoc. in Cod. 30. Griesbach, has *τοῦ ἀγ. ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀποστ. καὶ εὐαγγ. παρθένου, κ. τ. λ.* and that the title *παρθένος* seems to have been very early applied to this apostle. (See Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 7.)

This superscription then being rejected, there remains no other, more probable supposition, than that this epistle and its fellows were addressed to churches over which S. John presided; therefore, since it is pretty clear that the first, at least, was not written long before the destruction of Jerusalem, the churches addressed should be those of Asia Minor.

THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES.

§ 157. At what time these epistles were written we have no information in ancient authors, nor any means of ascertaining. The third, addressed to Gaius (so common a name that it is useless to attempt an identification with any of the persons so named in the N. T.), was evidently a letter commendatory

¹ "See Joseph. de B. J. Procem. i. 2. The "Wars" was originally written in Aramaic for the *ἀνὰ βαβυλωνίαι*, including

Parthian Jews. c. 2. See Fabricius *Bibl. Gr.* iv. 17. § 2. Havercamp. in *l.* Also Michaelis *Introd.* ii. p. 1228." (Lücke).

of certain brethren, evangelists or missionaries, whom S. John in a previous epistle had commended to the Church at large, ἔγραψά τι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (for so Lachmann reads from A. B. 7. 68. Copt. Sahid.); but, as the event shewed, in vain, for Diotrophes hindered their reception and resisted the authority of the Apostle. Of these missionaries it is said that they went forth (on the work of the ministry) μηδὲν λαμβάνοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνικῶν: which however does not necessarily imply that they were Jews. The epistle may have been written at a time when the terms ἔθνη, ἔθνικοί, had become the usual antithesis to Christians as well as Jews: no inference therefore can be drawn from this circumstance.—The Second Epistle I also take to be a letter commendatory (ἐπ. συστατικῇ), not directly in respect of its contents, but taken in connexion with its presentation by certain persons coming from S. John. In this specific sense I understand the exhortation, “Let us love one another,” v. 5: as if he had said, “let us shew our love as in other ways, so by receiving and furthering those who come from us to you and from you to us.” And v. 10, the prohibition against harbouring heretics: *q. d.* “but these are not such, therefore receive them.”

§ 158. But to whom was this Second Epistle addressed? I will state the various opinions in the words of Lücke, and then give my own.

The address of the Second Epistle, ὁ πρ. ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ, was variously interpreted by the ancients themselves. Some understood it of a Christian matron, whose name was either Ἐκλεκτῇ or Κυρία. “The argument of Ep. ii. in Matthäi, p. 150, and the *Synops. S. Script.* take Κυρία to be the name. Œcumenius and Theophylact think that S. John calls her Ἐκλεκτῇ, either because it was her proper name, or ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν φιλοτιμίας. Others alleging 1 Pet. v. 13, apply it to the Church, or to some particular church. So, seemingly, S. Clem. Alex. *Hypotyp.*: significat autem electionem Ecclesiæ Sanctæ; S. Jerom. *Ep. xi. ad Ageruchiam*, Scholl. in Matthäi, p. 151. Cassiodor. in *Ep. 2. Joannes Senior*, quoniam ætate proventus, electæ Dominæ scribit Ecclesiæ filiisque ejus, quos sacro fonte genuerat. And the latter opinion has its advocates among the moderns: Wolf. *Cur. in 2. Ep. 1.* Michaelis, *Introd. Augusti, Katholische Briefe.* iii. 202.” Lücke *u. s.* 348.

“Grotius, Wetstein, and others, make Ἐκλεκτή the proper name. But against this supposition is, partly, the order of the words (for in this case it should have been either τῇ Κυρίᾳ τῇ Ἐκλ. or Ἐκλ. τῇ Κυρίᾳ), partly v. 13, where the sister is evidently called ἐκλεκτή in the same sense as S. Paul so calls Rufus, namely, in respect of the divine ἐκλογή, Rom. xvi. 13: partly, again, as it seems, the vocative Κυρία, v. 5. Besides, I doubt very much whether it was ever a custom among the Greeks to couple the term κυρία with a proper name. In the vocative, without the name, it was usual enough to say κυρία, as κύριε: Epictetus remarks, *Enchirid.* 62 (40), that women after their fourteenth year were addressed by men with the term κυρίαι. And lastly, it seems to me that the *fem. pr. n.* Ἐκλεκτή was not yet in use, because this word, like ἅγιος and the like, was a standing designation of Christians in general. (In a later age *Electus* occurs as a man's name, Herodian. *Hist.* i. 16, 17, under Commodus. Tzetz, *Chiliad.* vi. *hist.* 55).

“As the *fem. pr. n.* Κυρία was at that time not unusual, it is much more probable that this Christian lady was so named. (See Gruter, *Corpus Inscr.* 1127. 11. φένιππος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Κυρία. *Lex. Hagiol.* 448, where two female martyrs of this name occur. The *pr. n.* Κύριος is not uncommon.) It is true, in strict grammar, we ought to have Κυρία τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ; comp. v. 13. and 3 Ep. 1. Γαίῳ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ, and Rom. xvi. 5, 8, 12, 13; but the placing of ἐκλεκτῇ first is perhaps sufficiently excused by the omission of the article (only *Cod.* 73 has τῇ before ἐκλ. and κυρία, and *Cod.* 31, alone before κυρία), and by the custom which perhaps already obtained of using the epithet ἐκλ. without much emphasis. See 1 Pet. i. 1. Πέτρος, ἀπόστολος Ἰ. Χ., ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις.” Lücke, u. s.

Bishop Middleton maintains that if Κυρία be the proper name, the phrase ought to be Κυρία τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ, as Apollon. *de Syntagm.* directs us to write Τρυφῶνι τῷ ἀγαθωτάτῳ. (This however seems to me sufficiently met by Lücke's remark). Bishop Middleton takes Ἐκλ. to be the proper name, and supposes τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς in v. 13 to be a marginal gloss, explanatory of σοῦ. Then Ἐκλεκτῇ Κυρία is parallel with Παῦλος ἀπόστολος, and with Εὐσταθίῳ ἱατρῷ, Λεοντίῳ σοφιστῇ, Βοσπορίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, in the titles of S. Basil's Epistles. But

are these parallel instances? I think not, for *κυρία* is not a title of office, rank, or profession, as those are.

Against the interpretation which makes neither Ἑκλ. nor *Kyria* a proper name, (E. v. "to the elect lady") Bishop Middleton urges that it would require either τῇ κυρία τῇ ἐκλ. or else τῇ ἐκλ. κυρία: Lücke, that it is contrary to the analogy of the Third Epistle, and to the epistolary style of the ancients. But the absence of the article is justified by 1 Pet. i. 1. ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις, and Lücke's reasons seem to me worth very little. I think then (with Clem. Alex., Jerom, Cassiodorus,) that the Second Epistle was addressed to a particular church, as a letter commendatory of certain brethren whose soundness in the faith S. John attests by implication. What church this was, we can only conjecture; but, I conceive that the Third Epistle was written as a private communication to a member of the same church, Gaius (its bishop?) in consequence of the opposition with which Diotrephes met the former public communication, which I take to be intended in v. 9, ἔγραψά τι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ:—i. e. I suppose the τί here mentioned to be no other than the Second Epistle, and by τῇ ἐκκλ. I understand the ἐκλεκτὴ Κυρία καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς. The term ἐκλεκτή, applied to a church in v. 1. and v. 13, is completely justified by 1 Pet. v. 13, ἀσπαζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή: the only difficulty is the appellation κυρία, which it is vain to explain as equivalent to κυριακή. Being a title of honour, it would seem to be most appropriate to the church of Jerusalem, or perhaps of Rome: yet it does not necessarily imply either of those churches, for why might not the Apostle thus address the body of Christian people composing one of his own churches,—humbling himself as the Church's servant (hence ὁ πρεσβύτερος, not ἀπ. or ἐπισκ.) and, in short, exemplifying the spirit of S. Peter's exhortation, ἐπισκοποῦντες...μὴ ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων? comp. Philem. 8, 9. To this demeanour of the Apostle, that with which it was met by Diotrephes (ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων) forms the direct contrast. I should therefore render the address thus: "The Elder to (his) elect Lady (the Church)." The omission of the article, or of the pronoun μου, may be justified by the inscriptional or titular style, as e. g. on monuments, φιλτάτῳ δεσπότῃ: ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ. though doubtless τῇ ἐκλ.

κυρία would have been more proper, as in Acts xxiii. 26. τῷ κρατίστῃ ἡγέμονι¹.

§ 159. SUMMARY OF THE PRECEDING RESULTS.

A.D.

41. Dispersion of the Apostles. About this time, S. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel.
- 48-52. Epistle to the Galatians.
49. First Epistle to the Thessalonians.
- 49, 50. Second Epistle.
- 51-54. S. Peter at Corinth, and thence to Rome, in one of these years.
54. *Passover*, First Epistle to the Corinthians.
Summer or Autumn. Second Epistle.
55. *Passover*, Epistle to the Romans.
S. Matthew's Greek Gospel, before 56.
58. S. Luke's Gospel, and the Acts.
Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians and Philemon.
- 58-61. Probable time of S. Peter's First Epistle, and S. Mark's Gospel.
61. Martyrdom of S. James.
First Draft of S. John's Gospel?
- 58-64. First Epistle to Timothy, and Titus. S. Jude?
64. 2 Timothy.
2 S. Peter.

¹ If however the reader prefers to consider *Κυρία* as the proper name of an individual, he must not refer the epithet *ἐκλ.* to the divine *ἐκλογή*. Nowhere in the New Testament or earliest ages does one Christian apply the term "elect" in this sense to another individual: Christians in general, as a body, are called *ἐκλεκτοί*, but no individual member of the body is so described. Rom. xvi. 13,

δοκίμασθε ῥούφον τὸν ἐκλεκτὸν ἐν Κυρίῳ, means *egregium in Domino fratrem*, "that choice, or distinguished, believer:" for if the meaning were simply "the elect member of Christ" there would be nothing specially commendatory said of Rufus as there is of all the others. So in S. Ignat. *Philadelph.* 11. *ἄμα ῥεῶ Ἀγαθόποδι, ἀνδρὶ ἐκλεκτῷ, ὃς ἀπο Συρίας μοι ἀκολουθεῖ, viro eximio v. egregio.*

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY TO THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

§ 160. It will be our first object in this chapter to ascertain the cardinal dates which are determinative for the scheme as a whole, *i. e.* for the date of the Exode: for which purpose it will be sufficient if we can define and establish the epoch of the Seventy Years' Captivity, since from that date we can rise in the next chapter to the earlier epochs, the first year of Rehoboam, of Solomon, of David, &c. Having determined this, we shall investigate, in the descending order, the chronology of the Babylonian and Persian times of the Old Testament History. (Section i.) With respect to that portion of Jewish history (a term of about four centuries) which lies between the close of the O. T. canon and the opening of the N. T., it will be necessary, with a view to the ultimate and characteristic object of this work, to examine in detail that part of it which is the subject of direct prophecy, in the visions of Daniel—*viz.* the times of the Grecian empire from Alexander to the Maccabean Independence. (Sect. ii.) The time of the capture of the temple by Pompey and afterwards by Herod, which is likewise a matter of some interest, and on which indeed even the date of our Lord's Nativity in some measure hinges, will be fully discussed in an Appendix.

SECTION I.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHALDEAN AND PERSIAN TIMES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, FROM THE EPOCH OF THE CAPTIVITY TO THE CLOSE OF THE CANON.

§ 161. THE seventy years of Babylonian captivity began in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, which Jeremiah calls the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon (xxv. 1.) This is the earliest recorded synchronism between sacred and profane history, and it introduces a series of such synchronisms which come to view in this concluding portion of the Old Testament. It is solely by means of these double dates that we are able to settle the chronology of the Old Testament, with anything like precision, in terms of our own *æra*. But providentially we have herewith the means of adjusting these two tracts of time—in other words, of measuring the interval between the 4th year of Jehoiakim and the commencement of our own *æra*—with a degree of exactness which leaves nothing to be desired.

In the Royal Canon of Ptolemy (*infra* § 439.) we possess an unquestionably authentic register of the reigns of the Chaldean and Persian kings with whom we are concerned in these fundamental synchronisms. And where the indications of this important document, owing to particular circumstances, might lead us to a wrong conclusion, we have the means of rectifying our adjustment. Thus, if we should on the authority of the Canon identify the 4th year of Jehoiakim, wholly or in part, with the year B. C. 604, to which the Canon assigns the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, we should be in error: for it can be proved that this is not Jeremiah's epoch of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. Passing by this synchronism, we take the next, which is thus given, Jer. lii. 31, comp. 2 Kings xxv. 27, ff. "It came to pass in the 37th of *Jehoiachin*, (or *Jeconiah*, as I shall call him for the sake of distinction from his predecessor *Jehoiakim*) in the 12th month, the 25th day, that Evil-Merodach, king of Babylon, lifted up the head of Jeconiah and brought him forth out of prison," and this, "in the year that he began to reign." (comp. Jos. *Ant.* x. 11. 2. *εὐθύς τῶν δεσμῶν ἀφείς*.) Now the

nominal epoch of this Evil-Merodach, or Ilvoradam as he is called in the Canon, is 29 Dec. B. C. 562, *i. e.* his *actual* epoch lies between 29 Dec. 562 and 29 Dec. 561. At the time of liberation, 37 years of the reign and captivity of Jeconiah were nearly expired: it wanted but five days, to the 1st of Nisan, to complete that term of years. That the Captivity began early in the year is clear from 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10, "at the return of the year king Nebuchadnezzar sent and brought him to Babylon," and the series of month-dates in Ezekiel, (§ 183.) in connexion with the years "of our captivity" (*i. e.* of Jeconiah's) prove that the years bear date, as usual, from Nisan. The passage therefore of Jeremiah says that 37 years (all but five days,) reckoned from the 1st Nisan of the year of Jeconiah's captivity, were expired when Evil-Merodach, having then begun to reign, restored him to liberty. Does then the 1st Nisan of the 38th year lie in the year B. C. 561 or in 560? Plainly in the former. For on the latter supposition, the liberation of Jeconiah would lie some 16 months after the *nominal*, and at least 4 or 5 months after the *actual* epoch (placed as late as possible) of the reign of Evil-Merodach, whereas it seems to have been one of the first acts of that king immediately after his accession, an act of grace with which he solemnized his own inauguration: on the other supposition it may have been such, for Evil-Merodach began to reign after 29 Dec. 562, and may have begun before 1 Nisan 561. Or, to state it otherwise: suppose the real epoch of Evil-Merodach were so late as (say) 1 Dec. 561, (which is an extreme supposition, for in that case the nominal epoch would probably have been placed at 29 Dec. 561), then the 25th of the 12th Jewish month of the (actual) first year of Evil-Merodach would be (about) 18 Mar. 560; and then the liberation of Jeconiah could hardly be said to have occurred immediately upon the accession of Evil-Merodach: and the difficulty is increased if the real epoch lay before 1 Dec. 561, especially as Evil-Merodach reigned but two *nominal* years in all. In short, the date of the liberation was either (about) 29 Mar. 561 or 18 Mar. 560: the former agrees with the conditions, the other does not. I conclude then, that the 38th year began 1 Nisan 561, consequently, the 1st year began 1 Nisan 598 B. C., *i. e.* the Captivity itself actually began soon after or immediately before that date.

§ 162. But it is evident that the years of Zedekiah's reign coincide, severally, with the years of Jeconiah's captivity: thus, to take but one instance; in 2 Kings xxv. 1, and Jer. lii. 4, Nebuchadnezzar came against Jerusalem "in the 9th year of Zedekiah, the 10th month, the 10th day;" in Ezekiel xxiv. 1, the same event is referred to the "9th year" (of our captivity) "the 10th month, the 10th day."—Hence *the epoch of the reign of Zedekiah is 1 Nisan 598 B. C.* The reign of Jeconiah lasted but 3 months and 10 days, therefore goes for nothing in the construction of a canon of Jewish reigns. In point of fact, his reign ended early in the spring ("at the return of the year," 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10) therefore it began, and the reign of Jehoiakim ended, about Dec. 599, so that, in the canon, the year beginning 1 Nisan 599, and ending 1 Nisan 598, will count as the 11th of Jehoiakim. For Jehoiakim reigned eleven years, (2 Kings, xxiii. 36) *i. e.* 11 nominal years reckoned from 1 Nisan of the year in which he began to reign—therefore, certainly more than ten years: but his reign ended 8 or 9 months after 1 Nisan B. C. 599, therefore the 11 years bear date from 1 Nisan 609, for if they be dated from 1 Nisan 608, his actual reign would be at most nine years and nine months, therefore would not even reach the eleventh year *current*. It follows that *the 4th Jehoiakim is the year beginning 1 Nisan B. C. 606.*

§ 163. But, independently of this, it is certain that the reign of Jehoiakim, with the 3 months of Jeconiah, numbered eleven years *complete*. For in Ezek. i. 1, 2, the 30th year (dated from the great Reformation in the 18th of Josiah, 2 Kings xxiii. 23) is identified with the 5th of Jeconiah's captivity. Now Josiah's reign (together with the brief reign of Jehoahaz) lasted 31 years *complete*¹. If then the reign of Jehoiakim lasted but 10 years, we should have only $31 - 17 + 10 + 4 = 28$ years complete from the beginning of 18 Josiah to the beginning of the 5th of Zedekiah, *i. e.* the 5th of Jeconiah's captivity would be only the 29th from the 18th of Josiah².

¹ This follows from Jer. xxv. 3, where the 23rd year from the 13th of Josiah, *i. e.* 35th Josiah, is identified with the 4th of Jehoiakim: *i. e.* the 1st Jehoiakim = 32nd Josiah.

² Exhaustively, it may be proved thus that both terms, 31 Josiah and 11 Jehoiakim, are *complete*. For either (1) Josiah *r.* 31 years, and Jeh. 11 years *complete*, or (2) Jos. 31 years, and Jeh.

§ 164. Now the 1st of Nebuchadnezzar coincides wholly or in part with the 4th of Jehoiakim, which began 1 Nisan 606 B.C. Does the 1st of Nebuchadnezzar, then, begin 1 Nisan, or before it, or after it? This too is a point of some importance, and to determine it we will collect the several other synchronisms connected with the years of Nebuchadnezzar. By combining these, and exhausting the several forms of hypothesis of which they are capable, we shall be able to settle this point, and at the same time to evince the consistency and uniformity with which the Scriptures place the epoch of Nebuchadnezzar earlier than it is placed in the canon of Ptolemy. We have then (besides a statement in Daniel which will be considered by itself) the following synchronisms:

i. The 1st of Nebuchadnezzar coincides wholly or in part with the 4th of Jehoiakim. Jer. xxv. 1.

ii. The 10th of Zedekiah, which we have found = 589 B.C. (1 Nisan), coincides wholly or in part with 18 Nebuchadnezzar, Jer. xxxii. 1.

iii. The epoch of Jeconiah's captivity, and therefore of the reign of Zedekiah, lies in the 8th of Nebuchadnezzar, 2 Kings xxiv. 12.

iv. The 10th day of the 5th month of 11 Zedekiah falls in the 19th of Nebuchadnezzar, 2 Kings xxv. 8.

§ 165. (1.) First, then, let us suppose that 1 Nebuchadnezzar coincides wholly with 4 Jeh., or 1 N. = 4 J.; then 8 N. = 11 J., and 18 N. = 21 J. But 18 N. = 10 Z. (ii.), therefore 10 Z. = 21 J., and consequently 1 Z. = 12 J., which by hypoth. = 9 N. That is, on this supposition, the epoch of Zedekiah and of Jeconiah's captivity lies in the 9th of Nebuchadnezzar, at the beginning of it, which contravenes No. iii.

(2.) Suppose then that the first of Nebuchadnezzar began in the 3rd and ended in the 4th of Jehoiakim; or 1 N. = 3-4 J.: therefore 18 N. = 20-21 J. But (No. ii.) 18 N. coincides in part with 10 Z., therefore 10 Z. must coincide either with 20 J. or with 21 J.

10 years, or (3) Jos. 30 years, and Jeh.

11 years, or (4) Jos. 30 years, and Jeh.

10 years. Of these forms of hypothesis

only the first gives the synchronism of Ezek. i. 1, 2.

| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|---------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| 18 Jos. = 1 Reformation | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 32 Jos. = 1 Jeh. = 15 R. | ..... | 31 Jos. = 1 J. = 14 R. | ..... |
| 12 Jeh. = 1 Capt. = 26 R. | 11 J. = 1 C. = 25 R. | 12 J. = 1 C. = 25 R. | 11 J. = 1 C. = 24 R. |
| 5 Capt. = 30 R. | 5 C. = 29 R. | 5 C. = 29 R. | 5 C. = 28 R. |

(a) Let 10 Z. = 21 J. then 1 Z. = 12 J. = (by hypothesis) 9-10 N. : which contradicts No. iii., therefore,

(b) Let 10 Z. = 20 J. then 1 Z. = 11 J. = 8-9 N. which realizes No. iii., but makes the reign of Jehoiakim only ten years complete even with the 3 months of Jeconiah.—This second hypothesis therefore must be rejected: that is to say, the reign of Nebuchadnezzar could not begin earlier than the 4th of Jehoiakim. And it has been shown that 1 Neb. does not begin *with* 4 Jehoiakim; therefore it begins later, *i. e.* during 4 Jehoiakim.

§ 166. But to shew in what way this hypothesis realizes the synchronisms, and with what result,

(3.) Take 1 N. = 4-5 J., then 18 N. = 21-22 J. But 18 N. = 10 Z. in part, therefore 10 Z. = either 21 J. or 22 J.

(a) If 10 Z. = 22 J. then 1 Z. = 13 J. = 9-10 N., which contradicts No. iii., and besides, gives Jehoiakim a reign (with Jeconiah) of 12 years complete. But,

(b) If 10 Z. = 21 J., then 1 Z. = 12 J. = 8-9 N., which realizes No. iii. and gives Jehoiakim with Jeconiah a reign of 11 years complete. Hence also, 11 Z. = 18-19 N., and since the 10th Ab of 19 N. lies in 11 Z., (No. iv.) it follows that *the years of Nebuchadnezzar begin somewhere between 1 Nisan and 10 Ab in the 4th of Jehoiakim.* But (§ 162) we have proved by help of the Canon, that 4 Jehoiakim = 606 B.C. Therefore *the Scripture epoch of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar lies after 1 Nisan and before 10 Ab of the year B.C. 606¹.*

¹ I may seem to have bestowed unnecessary pains on this part of my proof: I must, however, apprise the reader that the date of the capture of the city is cardinally concerned in a momentous 'economy of times and seasons' hereafter to be described. If the year of the capture was truly as I have made it, B.C. 588, then the two great crises of judgment, the Babylonian and Roman, are connected by a marvellous system of numerical relations. Prior to investigation, I took Mr Clinton's date of the capture, which is a year later; and when my investigation gave me the year 588 B.C., it disappointed my previous expectations.

But I submitted to the force of evidence little short of mathematical demonstration, and it was not until long after this date lay before me that the economy to which I refer, gradually and quite unexpectedly, presented itself to my notice. I may add, that my date accords with an ancient Jewish tradition preserved by S. Jerom. in 2 Paralip. xv. 1. 5: *tradunt hoc 52 annis post eversionem Templi impletum, ita ut in his 52 annis nec avis volaverit, nec bestia pertransierit per Hierusalem, et Israël fuerit absque spe et omnes gentes in perturbatione.* For from 588 to 536 = 1 Cyrus are 52 years.

§ 167. The following Table shews, at one view, how all the synchronisms are realized :

| | | |
|-------|--------------------|--|
| B. C. | | |
| 606. | 1 Nisan. | 4 Jehoiakim begins. |
| | (about) 1 Ab. | 1 Nebuchadnezzar begins. |
| 599. | 1 Nisan | 11th Jehoiakim begins. |
| | 1 Ab. | 8th Nebuch. begins. |
| | (about) 9th month. | Jehoiakim dies, after a reign of 10 years 9 months. Jeconiah succeeds. |
| 598. | 1 Nisan. | Epoch of Jeconiah's captivity. |
| | | 1 Zedekiah begins. |
| | 1 Ab. | 9 Neb. begins. |
| 589. | 1 Nisan. | 10 Zed. begins. |
| | 1 Ab. | 18 Neb. begins. |
| 588. | 1 Nisan. | 11 Zed. begins. |
| | 1 Ab. | 19 Neb. begins. City taken, 10th of 4th month; Temple destroyed, 10th Ab. |
| 575. | 1 Nisan. | 24 Captivity begins. |
| | 10 Ab. | 14th from destr. of Temple begins. |
| 574. | 1 Nisan. | 25 Capt. begins, (see Ezek. xl. i.) |
| | 10 Ab. | 14th from destr. of Temple ends. |
| 562. | 1 Nisan. | 37 Capt. begins. |
| 561. | [1 Jan. | Nominal Epoch of Ilvoradam in Canon.] |
| | 25 Adar. | Jeconiah is liberated at the end of 37 years. |

§ 168. By the Canon, the first year of Nebuchadnezzar or Nabokolassar begins, nominally, 9 Jan. 604 B. C. that is, nearly two years later than the epoch which we have obtained. So that if we are to make the Canon our guide, all our results must be overthrown: that is, we must charge the Scripture chronology with inaccuracy. Happily, we are able to reconcile the Canon with Scripture in a manner which is completely satisfactory. This point of chronology has been ably treated by former writers, especially by Perizonius, L'Empereur, and latterly by Hengstenberg, whose arguments and results agree, in the main, with what is here given.

§ 169. The years of Nebuchadnezzar in the books of Kings and Jeremiah are enumerated from an earlier epoch than the actual epoch of his reign. They bear date from the year of his victories in Judæa and Syria, not from the date of his accession to the throne of Babylon. It mattered not to the Jews whether he was actually in possession of the throne of Babylon or not: as far as regarded themselves he was king when he first became their master; when he *appeared with all*

the armies of the north before the walls of Jerusalem: *that* is the epoch from which they date the years of a reign which actually commenced soon after, and lasted through a long period of 43 years. Thus far, our solution would be amply probable even if it rested only on hypothesis. But that is not the case: we have both Scripture testimony, and profane, to the fact of a twofold epoch of the years of this king of Babylon.

§ 170. In the first place, Daniel, a minister of state, and writing his own history at Babylon, indicates the fact in a manner which is not to be mistaken. Dan. i. 1. "In the 3rd year of Jehoiakim king of Judah, [which ended at 1 Nisan B.C. 606] came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem and besieged it." "And the Lord gave Jehoiakim into his hand, with part of the vessels of the house of God," [*i. e.* when the siege was ended, which of course took some time: and it is from the end of the siege in the 4th or 5th Jewish month, as I suppose, that the 1st year of king Nebuchadnezzar bears date in the Scripture enumeration.] And the king ordered certain of the youths to be selected for education, which education was to last three years, "that at the end thereof they might stand before the king." "Now at the end of the days that the king had said he should bring them in, then the prince of the eunuchs brought them in before Nebuchadnezzar." Three years counted from 606 lead to the same date of 603: *i. e.* to the 2nd year of Nebuchadnezzar according to the Canon. Now mark the context, ii. 1: "*And in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar dreamed dreams, &c.;*" that is to say, after the expiration of the three years of training, which expired, as we have seen, in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar as reckoned in the Canon. Can any thing be plainer than the fact thus brought out, that the actual reign of Nebuchadnezzar, in the enumeration which would of course be followed by a writer living at Babylon, began later than the conquest of Jerusalem in which Daniel was taken? and consequently, that the Scripture itself recognizes two distinct epochs, the one of king Nebuchadnezzar, in respect of his first conquest of Jerusalem, the other, of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon¹?

¹ One passage of Scripture, *viz.*, the later addition to Jeremiah, at lli. 28 ff., reckons the years of Neb. from an epoch intermediate between that of the Canon and Daniel, and that of 2 Kings and Jeremiah. See § 102. *fin.*

§ 171. Were this all that could be alleged, we should say that Nebuchadnezzar is called king, *de facto* in respect of the Jews, and proleptically in respect of Babylon. The prolepsis in Dan. i. 1. compared with ii. 1. is palpable. But there is more to be said: we have profane testimony which further elucidates the fact under consideration.

Berosus, in the third book of his *Chaldean History*, quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* x. 11. 1, relates, that the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (the Nabopolassar of the Canon) having received intelligence of the defection of his viceroy in Egypt, Syria and Phœnicia, and being himself too weak for war, sent his son Nebuchadnezzar with an army: συστήσας τῷ υἱῷ Ναβουχ. ὄντι ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μέρη τινὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς αὐτόν. "And Nebuchadnezzar having joined battle with the revolter, conquered him and reduced the country of this province to his own kingdom, τὴν χώραν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ἐποίησατο. At that same time his father, who was before infirm, died at Babylon. And Nebuchadnezzar, not long after, being informed of his father's death, and having settled matters in Egypt and the rest of the territory, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Φοινίκων καὶ Σύρων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτὸν ἐθνῶν [ἄθροίσας] καὶ συντάξας τισὶ τῶν φίλων μετὰ τῆς βαρυτάτης δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ὠφελείας ἀνακομίζειν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, αὐτὸς ὁρμήσας ὀλιγοστός διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου παρεγένετο εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. With this compare Jer. xlv. 2; "the army of Pharaoh Necho which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon smote in the 4th year of Jehoiakim," and 2 Kings xxiv. 1; "In his (Jehoiakim's) days, Nebuchadnezzar came up and Jehoiakim [who had before been tributary to Pharaoh, by whom, in fact, he was raised to the throne] became his servant three years [*i. e.* 606-603,] then he turned and rebelled against him: and the Lord sent against him [after this rebellion, not Nebuchadnezzar in person, but] bands of the Chaldeans, Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites....And the king of Egypt came not any more out of his land, for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates, all that was the king of Egypt's." We have seen on the authority of Berosus that the war was terminated by the intelligence of Nabopolassar's death, *i. e.* (according to the Canon) in the spring or summer of 604. Thus Jehoiakim was kept in subjection

two whole years, 606-604, by the presence of Nebuchadnezzar in the neighbourhood, nor did he venture to revolt till the end of the third year. Again, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. refers to the same event, the defeat in B. C. 606. 4th Jehoiakim: "Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and bound him in fetters, in order to carry him to Babylon; [which perhaps he did, and then sent him back to Jerusalem, though it is not necessary to suppose that the purpose was carried into execution,] Nebuchadnezzar also carried of the vessels [part of them Dan. i. 2.] of the house of the Lord to Babylon, and put them in his temple at Babylon" [to the house of his God, Dan. i. 2; comp. Berosus, *u. s.* ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύρων τὸ τοῦ βήλου ἱερόν . . κοσμήσας φιλοτιμῶς].

§ 172. We have amply proved in the preceding argument the truth of Mr. Clinton's date of the ἀρχή of the Captivity, namely 606 B. C. Hence the Seventy Years should terminate in the year 536 B. C., and this is the year which is usually assigned not only by Scripture chronologists, but by other writers who had no intention, and some of them no desire, to bring out an exact fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecy.

§ 173. But by the Canon the first year of Cyrus begins December, 539 B. C. It is obvious, however, that the first year of Cyrus in the Scriptures does not mean the same epoch as is intended in the Canon. The Canon dates the first of Cyrus from the taking of Babylon and deposal of Nabonned the last Babylonian king: between whom and the first year of Cyrus the Scriptures interpose the reign of Darius the Mede: a reign of which the *first* year is mentioned in Dan. ix. 1, xi. 1; from which circumstance alone it might be inferred that the reign lasted nearly two years at least.

§ 174. The facts of the case are as follows:—

Babylon was taken by the Medes and Persians, according to the Canon, in the course of the 210th year of the Nabonassarian æra, that is, between the 24th Dec. 539 and 24th Dec. 538 B. C. The last Babylonian king was the person whom Daniel calls Bel-shazzar; the Canon and Josephus, Nabonned (a name derived from Nebo, as the other from Bel); Herodotus,

Labynetus or Labynitus,—which is only a different pronunciation of Nabonned. (Wesseling. in *Herod.* i. 188). The history of the taking of Babylon is related in different ways by profane writers. Herodotus ascribes the conquest solely to Cyrus; and possibly the later Persian and Egyptian annalists, from whose accounts the Canon may have been constructed, did the same. But others relate this part of the history in perfect agreement with the account given by Daniel. As the clearing up of this point is of great importance to the historical and chronological interpretation of the Old Testament, I shall give a full account of the results obtained by the most accurate historical investigation.

§ 175. In the tradition followed by Herodotus, (who informs us that there were two other versions of the story known to him) the Persian tribes are represented as subject to the Medes, until a bold adventurer of the race of the Achæmenids threw off the yoke, and deposed the Median king, his grandfather by the mother's side, named Astyages. This king becomes subject to his grandson Cyrus, and remains with him until his death, leaving no male heir. Herodotus makes *Cyrus* the conqueror and first king of the Medo-Persian dynasty at Babylon. The Median dynasty ends in the person of Astyages. In this last particular, Ctesias agrees with Herodotus, though widely differing in other respects.

In Xenophon, the history presents altogether a different aspect. Here we see the Persians maintaining from the first an independent position in respect of the Medes, with whom however they are connected by alliance and common interests. Astyages, the grandfather of Cyrus, dies in possession of the throne of the Medes, which he leaves to his son Cyaxares (the second of that name in the Median dynasty), forms a confederacy with the Persians against Babylon, destroys the Babylonian monarchy, and cedes Media to Cyrus. He was an old man at the time of the conquest of Babylon: *i. e.* too old to have hope of a male heir. For on giving his daughter in marriage to Cyrus, and with her all Media as her dowry, he remarks that he has no son born in marriage. With this agrees the remark in Daniel, "And Darius the Mede took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old." (Dan. v. 31).

§ 176. There is no reason to doubt that this "Darius the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes," ix. 1, is the same person with the Cyaxares of Xenophon. The difference of names is no valid objection: both are appellatives and titles of sovereignty. Even Herodotus has remarked that *Δαρείος* is equivalent to the Greek *ἐπξείης*, "coercer:" and this is confirmed by modern linguists: Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* s. v. *Dara*: *Nom Persien, qui est plutôt appellatif que propre, car Dara en langue Persienne signifie un souverain*, comp. Gesen. *Lex. Hebr.* s. v. It is not surprising then to find the same name borne by different kings, otherwise unconnected. Niebuhr has remarked, that the names Astyages, Cyaxares, contain the same element: "Asdahag seems, according to Moses of Chorene (cited by the Milan editors of the Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius) to have been the name of an ancient Median dynasty: and in the name Cyaxares, Kei-Axar, Axar and Asdahag are identical, like Artaxares and Artachshasta" (*kl. hist. Schr.* p. 207). The father of Darius in Daniel is called *אַחַשְׁוֵרֶשׁ* *Ahashwerosh*, or *'Hhashwerosh*, which, as Scaliger noticed long ago, is only another form of Xerxes (*de Emend. Temp.* vi. p. 587): a conjecture which has since been confirmed by discoveries in the cuneiform inscriptions, wherein this name appears in the form *Khshwershe*, or *Khshhershe*, of which *Κυαζάρης*, again, is one, and *Ξέρξης* another, Greek rendering. The supposed identity of the name *Asdahag* or *Astyages* with *Cyaxares*, *'Hhashwerosh*, *Xerxes*, I venture to think doubtful. Be this as it may, the person whom Daniel calls Darius the Mede, son of *'Hhashwerosh*, may obviously have borne the same name with his father, or Xenophon may have mistaken the patronymic "son of *Khshwershe*" for the name of the individual, hence his *Κυαζάρης*; and Herodotus on the other hand may have confounded two successive *Asdahags*, father and son, in the person of one individual *Ἀστυάγης*, grandfather of Cyrus.

§ 177. But Xenophon does not stand alone in his testimony to the fact, that one individual, and he a Mede, occupied the throne of Babylon before Cyrus. The Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius not only attests the fact but gives the very name, *Darius*. Eusebius quotes from Abydenus a statement of that writer to the effect, that Cyrus having conquered the last king of Babylon, Labynetus, gave him the province of Carmania.

Thus far the same statement is given in the *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41¹. But in the Armenian Chronicle the extract is continued in these words: *Darius rex de regione depulit aliquantulum*. (The meaning is obscure, but Abydenus is a confused writer.) What king Darius can he mean but this Darius the Mede, whom the Medes and Persians, with Cyrus their commander in the siege, raised to the throne of Babylon? The fact thus vaguely noticed is of a piece with what Abydenus has related on another occasion, in the prophecy which he puts into the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar: οὐ δὴ συνάιτιος ἔσται Μήδης, τὸ Ἀσσυρίων αὔχημα. “in which (overthrow of Babylon) the Mede, the boast” (vaunted friend and ally) “of the Assyrians” (as the Medes at time were the friends and allies of the Assyrians of Babylon) “shall have a hand.”

¹ Abydenus in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41. p. 457. B. Εὐιμλαοῦρουχος ἐβασίλευε. τὸν δὲ ὁ κηδεστής ἀποκτείνει· Νηριγλισάρης λείπει παῖδα Λαβασσοαρσάσκον. τούτου δὲ ἀποθανόντος βιαίᾳ μὲν Ναβοννίδου ἀποδείκνυσσι βασιλέα προσήκοντά οἱ οὐδέν. τῷ δὲ Κύρος, ἐλὼν Βαβυλῶνα Καρμανίης ἡγεμονίην δωρεῖται. Berosus ap. Joseph. c. *Αἰρίων*. i. Ναβόννηδος ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ φυγὼν ὀλιγοστούς συνεκλείσθη εἰς τὴν Βορσιππηῶν πόλιν. Κύρος δὲ Βαβυλῶνα καταλαβόμενος καὶ συντάξας τὰ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τεῖχη κατασκάψαι—ἀνέβηκεν ἐπὶ Βόρσιππον ἐκπολιορκήσων τὸν Ναβόννηδον. τοῦ δὲ Ναβοννίδου οὐκ ὑπομείναντος τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἀλλ' ἐγχειρήσαντος αὐτὸν, πρότερον χρησάμενος Κύρος φιλανθρωπῶς, καὶ δοὺς οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ Καρμανίαν, ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Ναβόννηδος μὲν οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διαγενομένος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. (Both passages are quoted by Mr. Clinton, *F. H.* Vol. II. App. p. 304). This account is at variance not only with the Scriptures but with Xenophon, *Cyrop.* vii. §. 1—32, who, like Daniel, makes the last king of Babylon to have perished in the siege. The account given by Berosus and Abydenus is a mere falsification of the facts, prompted by national vanity.

On this subject I cannot do better than transcribe Mr. Clinton's critical remark. “Abydenus and Berosus could only compile from books. The value of the materials which would be in their hands we shall not estimate very highly, when we consider the character of those materials. In the great monarchies of Asia, Oriental history has seldom been faithfully delivered by the Orientals themselves. In the ancient times, before the Greek kingdoms of Asia diffused knowledge and information, it is not likely that history would be undertaken by private individuals. The habits of the people, and the form of their governments, precluded all free inquiry and any impartial investigation of the truth. The written history of past transactions would be contained in the archives of the state; and these royal records drawn up under the direction of the reigning despot, would deliver just such a representation of facts as the government of the day thought fit to give; just so much of the truth as it suited their purpose to communicate.” As a case in point, Mr. Clinton compares Ctesias's account of Assyrian history which was derived from the royal archives, with the truth of facts as ascertained from Herodotus and the Scriptures. (*Fast. Hell.* ii. App. p. 307.)

§ 178. To the same purport is the tradition recorded by *Æschylus* within sixty years of the times of which we are writing, from which we may at least learn what was the current belief of well-informed Athenians in his age.

Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ·

ἄλλος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς τὸδ' ἔργον ἤνυσε,

φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν οἰακοστρόφουν·

τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος, &c. Pers. 756 ff.

That is, the first steps towards empire were taken by one, (*Astyages*) whose son completed the work, by the conquest of *Babylon*: to him succeeded *Cyrus*, who enlarged the empire, as the poet relates in the following verses, by the conquest of *Lydia*, *Phrygia*, and *Ionia*.

§ 179. That *Cyrus* was the principal actor in the conquest of *Babylon*² there is no reason to doubt; and if *Darius*, or *Cyaxares*, already an old man, held the throne but a short time, it is easy to account for the comparative silence about him in the traditions followed by *Herodotus*. *Daniel* mentions only "the first year of *Darius*," ix. 1, at which time the seventy years of captivity were nearly at an end. Certainly he reigned more than one year, and perhaps less than two years altogether. There is therefore no reason to call in question the fact involved in the *Scripture Chronology*, that in the month *Nisan* of B.C. 536 the first year of *Cyrus* was just begun. For it is certain, from the express testimony of the Jews themselves, that the captivity lasted just seventy years, as had been foretold by *Jeremiah*. And it has been proved that the epoch of the seventy years, or the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, is the year 606 B.C. Hence, as the seventy years end at the first year of *Cyrus*, that year must be the year 536 B.C.³

§ 180. The succession of the last kings of *Babylon* in *Josephus* is as follows:

² As the capture occurred at the time of some great festival or solemnity, *Dan. v. 1*, it is supposed to have been at the time of the *Sacea*, which was celebrated in the month *Lous*. If so, the date of the capture would be July or August, B.C. 538, for the technical date in the *Canon* is 29 Dec. B.C. 539; then the reign of *Darius* the Mede would be about a year and 8 months.

³ *Ussher* finds it in accordance with this result that *Xenophon* places the death of *Cyrus* soon after his seventh visit to *Persia*, *Cyrop. viii. 7. 1. μάλα δὲ πρεσβύτες ἂν ὁ Κῦρος ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Πέρσας τὸ ἑβδόμου*: which he takes to mean seven annual visits, implying a reign, at *Babylon*, of seven years. Now *Cyrus* certainly died 529 B.C., hence his first year would be 536 B.C.

Nebuchadnezzar...43 years. *Ant.* x. 11. 1.

Evil-Merodach, his son, 18 years. *ib.* 2. But the number 18 is undoubtedly corrupt: Josephus *c. Apion.* i. quotes Berosus to this effect: "His son, Evil-Merodach, after a lawless and riotous reign of two years, was conspired against and slain by Neriglissar, his sister's husband." Besides, Syncellus, p. 226. A. attests that Josephus followed Abydenus and Polyhistor in assigning two years to this reign.

Neriglissar...40 years. *Ant.* x. 11. 2. Again, the text is corrupt; the true reading is "four years:" Berosus *ap. Jos. c. Apion* i. "After that Evil-Merodach was slain, Neriglissar reigned four years."

Labosordach, reigned only nine months. *Ant.* x. 11. 2. Berosus *u. s.* "His son Laborosoarchod reigned nine months, being a child, but manifesting an evil disposition, he was conspired against and slain by his friends."

Baltasar or *Naboandelus* reigned seventeen years. *Ant.* x. 11. 4. Berosus *u. s.* "By common consent they gave the kingdom to one Nabonned a Babylonian. In the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus from Persia invaded Babylonia."

Darius, son of Astyages, conquered Babylon with his kinsman Cyrus, being 62 years old. *Ant.* x. 11. 4. The length of his reign is not expressed.

§ 181. Compare these with the Canon:

| <i>Josephus.</i> | | <i>The Canon.</i> | |
|------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------------|
| Nebuchadnezzar | 43 years. | Nabokolassar | 43. 9 Jan. 604. |
| Evil-Merodach | 2 | Ilvoradam | 2. 29 Dec. 562. |
| Neriglissar | 4 | Nerikassolassar | 4. 29 Dec. 560. |
| Labosordach | 9 months. | | |
| Baltasar | 17 years. | Nabonned | 17. 28 Dec. 556. |
| Darius M. | — | Cyrus | 24 Dec. 539. |
| Cyrus. | | | |

The lists differ only in the omission of the short reign of Labosordach and the reign of Darius the Mede.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PROPHECIES OF JEREMIAH.

§ 182. THE prophecies and narratives of the book of Jeremiah, as they lie before us in the Hebrew text, seem, at first sight, so strangely confused in respect of the order of time, that we are inclined to imagine that the several parts were

thrown together by some later hand, almost without a plan. Yet upon a closer examination it will be found that, in the main, we have this book as it proceeded from Jeremiah himself; that it is practicable to analyse it into its component parts by means of the several headings, such as "The word which came to Jeremiah from the Lord," and to refer these by express notes of time or internal evidence to their proper dates, and, in general, to account for the place which each portion holds in the existing collection. Ewald, in his recent German version of the Prophets, (*die Propheten des alten Bundes*) has very satisfactorily proved this, and after the best consideration I could give to the subject, I have on the whole adopted his arrangement. Unhappily, this profound Hebraist and admirable critic, like so many of his countrymen, treats the scriptures of the Old Testament as a peculiar "literature," entirely ignoring their claim to be the inspired documents of God's dealings with an elect nation. Of course, the notion of genuine inspired predictions recorded before the event which fulfilled them, is wholly abandoned, as if it had been long ago exploded as an absurdity in the nature of things. Hence, whatever portions of Jeremiah and the other prophets, if written before the event, would be true predictions in this sense, this writer quietly assumes them to have been written after the event, simply on the ground of the coincidence of the terms of the description with the circumstances of the event. This is mere prejudice, not criticism: but where this unhappy bias does not interfere, his analysis and arrangement seem to me to be very successful.

It is to be born in mind that Jeremiah began to prophecy in the 13th of Josiah = 628 B. C. (xxv. 3); that in the 4th of Jehoiakim, the eventful year 606 B. C., he was enjoined to record in writing all the prophecies which he had till then delivered against Judah, Israel, and the heathen; that this roll was destroyed by Jehoiakim in the 9th month of the following year, Dec. 605, when a fresh roll was made to which were added "many like words." It is possible to shew pretty clearly what were the contents of this roll. To it were added, during the reign of Zedekiah and after the catastrophe, sundry other sections of historical or prophetic matter. The entire collection is composed of *seven* portions.

I. The Introduction, *chap. i.*

II. Prophecies, reproofs, &c., delivered before 606 B. C. *chap. ii—xx.* These, together with the subsequent addition, *chap. xxi—xxiv.*, form *seven* parts.

III. The Prophecies of Judgment against Judah and the Gentiles, in respect of Nebuchadnezzar, delivered in the fateful year 606, *chap. xxv. and xli—xlix.* The latter were subsequently detached from the connexion in which they stood in the original roll, and placed, together with the oracle against Babylon, *chap. l. li.*, at the end of the collection. To this portion *chap. xxvi—xxix.* were afterwards added as an historical appendix.

IV. The counterpart to the preceding, or Prophecies of Mercy, *xxx—xxxiii.*, together with an appendix of historical incidents, *xxxiv. xxxv.*

V. The history of the writing of the Roll: *chap. xxxvi. and xlv:* this became disjoined from No. III. by the insertion of the counterpart, No. IV.; and when *xli—xlix.* were removed from No. IV. to the end, *chap. xlv.* from No. V. went with them.

VI. The history of the siege, B. C. 590—588, and of the remnant in Judæa and Egypt, *xxxvii—xliv.*

VII. The prophecy against Babylon, sent to the exiles at Babylon in the 4th of Zedekiah, l. li., but aptly placed here at the close of the prophetic and historical scenes of Jerusalem's judgment. "He that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity: he that slayeth with the sword, shall be slain with the sword. Here is the patience and faith of the saints."

The 52nd chapter is added at the close, from the book of Kings, with the addition of *v. 28 ff.* by some later hand.

PART I. *Chap. i.* The history of Jeremiah's call and commission to the prophetic office. This occurred in the 13th year of Josiah, B. C. 628, five years before the great reformation, and (what is interesting to observe) just *forty years* before the crisis of the judgment of which Jeremiah was the herald.

PART II. Prophecies delivered before 606, *ii—xx.* with a subsequent addition, *xxi—xxiv.* This part consists of *seven* sections:—

- (1.) Chap. ii. was probably delivered B. C. 628. The prophet denounces, among other sins of Judah, its hankering after an alliance with Egypt (which was at that time become a powerful kingdom under Psammetichus).
- (2.) Chap. iii—vi. : prediction of a judgment approaching from the north : delivered in the reign of Josiah, and probably before his 18th year, for idolatry is here described as still rampant. The “northern enemy” is not, as Eichhorn, Hitzig, Ewald, and other sceptical writers contend, the Scythian hordes—these were indeed the precursors of the approaching judgment—it is to Nebuchadnezzar that these awful descriptions refer, “the lion is come up from his thicket, the destroyer of the Gentiles is on his way.” The only ground for calling this in question is—that we should then have a *prophecy*.
- (3.) Chap. vii—x. seem to belong to the occasion related at xxvi. 1—19, in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim, 609 B. C. It ends x. 22, with a prediction of the nearness of Nebuchadnezzar’s approach : he was then perhaps occupied in the siege of Nineveh which ended 606 B. C.
- (4.) Chap. xi—xiii. lie still before the arrival of the “northern army :” “the king” at xiii. 18. is Jehoiakim.
- (5.) Chap. xiv—xvii. 18 : on occasion of a drought and dearth : the threatened calamity is still future, and there is nothing to indicate that Nebuchadnezzar’s armies had yet approached Judah and Jerusalem.
- (6.) Chap. xvii. 19.—xx. *end*. Here too the crisis is still future : if this (as the preceding) had been delivered after the 4th of Jehoiakim, some allusion would have been made to the catastrophe of that year.
- (7.) Chap. xxi—xxiv. At first sight the parts composing this series seem strangely out of order : but in fact the connexion is of this kind :—Towards the end of the reign of Zedekiah, during the siege, xxi. 4, Jeremiah, on the motion of the king himself, predicts what would be the issue of the siege to the city and to the king, xxi. 1; xxii. 9. While recording this (at the end of his ministry), he takes occasion to pass in review the oracles which he had at sundry times delivered concerning the *leaders of the people* ; first, concerning the three preced-

ing *kings*; viz. xxii. 10—12, *Shallum* = Jehoahaz, son and successor of Josiah; 13—19, *Jehoiakim*; 20—30, Coniah or *Jeconiah*. Chap. xxiii. 1—8, concludes the series of woes pronounced on these four kings, with an assurance that the branch of David shall yet flourish, though these kings shall have no son to reign after them. The remainder of c. xxiii. (9—40) relates to those other leaders of the people, the *prophets*; and in c. xxiv. the recital of a vision which he beheld after the deportation of Coniah, 598 B. C., concludes this summary of the oracles which he had at sundry times delivered concerning Judah's *leaders*—its *kings* and its *prophets*.

Thus far extends the Second Part of the prophecies, consisting of seven Sections, reduced to their present form by the Prophet himself, towards the close of the reign of Zedekiah.

PART III. consists, in substance, of the momentous prophecies delivered concerning Israel and the Gentiles in the 1st year of Nebuchadnezzar and 4th of Jehoiakim.

- (1.) Chap. xxv. predicts the desolation of Judah and Jerusalem during seventy years.
- (2.) Chap. xlv—xlix. the judgment to be executed by Nebuchadnezzar on the Gentiles, (comp. xxv. 15 ff.) viz.
 1. xlv. Egypt. [Ewald supposes vv. 13—28 to belong to a later time; but only because if delivered at the same time with 1—12, it would be a clear and explicit *prophecy*.]
 2. xlvii. Philistia.
 3. xlviii. Moab.
 4. xlix. 1—6. Ammon.
 5. — 6—22. Edom.
 6. — 23—27. Damascus.
 7. — 28—33. Arabia.

To these *seven* scenes of the prophetic vision is added from a later period, viz. the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah (v. 34), a denunciation against *Elam*, (comp. xxv. 25.)

To this roll, the four chapters xxvi—xxix. seem to be annexed as an *appendix*. They form a connected whole, consisting of three historical narratives which have this feature in common, that in each of them the prophet *first* recites

some passage of his own history, what he said or did, and how stedfastly he executed his commission, and *then* contrasts therewith a history of what befel other prophets, less stedfast, or speaking falsehoods. This appendix was added during the reign of Zedekiah.

(1.) *Chap.* xxvi. 1—19, gives the history connected with the prophecy in vii—x. how Jeremiah was threatened with death by the false prophets and priests, yet stood firm. The contrast to this, *v.* 20—24, is the history of Urijah, a prophet of the Lord, who having delivered a like prediction at the same time, fled for it, yet lost his life. (2.) *Chap.* xxvi. the history of Zedekiah's revolt; Jeremiah's symbolical prophecy. The contrast *c.* xxviii., the history of Chenaniah's lying prophecy and punishment. (3.) Jeremiah's epistle to the exiles at Babylon, after the deportation of Jeconiah, *B. C.* 598. This too has its counterpart in the narrative concerning the epistle of the false prophet Shemaiah, and the punishment threatened for his presumption. The second of these narratives belongs to the 4th of Zedekiah, the 5th month, xxviii. 1. The clause which immediately precedes this note of time, "in the beginning of his reign," is not found in the LXX.: but it is not likely to be an interpolation; it means, I think, the commencement of the affected independence of Zedekiah. The LXX. omitted it, because it seemed superfluous or inconsistent with the detailed date. In *li.* 59, we find Zedekiah in his fourth year going to Babylon; whether this visit preceded the revolt, or whether Nebuchadnezzar, having intelligence of the confederacy formed at Jerusalem, sent and demanded the personal submission of his vassal, I do not see that we are able to determine. The history in 2 Kings xxiv. 20 only informs us that "through the anger of the Lord it came to pass...that Zedekiah rebelled against the king of Babylon, and in the 9th year...Nebuchadnezzar came, &c;" and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13, that "he rebelled against king Nebuchadnezzar, who had made him swear by God, but he stiffened his neck, &c." It may be, that this oath was administered in the 4th of Zedekiah after the confederacy, and that the rebellion occurred at a later period; and this is more likely than that the rebellion began in the 4th year and lasted, unchecked by Nebuchadnezzar, till the 9th. From Ezek. xvii. 17, it appears that the

time of the revolt lies before 592, the 7th year, xx. 1, and perhaps after 593, the 6th year, (27th Aug.) viii. 1.

PART IV. Chap. xxx—xxxv.

- (1.) Chap. xxx. xxxi. The prophecy of final mercy for Judah and Ephraim :
- (2.) xxxii. xxxiii.: the promise confirmed by two revelations during the siege.

Supplement : (1) Chap. xxxiv. 1—7. The message to Zedekiah during the siege.—(2) *ib.* 8—*end* : concerning slavery. The king and people, during a short-lived reformation, had covenanted to observe the law of release, Exod. xxi. 2—11. Deut. xv. 12—18, by giving liberty in the sabbatical year to all Hebrew bondservants : “but afterwards they turned and caused the servants whom they had let go free to return, and brought them into subjection ;” *viz.* as it seems from v. 22, at a time when they were relieved for a while from their apprehension by the withdrawal of Nebuchadnezzar’s army. The Egyptian army had made a demonstration in favour of Jerusalem, xxxvii. 5, “and when the Chaldeans which besieged Jerusalem heard tidings of them, they departed from Jerusalem.” The siege began 9th Zedekiah, 10th month, 10th day, lii. 4. Ezek. xxiv. 1; i. e. 25 December, B. C. 590 : it was probably in the spring of the following year that the demonstration was made on the part of Egypt. The year beginning Tisri, 590 B. C., was actually a sabbatical year : (*infra* Chap. v. Sect. iv.)—(3) Chap. xxxv. concerning the Rechabites. This incident occurred during the former siege, in the 4th of Jehoiakim.

PART V. *The history of the roll.*

- (1.) Chap. xxxvi. Baruch writes in a roll, in the 4th of Jehoiakim, all the prophecies delivered by Jeremiah “against Israel and Judah and against all the Gentiles,” from the 13th of Josiah to that day, and is ordered to read it in the temple, in the hearing of all the people, on a fast-day. (x. v. “on *the* fast-day” is a mistranslation). Accordingly, on occasion of a special extraordinary fast-day which was appointed to take place in the 9th month of the following year, the roll is read, apparently for the first time. Perhaps the writing began towards the close

of the 4th of Jehoiakim, 606—5 : and after the completion, no fit opportunity might occur before the 9th month next ensuing, about Dec. 605¹. The roll is destroyed by Jehoiakim, and Baruch is commanded to write another, containing all the former words : to these were added besides “many like words.” The contents of this roll, as then written, would be Chap. i—xx. xxv. xli—xlix.

- (2.) Chap. xlv. The concluding address to Baruch after the first writing of the roll.

PART VI. The remaining chapters to chap. xlv. consist of historical matter.

- (1.) xxxvii—xxxix. History of the siege, Dec. 590 to July 588 : imprisonment of the prophet : capture of the city, 9 July, 588 : destruction of city and temple, 8 August.
- (2.) xl—xliii. History of the remnant which was left. Gedaliah is appointed viceroy ; assassinated by Ishmael, in the 7th month (588). Johanan son of Kareah, and the remnant, against Jeremiah’s warning, flee into Egypt, taking the Prophet with them. Prophecy against Egypt.
- (3.) Chap. xlv. Renewed warning against idolatry in Egypt. Prophecy concerning Pharaoh Hophra (Apries). See p. 191.

PART VII. *The Apocalypse of Babylon’s Judgment and Overthrow*, chap. l. li. This was sent in writing to the exiles at Babylon in the 4th year of Zedekiah.

Ewald, regarding this memorable prophecy with the eyes of one who quietly assumes, as matter of course, that there is no such thing as a genuine revelation of future events by inspiration of God, assigns this composition to the time *after* the event which it describes. He admits indeed that “it has numerous words, turns of expression, sentiments, and indeed its general plan, in common with the genuine oracles of Jeremiah,” but this he says is to be ascribed to careful imitation : the

¹ It is not necessary to infer from v. 8, that there was a previous reading or readings : and it would be contrary to all analogy to suppose that the years of Jehoiakim bear date from the 1st of Tisri, the 7th month, i. e. that the 4th year began 1 Tisri 607 or 606, and the 5th at 1 Tisri 606 or 5. (The LXX. has *ὁγδοῦν*,

evidently a misreading of the numeral *ה* as *ו*. The number “fifth” is not an error for “fourth :” all the MSS. have it, and besides, if the same year had been meant at v. 9 as in v. 1, it would have been expressed by *בשנה החמישית*, as at xxviii. 1.)

author wanted to pass for Jeremiah, whose style therefore he studied, and copied with considerable success. An hypothesis than which nothing can be more preposterous. In an age of leisurely school-learning, when Alexandrine professors studied style, and culled phrases, and published forgeries of Euripides and Plato, one can imagine the son of Sirach, for example, thus copying from Solomon's Proverbs: but one must be blind to the plainest literary distinctions of persons and times, to represent a Jew in the time of Cyrus deliberately sitting down to indite a pseudepigraphum of Jeremiah.

The concluding chapter, lii., gives a summary account of the capture and destruction of Jerusalem, in the same terms as 2 Kings xxv., but with some additional particulars, *v.* 28 ff. The deportation of 3,023 persons in the 7th of Nebuchadnezzar, seems at variance with 2 Kings xxiv. 11—16, in both particulars. The captivity of Jeconiah befel in the 8th of Nebuchadnezzar and took off 10,000 persons, at least, from Jerusalem. "He carried away all Jerusalem and all the princes and all the mighty men of valour, even 10,000 captives, and all the craftsmen and smiths." As however these latter are not included in the 10,000, the sum was 11,000, see *v.* 16; and since the fighting men were 7,000, the two statements are reconciled thus:

7,000 "men of might," 2 Kings xxiv. 16.

3,023 [principal men of Jerusalem] Jer. lii. 28.

10,023 "princes and mighty men, 10,000," 2 Kings xxv. 14.

1,000 "smiths and craftsmen," 16.

As to the other statement, which places this deportation in the *seventh* year of Nebuchadnezzar, it is probable that the author of this passage (certainly not Jeremiah) followed a different reckoning of the years of this king. This is the more likely, as the second deportation, which Jeremiah places in the 19th year, is here referred to the 18th. There is no way of reconciling these two statements with the other dates, but by supposing that the author dated the reign of Nebuchadnezzar from B. C. 605, a year earlier than the epoch of Daniel and the Canon. This is not surprising, when it is considered that the author of this passage wrote perhaps at Babylon, but certainly after Nebuchadnezzar's death. The date

of the third and final deportation, 23rd Nebuchadnezzar, must therefore lie in 583 B. C. Josephus seems only to give his own inference from this very passage when he says, *Ant.* x. 9.7, that "in the 5th year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which is the 23rd of Nebuchadnezzar, the king invaded Coele Syria, subjugated Moab and Ammon, then turned his arms against Egypt, slew its king and led the Jews captive thence to Babylon." There is no proof that Nebuchadnezzar was in Egypt so early as 583, and it is certain that Apries, the Pharaoh whom Nebuchadnezzar conquered and put to death, reigned till near 570 B. C. This deportation, then, affected such of the Jews as remained in Judah or the neighbouring countries. And it is certain that the Chaldean armies were in Syria at the time mentioned: *Infra* p. 189 f.

CHRONOLOGY OF EZEKIEL.

§ 183. THE prophecies of Ezekiel follow each other, with one or two exceptions, in the order of time. But they have also a systematical arrangement, according to subjects, and this is the source of the deviations from the chronological order.

The entire collection naturally falls into three parts:—

I. *Chap.* i—xxiv: containing the Prophecies delivered before the destruction of the Temple:

II. *Chap.* xxv—xxxii: containing Prophecies against heathen nations:

III. *Chap.* xxxiii.—*end*: Prophecies of mercy, restoration and final salvation.

The FIRST PART is composed of *three Divisions*, each of which seems to fall into *three Sections*.

Division I. *Chap.* i—xi.

Sect. i. i. 1; iii. 21. The Prophet's first vision, and inauguration and mission to his prophetic office.

Sect. ii. *Chap.* iii. 22—vii. The second appearance of the vision—the judgment is denounced (*a*) on Jerusalem: the Prophet symbolically enacts the siege: the 390 + 40

years of provocation ; iii. 22—v. (b) on the mountains of Canaan, the scenes of idolatry ; vi. (c) on the whole land ; vii.

Sect. iii. *Chap.* viii—xi. The third vision : the Prophet is carried in the Spirit to Jerusalem, where he beholds (a) Jerusalem's abominations ; viii. (b) the destroying angels, and the renewed vision of the cherubim ix—x. 17. (c) provocations of the chief men of Jerusalem, against whom he prophesies, ending with a promise of mercy to the dispersed of Judah. x. 18—xi.

The time noted in i. 1, 2. 5th year, 4th month, 5th day, is B.C. 594. 10th June ; therefore at iii. 16, is 17 June. At viii. 1. the 6th year, 6th month, 5th day, is B.C. 593. 27th August. The interval between the two last is 436 days ; whence it seems that the time occupied in Sect. ii. was really 430 days, and that there was an interval of 6 days between Sect. i. and ii., or ii. and iii.

Division II. *Chap.* xii—xx.

Sect. i. xii. 1—20. Symbolical Prophecies against the vain hopes of the exiles : in three symbolical actions.

Sect. ii. xii. 21 ; xiv. 11. Concerning Prophets : the certain accomplishment of God's word—judgment on false prophets—and on all who seek the word of the Lord in insincerity. The incident xiv. 1, is repeated at xx. 1, ff. (with a note of time.)

Sect. iii. xiv. 12—xix. Jerusalem's provocations, especially her treacherous breach of covenant with the king of Babylon.—

Chap. xx. the Prophet relates more fully the incident, briefly touched upon in *chap.* xiv. 1—11, which gave occasion to this set of prophecies : and recapitulates the history of Israel's provocations.

The time noted xx. 1, the 7th year, 5th month, 10th day, is B.C. 592. 23rd July.

Division III. *Chap.* xxi—xxiv.

Sect. i. xxi. The sword of the Lord.

Sect. ii. xxii. xxiii. The bloody City. Jerusalem shall be as Samaria.

Sect. iii. xxiv. 1—14. The siege is begun:—the boiling caldron—*v.* 15—27. Death of the Prophet's wife: his speechless mourning, the type of the mourning for the city.

The time of xxiv. 1., the first day of the siege, is 25 Dec. B.C. 590. At the end of chap. xxiv. it is evidently intimated that the Prophet is thenceforth silent for a season—namely until the time noted at xxxiii. 21. Here then ends the first part of this book.

The SECOND PART, *chap.* xxv—xxxii. consists of prophecies against heathen nations, delivered at sundry times. Here, as in Jeremiah, *seven* nations are the subject of the predictions.

1. Ammon. xxv. 1—7.
2. Moab. 8—11.
3. Edom. 12—14.
4. Philistia, 15—17.
5. Tyre. xxvi. 1—xxviii. 19. This prophecy is dated, "In the 11th year, on the first day of the — month:" the numeral of the month is lost.
6. Sidon. xxxviii. 20—26.
7. Egypt. xxix—xxxii.

In xxix. 1. we have the date, 10th year, 10th month, 11th day = B.C. 589. 14th December. It is prophesied that Egypt shall be desolate 40 years, *v.* 1—16.—At a later time, *v.* 17—*end* was inserted: it is dated 27th year, 1st month, 1st day, *i.e.* 572. B.C. 6th April. Nebuchadnezzar shall have Egypt as his hire for his service against Tyre.—At xxx. 20. the date is 11th year, 1st month, 7th day, = 9 April 588.—At xxxi. 1, the same year, 3rd month, 1st day.—xxxii. 1, 12th year, 12th month, 1st day. *i.e.* 10 Feb. (or 12 Mar.) 586. The dirge which follows is dated the 15th of the same month: 24 Feb. (or 26 Mar.).

The siege of Tyre mentioned in xxix. 18, as then ended, (572 B.C. 6th April) can be no other than that which is recorded in the Tyrian annals quoted by Josephus, between which and the statement of Ezekiel the coincidence is complete. The siege lasted 13 years, Menander ap. Jos. *c. Apion.* i. 21. Philostratus ap. *Ant.* x. 11. 1. That it began according to the Tyrian annals in 585 and consequently ended 572 B.C. is evident from the subsequent enumeration:

| | Years. | Months. |
|--|--------|---------|
| Ithobal, king when Tyre was besieged | 13 | |
| Baal | 10 | |
| After him, Judges: Ecnibal. | 0 | 2 |
| Chelbes | 0 | 10 |
| Abgarus | 0 | 3 |
| Mytgonus } | 6 | |
| Gerastratus } | | |
| [ὧν μετὰξὺ reigned Balatorus | 1 |] |
| On his death, Merbal, from Babylon | 4 | |
| Hirom..... | 20 | |
| Sum..... | 55 | 3 |

As Josephus makes the sum 54 years, 3 months, it would seem that the one year of Balatorus is included in the preceding term of six years. The Tyrian annals add, that in the 14th year of Hirom *Κῦρος ὁ Πέρσης τὸ κράτος παρέλαβεν*—this synchronism points to the year 538 B.C. Hence the siege began 47 years before 538, *i.e.* in 585 B.C. therefore ended 572 B.C., the very year of Ezekiel's prophecy. So far, nothing can be more complete than the coincidence. To this we may add, that whereas according to the prophecy of both Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Pharaoh-Hophra was to be slain by Nebuchadnezzar, so Herodotus and Manetho agree in assigning the end of the reign of Apries to the year 570 B.C.—But then Josephus, or Menander, seems to place the beginning of the siege in the seventh of Nebuchadnezzar: *ἐβδόμῃ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τῆς Ναβουχοδονοσόρου βασιλείας ἤρξατο πολιορκεῖν Τύρον*. But the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar begins at latest 598 B.C. Now the meaning cannot be, that Nebuchadnezzar began a siege in his 7th year = 598 (at the time of Jeconiah's captivity) which lasted 13 years, to B.C. 585, for the "seventh year" is plainly expressed as the *terminus a quo* of the term of 54 years, in which the 14th of Hirom coincides with the 1st year of Cyrus. Hence we must suppose either that the *βασιλεία* of Nebuchadnezzar in respect of Tyre is here made to begin at 592 B.C., which is not probable—or, that Josephus meant to assign to *Ithobal* a reign of 19 years, in the *seventh* of which Nebuchadnezzar laid siege to Babylon. And indeed, the strange construction *ἐβδ. περὶ τῆς Ναβ. βασιλείας* seems to imply some corruption of the text. Or, lastly, it may be, that Josephus confused two terms of 13

years, the one beginning at the 7th year of Nebuchadnezzar and ending 585 B.C. in the first year of the siege, the other the time of the siege, extending from 585 to 572 B.C.¹

With regard to the fulfilment of this series of prophecies, it is remarkable that Herodotus seems to have received no information concerning a Chaldean invasion of Egypt in which Apries lost his life, and in consequence of which Egypt lay desolate 40 years. Nay, he was made to believe a story which is in direct opposition, at every point, to the prophetic denunciation. "I will exterminate the multitude of Egypt by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar...they shall fill the land with slain: *I will make the streams dry*, and sell the land into the hand of the wicked; and I will make the land waste and all that is therein, by the hand of strangers...and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt." xxx. 10 ff. "I will bring war on thee, and destroy out of thee man and beast, that Egypt shall be a wilderness and a desert...I will come upon thee and *upon thy streams*, and will make Egypt desert...it shall lie waste *forty years*, and I will scatter Egypt among the nations and disperse it among the lands...*After forty years* I will gather Egypt from among the nations where they are scattered, I will turn the captivity of Egypt and bring it back to the land of Pathros, to the land of their origin, that there they may make a small kingdom, it shall be the smallest of the kingdoms, and shall no more exalt itself over the nations." xxix. 8 ff. Yet Herodotus relates from the mouth of his informants that Amasis, the successor of Apries (from whom he had revolted) reigned most prosperously *through a long reign of 45 years* (Manetho, 42 years): that *the Nile never before so fertilized the country*: that there were in Egypt no less than 20,000 inhabited cities.—This account rests on the sole testimony of the Egyptian priests. And in spite of the pains taken to disguise it, the truth shines out in glimpses here and there. The low extraction of Amasis is not concealed: the Egyptians admit that he was a despot; they let out that it was in his time that foreigners

¹ Gesenius in *Esai.* i. 7. 11, retains ἐβδόμη without enquiry: so Rosenmüller *Alterthumsk.* ii. 1. 34. Perizonius Orig.

Bab. 346 sqq., des Vignoles, Hengstenberg *de rebus Tyriorum* 37 sqq. substitute εικοστή for ἐβδόμη.

began to acquire power and influence in Egypt, c. 178. I do not hesitate to believe that during 40 out of the 45 years which Herodotus gives to Amasis the land was impoverished and welnigh desolate, in consequence of its entire subjugation by Nebuchadnezzar. Perhaps Amasis was appointed by the Babylonian king as his satrap or viceroy.

It should be observed, that according to the Egyptians themselves Amasis did not dare to refuse the demand of the Persian king, when he required the daughter of Amasis for his harem. Herodot. iii. 1. The king was Cambyzes, but the Egyptians here also wanted to impose upon the historian that it was Cyrus, and that Cambyzes was the offspring of that great monarch by the daughter of Apries, the last Pharaoh. Herodotus detected this part of the imposture, but not the former, though both are of a piece, and alike had their origin in national vanity and audacious lying. The facts, I suppose, may be thus represented. Soon after 572 B. C., Nebuchadnezzar invades Egypt, conquers Apries and puts him to death, and carries off the spoil of Egypt together with its chief men, to some other part of his dominions: Amasis is appointed his viceroy. Cyrus, about 532 B. C., "turns the captivity" of Egypt, as he had done before for the Jews. On his death, Amasis revolts, and Cambyzes invades and fully subjugates all Egypt B. C. 525. If the story of Herodotus be true, the prophecies of Jeremiah xlv. 28-30; xlv. 13-28, and of Ezekiel, were falsified by the event—they were mere forebodings which were never realized: and on this supposition it is inexplicable how they should ever have found their way into the Canon. Both collections were certainly formed during the lifetime of the prophets themselves. But surely these distinct and explicit predictions would not have been allowed to remain, if it was notorious that Nebuchadnezzar did not subjugate Egypt in the manner and with the consequence which had been predicted. That the fulfilment may have fallen short of the awful terms of the prediction, I am not concerned to deny: only, I do not ascribe the excess to "the hyperbolism of the oriental style." The judgment on Egypt is a figure of future judgments in the overthrow of the Church's last Adversary. The near lies blended with the remote in the perspective of the vision.

THE THIRD PART, extending from *chap.* xxxiii. to the end, consists of the Apocalypse of Messiah's coming and kingdom.

Before the catastrophe, and apparently on the very day of the siege, the prophet was put to silence for awhile, in speechless sorrow for his lost wife, which typified the mourning which should be when Jerusalem was cut off. xxiv. 15—27. But it was intimated, "In that day (when he that escapeth shall come to thee to cause thee to hear it with thine ears) thy mouth shall be opened to him which is escaped, and thou shalt speak and be no more dumb." *v.* 26, 27. Accordingly, xxxiii. 21. f. "it came to pass in the eleventh¹ year of our captivity, in the 10th month, the 5th day of the month, that one that had escaped out of Jerusalem came unto me, saying, The city is smitten. Now the hand of the Lord was upon me in the evening, afore he that was escaped came and had opened my mouth, until he came to me in the morning, and my mouth was opened, and I was no more dumb." Then, looking back upon the judgment as past, the Prophet reveals the mercy which was in store for Israel.—This part seems to fall into *seven* sections.

Sect. i. *Chap.* xxxiii. In order that the promised mercy may come, there must be a True Prophet, to whom the people must hearken obediently. (The passage, *v.* 21—29, is inserted here as connected with the occasion of this prophecy, not with its subject-matter.)

Sect. ii. *Chap.* xxxiv. God will judge the shepherds to whom He has delivered His flock, which they have oppressed. He will raise up the True Shepherd, the Messiah.—By the "shepherds" we are to understand not the former kings or future chiefs of Israel and Judah, but the Gentile Powers to which the nation is delivered over for chastisement: those, namely, which in Daniel are symbolized by the image of four metals.

Sect. iii. *Chap.* xxxv. xxxvi. Mount Seir (the literal, and the figurative, *i. e.* the type of some future enemy of God's Church—perhaps Rome) shall be desolate; then the mountains of Israel shall be exalted; all Israel shall be saved.

¹ In the Hebrew "the *twelfth* year,"
(בְּשָׁנִי עָשָׂרָה שָׁנָה) "the tenth
month, fifth day." LXX. *ἐν τῷ δε-*

κάτῳ ἔται, ἐν τῷ δωδεκάτῳ μηνί. The
true reading is, doubtless, "eleventh."
Then the tidings reached Ezekiel five
months after the catastrophe.

Sect. iv. *Chap.* xxxvii. 1—14. The resurrection of the dry bones of Israel.

Sect. v. *ibid.* 15—28. The reunion of Ephraim and Judah under one king.

Sect. vi. *Chap.* xxxviii. xxxix. The judgment of Gog (the last Antichrist?)

Sect. vii. *Chap.* xl—xlviii. The vision of the new Temple and of the land of promise in the kingdom of Messiah.—This section is headed with a date, “in the 25th year of our captivity, in the beginning of the year, in the 10th day of the month, in the 14th year after that the city was smitten:” the time thus indicated is B.C. 574, 29th March.

CHRONOLOGY OF DANIEL.

§ 184. THE Book of Daniel falls into two parts, the first of which, *chap.* i—vi., consists of historical matter, arranged in chronological order: the second, *chap.* vii—xii., of four visions, likewise chronologically arranged. The first part extends from 606 to 537 B.C., the second from 555 to 534.

PART I. *Chap.* i. 1. The 3rd year of Jehoiakim ended 1 Nisan B.C. 606. It seems then, that the siege of Jerusalem began in this third year, *i. e.* before 1 Nisan B.C. 606.

Chap. ii. 1. See above § 170: the year is 603 B.C.

Chap. iii. The erection of the colossus of gold is placed by the LXX and Theodotion in the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar: probably, because the 18th of Nebuchadnezzar according to the Canon is 587 B.C., the year after the destruction of Jerusalem. As a conjecture, this is not unlikely.

Chap. iv. is without a date: but the narrative clearly implies that Nebuchadnezzar's madness fell at the close of his reign. And with this agree the accounts of Berossus and Abydenus. The former (*ap.* Joseph. *c. Apion.*) says, Ναβουχοδονόσορος μὲν οὖν μετὰ τὸ ἄρξασθαι τοῦ προειρημένου τείχους, ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀρρώστιαν, μετελλάξατο τὸν βίον βασιλευκῶς ἔτη τισσαράκοντα τρία. The latter (*ap.* Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41. and *Chron. Armen.* i. 59.), strangely confusing together the historical fact recorded by Daniel and

the insight into futurity which Nebuchadnezzar acquired from the communications of the Hebrew Seer, relates how, *at the close of his conquests*, Nebuchadnezzar, having ascended to the roof of his palace (*ἀναβὰς τὰ βασιλῆα*, comp. v. 29), under the influence of some unknown god, fell into an ecstasy, and prophesied concerning the Persian who should become master of Babylon, aided by the Mede in whom the Assyrians (*i. e.* Babylonians) now put their confidence. "And oh that ere that day come, he (the Mede) were driven to wander in the wilderness where are no cities, no track of the foot of man, where wild beasts feed, and birds roam, a lonely wanderer in rocks and dens: and may I, or ever I see this, meet with a better fate.—Having thus prophesied, immediately he disappeared." It is plain that in this prophetic imprecation which he puts into the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar, he ascribes to the Mede the frenzy which befel Nebuchadnezzar himself.

The reign of Nebuchadnezzar lasted in all 43 years, and ended in one of the first three months of B.C. 561 (§ 161). But he was in Egypt in or after B.C. 572. (§ 183.) Ezek. xxix. 17. The interval is at most eleven years, and this chapter of Daniel includes eight. Hence, for the date of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, we get about the year 570 B.C.; of his madness, 569; of his recovery, 562 B.C.

Chap. v. The date of the capture of Babylon lies after 24 December 539 (in the Canon): if the festival during which Babylon was taken was the *Sacca*, held in the month Lous the date is July or August 538.

Chap. vi. On Darius the Mede, see § 173—179. The time is 538—7.

PART II. In *chap. ii.* the mystery of the four antichristian empires was revealed by Daniel in the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. In *chap. iii.* the colossus on the plain of Dura symbolized that image: the three holy children exhibit "the faith and patience of the saints" throughout the ages of the Church's endurance. In *chap. iv.* the madness of Nebuchadnezzar, "till seven times passed over him," has the same symbolical reference: which may also be traced in *chap. v. vi.* Thus the two parts of this book are closely connected, in virtue of their common reference to the same

great drama of Divine Providence. In the first, we have historical facts, deeply symbolical, designed for the encouragement of the saints in all generations of their warfare; in the second part, that revelation of the future, of which an outline only was given in the former chapters, is filled up in detail.

Chap. vii. The Vision of the Four Beasts, denoting the four powers of Antichrist. The time of the vision lies in the first year of Belshazzar or Nabonned, which began between 28 Dec. 556 and the same day of 555.

Chap. viii. The Vision of the Ram and He-goat, relating proximately to the rise of the Grecian empire and its termination in the Syrian Antichrist, but blending with this the crisis of the Roman judgment and of the last Antichrist.—Its date is 553—2 B.C.

Chap. ix. Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks. The first year of Darius began 538 B.C.: the time of this vision lies therefore between that year and 536 B.C.—Babylon was now taken: the long-promised Cyrus (Isai. xlv. 28.) was come; the “seventy years” of desolation were welnigh spent. It had seemed as though the earlier seers had identified the deliverance from Babel with Messiah’s advent. Yet even in the previous revelations accorded to Daniel it was clearly implied that yet a long space of time must first run its course. From the perplexity which these thoughts might occasion, the Seer is now relieved by a further revelation, in which is set forth, in terms mysterious and hard to be understood before the event, the fact that a period of “seventy-times seven” was yet to be accomplished before Messiah’s coming.

Chap. x—xii. Vision of the “Scripture of Truth,” describing in minute detail the course of the Second, or Grecian Empire, which was the subject of the second vision, *chap. viii.* Here also, the Syrian crisis is blended with that of the fourth empire. The time of the vision is minutely described: it was the 24th of Nisan, in the 3rd year of Cyrus. Now there is no need whatever to suppose that the 3rd year of Cyrus bears date here as in the Canon. The *occasion* of Daniel’s mourning and fasting, which began on the 3rd of Nisan, and ended on the 24th (9—30 April), it is not difficult to conjecture. He had expected, it may be, that the return of the chosen

nation from captivity would be attended with more signal marks of the Divine favour than had in fact appeared. For when Cyrus issued the decree, great numbers of the captivity voluntarily remained in Babylon, shewing themselves careless of the predicted mercies. He was himself detained there, either by his advanced age, or by circumstances of which we are not informed. And this was doubtless a grief to the aged Seer, to which perhaps the Angel refers in those words of consolation: "*thou shalt stand in thy lot* in the end of the days." Even of those who did return, the greater part were deficient in faith and resolution, so that the building of God's House was delayed, eventually for nearly 20 years. The prospect was every way disappointing and disheartening. The sacerdotal families were mixed with strangers, the oracle of Urim and Thummim was wanting, and was never restored. (Ezra ii. 63. Neh. vii. 65.) As yet no prophet was raised up. The daily sacrifice was offered up in the midst of dangers, in the sight of scoffing and malignant adversaries. In the second year (535), the foundations of the Temple were laid; but the work proceeded no further: "for the people of the land weakened the hands of the people of Judah and troubled them from building, and hired counsellors against them to frustrate their purpose all the days of Cyrus king of Persia." Ezra iv. 4. And we may observe, that the tidings of their machinations and of their result would be known to Daniel not long before the time which is noted in the beginning of this vision. Thus saddened and disappointed, he mourned and fasted. It was in the month Nisan, at the time of the passover. That great solemnity could not be duly celebrated out of Jerusalem, nor without a temple; and therefore it is that the celebration of the first passover after the dedication of the new temple is so circumstantially described: Ezra vi. 19. Thus, the season of this great festival-memorial of the first Exode was turned for Daniel into a time of mourning. It is not without a purpose that the time of the vision is named: it reminds one of the joyful solemnity which ought at that time to have been proceeding. And here I venture to suggest, that the period of 3 weeks, or 21 days, during which Daniel mourned, and the Angel was *withstood by the Prince of Persia*. x. 13, may be a type of the period during .

which the powers of Persia stood opposed to the work of the Lord at Jerusalem. For the Temple was finished and the first passover celebrated, as we shall presently see, in the year 513, *just twenty-one years* after the date of the vision.

CHRONOLOGY OF EZRA, ESTHER, AND NEHEMIAH, AND OF
THE CONTEMPORARY PROPHETS.

§ 185. IN the year 536 B.C. Cyrus issued his decree for the return of the Jews, whosoever were willing, to Jerusalem. By the seventh month of the year, which began 24 September, "the children of Israel were in their cities, and the people gathered themselves together as one man to Jerusalem." The 24th September was a Monday: on the following sabbath, 29 Sept., the ritual of the daily service was established afresh. (§ 33, 34.) The daily sacrifice began 1 Tisri = 24 Sept.

Ezra iii. 8. "In the second year of their coming unto the house of God at Jerusalem, in the second month began Zerubbabel, &c. to set forward the work of the House of the Lord." The year is 535 B.C. The building was frustrated all the days of Cyrus king of Persia. Ezra iv. 5.

By the Canon, the first year of Cambyses bears date from Dec. 530: *i. e.* the reign began 529 B.C. Cyrus died 9 years after the conquest of Babylon, according to the Canon: with which Herodotus agrees, for he reckons 44 years to the accession of Xerxes, *i. e.* 485 B.C. Cyrus had reigned in Persia 29 years, Herod. i. 214. Cambyses is called Ahasuerus, iv. 6. His reign, together with that of the impostor Smerdis the Μάγος, who succeeded him, and reigned, according to Herodotus and Manetho, seven months, lasted 8 years, which the Canon assigns to Cambyses alone. Smerdis in Ezra iv. 7. is called Artaxerxes.

§ 186. By the Canon, the reign of Darius bears date from Dec. 522, therefore began in 521 B.C. With this the other accounts agree. Darius, it is well known (see Mr. Clinton *F. H.* ii. 247. *Phil. Mus.* i. 387.), died 485 B.C. He had reigned 36 years (Herod. vii. 4. Manetho, and the Canon); his first year therefore began 521 B.C. Hence some chronologists make the 2nd of Darius (Ezra v. 24; vi. 1. Haggai. i. 1.

Zech. i. 1) = 520–519 B.C. But it is almost certain that this cannot be the year intended. For it appears from Herodotus, that Darius did not at once obtain quiet possession of *Babylon*. That city revolted, and the siege, the preparations for which must have taken some time, lasted 20 months. Possibly therefore the Scripture epoch of the 1st of Darius may lie two years (or more) later than his epoch in the Canon. It was in the 2nd of Darius that “he made a decree, and search was made in the house of the rolls where the treasures were laid up at *Babylon*.” Ezra vi. 1. Before this, Haggai and Zechariah began to prophesy, v. 1, the former in the 6th month of the 2nd year of Darius, i. 1; the latter in the 8th month. The foundation of the Temple was laid in the 9th month, 24th day, Haggai ii. 18, seemingly before the arrival of the rescript from Darius. At all events, the rescript seems to have been issued—and therefore the search among the rolls at Babylon must have been made—in the second year current of Darius. It is true, in Zech. vii. 1 ff. we find certain ambassadors of Darius present at Jerusalem in the 4th year of that king, and these may be supposed to have been the bearers of the rescript: and had we no other notes of time for our guidance, we might assume this latter date for the decree of Darius. But it seems to follow from Zech. i. 12, comp. vii. 5, that in the 2nd of Darius a certain period of *seventy years*, reached its close: not the seventy years of Jeremiah, beginning at 606 B.C., but a period of the same extent measured from some other epoch. And this epoch could be no other than the burning of the Temple, in the 5th month of 588 B.C. For the whole term is characterized in Zech. vii. 5, by the yearly observance of certain fasts; “Ye fasted and mourned in the 5th and 7th months, *even these seventy years*.” Both fasts related to events which occurred in the year 588, and not earlier, namely, the burning of the Temple in the 5th month and the murder of Gedaliah in the 7th, Jer. xli. 1. These 70 years, then, of Zechariah, bear date from the year of the burning of the Temple, or 588 B.C., and end 518 B.C. And this view of the case illustrates the history. A period of 70 years had been foretold by Jeremiah, and expired in the 1st year of Cyrus B.C. 536. Then a beginning was made in the rebuilding of the Temple and of Jerusalem. But the

work was hindered yet several years. At last, in the second of Darius, *without an order from that king*, Zerubbabel and the elders, under the prophesying of Haggai and Zechariah, recommenced the work. Why at that time in particular? Because then the threatened 70 years of indignation had assuredly run their course. They *seemed* to have ended in the 1st of Cyrus, but the event had shewn that there was still a residue of the penal sabbatism. Hence it was natural that the reflecting believers should date the sabbatism, in one sense, from the epoch of the consummation of the judgment upon Jerusalem in the burning of the city and Temple: and, now that 70 years were completed, the faithful said, "The time is come;" and though the people gainsaid, "The time is not come, the time that the Lord's House should be built," (Haggai i. 2) yet "*then* the prophets Haggai and Zechariah prophesied, and *then* rose up Zerubbabel and Joshua and began to build the House of God." (Ezra v. 1): began, without order or permission or revokement of the existing prohibitions, because, like Daniel, "they knew from the books" that the predestined term of indignation must certainly have expired. Accordingly, Haggai began to prophesy in the sixth month, the first day of the month, within 3 weeks after the anniversary of the day of the destruction of the Temple.

§ 187. Hence I believe, that on the 9th day of the 5th month in the 2nd year of Darius according to the Scripture reckoning, a period of 70 years from the day of the destruction of the Temple reached its close: that is, that this date in the 2nd of Darius coincides with the same date of the year $588 - 70 = 518$ B.C. And with this result agrees the statement already quoted from Herodotus. The rolls at Babylon were not accessible till full two years after the actual accession of Darius, for Babylon was besieged all the second (actual) year of that king. He began to reign at some time between 1 Jan. 521 and 1 Jan. 520: he did not become master of Babylon, at the earliest, till about the corresponding date of 519, therefore 518 coincides in part with the 2nd of Darius reckoned from the conquest of Babylon, an event which to the Jews, by reason of their connexion with that city, where considerable numbers of the exiles still resided, would naturally constitute the epoch of the new reign.

§ 188. As the 6th, 7th, 9th and 11th months of the Jewish year lie in the second year of Darius, it follows that the month-epoch of Darius lies between the 11th and 6th months; doubtless therefore it is 1 Nisan, *viz.* of the year 519 B. C. Hence

HAGGAI i. 1. 2 Darius, 6th month, 1st day = 4 August: on this day Haggai began to prophesy. On the 24th of the month = 27 Aug. Joshua and Zerubbabel began to take measures for the carrying on of the work. On the 21st of the 7th month = 23 Sept., Haggai prophesied a second time, ii. 1. On the 24th of the 9th month, ii. 10, *i. e.* 24 November, the foundations of the Temple were laid.

ZECHARIAH began to prophesy in the 8th month, which began 30 September. *Chap.* i. 7. 11th month, 24th day = 22 Jan. 517.—*Chap.* vii. 1. 4th year, 9th month, 4th day = 12 Nov. 516. On the 3rd Adar in the 6th year of Darius = 16 February 513, the building of the second Temple was complete.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

§ 189. It is almost universally admitted that the Ahasuerus (Hhashwerosh = Khshershe of the cuneiform inscriptions) is the Xerxes of Grecian history.—Of this prince, the book of Esther mentions the 3rd, 7th and 12th years. His years bear date from the month Nisan, iii. 7. ff.

By the Canon, 1 Xerxes began Dec. 486 B. C. *i. e.* in the course of 485, which is also the year deduced from Grecian history. If then the years of Xerxes are reckoned from 1 Nisan preceding the death of Darius, *i. e.* 485 B. C., the 3rd year begins 1 Nisan 483, and the 7th, 1 Nisan 479 B. C., therefore the month Tebeth ii. 16. (Dec. 479—Jan. 478) which is the year after the battle of Salamis (480 Autumn) and retreat of Xerxes from Greece. All this is perfectly consistent with the history. In this view of the case, the great feast in chap. i. may have been connected with the preparations for the invasion of Greece.

Perhaps, however, the reign of Xerxes may be dated from an earlier epoch. Xerxes was certainly raised to the throne before the death of Darius: for so Herodotus relates, vii. 2—4.

that Darius, two years before his death ἀπέδεξε βασιλῆα Πέρσῃσι Ξέρξεα. In this view, the reign began Nisan 487 B.C., and the great feast (Esther i. 1) in the 3rd year = 485 B.C., will be connected with the commencement of Xerxes's undivided sovereignty, and all the events down to the elevation of Esther in the 7th year (Dec. 481 or Jan. 480), will lie before the commencement of the invasion of Greece: which is, unquestionably, the most probable view of the facts.

Then 1 Xerxes = 487 B.C.

3 = 485

7 = 481: Tebet = 19 Dec. - 19 Jan.

12 = 476: 13 Nisan = 7 Apr.

13 Adar = 25 Feb. 475 B.C.

ON THE EPOCH OF THE REIGN OF ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS.

§ 190. AN exact determination of the Jewish epoch of this reign, is of great importance to the interpretation of Daniel's Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks. By the Canon, the nominal epoch is December 465. Yet it is certain that this is too late. For Ctesias, who collected the materials of his Persian history during a residence of several years at the Persian court, within 20 years of the death of that monarch, gives him a reign of 42 years. Now Artaxerxes died (this is certain from history, Thucyd. iv. 50,) in B.C. 424: his reign therefore must have begun in 466 B.C. The Canon dates the reign of Darius II. from November 424, but this estimate includes the two short reigns of Xerxes II. and Sogdianus which amounted according to Ctesias to 8 or 9 months. (Manetho says 9, and so Diodorus's authorities.) In like manner the Canon takes no notice of the short reign of the usurper Artabanus (which Manetho gives as 7 months), but throws it into the reign of Xerxes I. And hence perhaps it is that the Canon places the 1st of Artaxerxes so late as Nov. 465. It was not easy, perhaps for its framers, to determine the exact historical truths amid the confusion occasioned by the usurpation, nor was it their object to determine their dates with critical accuracy where their historical documents were confused: their purpose was gained if they could obtain an uninterrupted continuity of years reckoned from a given epoch, but they were not solicitous to determine whether

the united reigns of Xerxes and Artabanus amounted more nearly to 21 or to 20 years. Between the 1 Thoth of Xerxes and 1 Thoth of Darius II., their historical documents gave a clear interval of 62 years, and it mattered little to them whether the point of division were placed at 467 or 466, or at 465.

§ 191. But it is not only from the testimony of Ctesias, combined with the known year-date of the death of Artaxerxes, that we obtain the year 466 B.C. as the first of his reign. We learn from Thucydides, i. 137, that Themistocles on his arrival in Asia found Artaxerxes newly seated on the throne, *νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα*: and in the history of his flight we find him passing by Naxos at the time when the fleet of Athens was yet blockading that island. The year of the conquest of Naxos, according to Mr. Clinton, was B.C. 466, which statement is adopted by Bishop Thirlwall, who says, "in the year of the conquest of Naxos B.C. 466, the same in which Themistocles took refuge in Asia," *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. iii. p. 5. It is true, other accounts make Themistocles the suppliant of *Xerxes* (Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heraclides, see Plut. *Themist.* c. 27). Charon of Lampsacus agrees with Thucydides, and this is the account which all the best historians prefer.

§ 192. The years of Artaxerxes with which we are most concerned are, the 7th, in which Ezra came to Jerusalem, and the 20th in which Nehemiah obtained permission to rebuild the city.

Ezra left Babylon on the 1st Nisan, in the 7th year of Artaxerxes, and arrived at Jerusalem on the 5th day of the 5th month. As there are no other dates in Ezra, it does not appear from what month the years of this king bear date. But from Nehemiah i. 1, compared with ii. 1, it appears that Chisleu in the 20th year lies before Nisan of the same year. In Nehemiah's enumeration therefore, the years bear date from some epoch between Nisan and Chisleu, of course then, from 1 Tisri.

| | B. C. |
|--|-------|
| Hence, the year of accession being | 466 |
| the 1st of Artaxerxes begins (1 Tisri) | 466 |
| 7th | 460 |
| and Nisan and Ab of the 7th year lie in | 459 |
| Again, 20th of Artaxerxes begins (Tisri) | 447 |

and Chisleu and Nisan of the 20th year lie in 447 and 446 B.C. respectively. The last date in Nehemiah is the 32nd of Artaxerxes, which began 435 B.C. Nehemiah xiii. 6.

SECTION II.

TIMES OF THE SYRO-GRECIAN KINGS, ESPECIALLY OF ANTIOCHUS
EPIPHANES, AND OF THE MACCABEES.

§ 193. THE interval between the close of the Canonical Scriptures and the times described in the books of Maccabees is not of sufficient interest to be here examined in detail. But when we arrive at the times of the Maccabees, or more properly of the Second Empire, we are once more upon sacred ground, seeing that we possess an inspired outline of this period of the history, in that wonderful prophecy of Daniel which is called "the Scripture of Truth," chap. xi. xii. The historical accuracy of that outline was acknowledged of old by Porphyry, who commented upon it, and urged that its very exactness proved it to have been written after the event. But the proof of the sceptical hypothesis is impracticable, for this, if for no other reason, *viz.* that there are circumstances of the prophetic description to which there is nothing correspondent in the facts of Syrian history, and which no forger of a pretended prediction would have admitted into his description. That such is the case does not surprise us who are aware that the seeming excess of the terms of such predictions above their fulfilment, results from the complex aim and structure of prophecy: but on the sceptical hypothesis it constitutes an inexplicable difficulty. For what Jewish forger of a prophecy would have vitiated the credibility of his imposture by inserting such particulars in a history, the facts of which were notorious to those for whom he wrote? The authenticity of Daniel's prophecy has been learnedly vindicated from all the modern objections, by the pious and learned Hengstenberg, (*Die Authentie des Daniel*, 1831), and Hävernick (*Commentar über das B. Daniel*). And I hope the present Work will furnish manifold evidence of a different kind, to the Divine original of this wonderful portion of Holy Writ. At present, however, it concerns me only to remark that the *Inspired Narrative* of Old Testament times does not terminate with Nehemiah. The next and most momentous crisis which was to befall the chosen people after the close of the Canon, was, by God's merciful providence, not only foretold in general terms,

but portrayed in the form of *history*, in every respect save those of tense, and names, and historical dates. "The Scripture of Truth" recited by the tongue of an Angel to the "man greatly beloved," has this peculiar distinction above all other prophecies: it is the only instance of a prediction cast into the genuine mould of historical narration. And the explanation of the phenomenon may easily be conjectured. With Malachi, direct inspiration was to cease for many ages: therefore it pleased God to leave with the Church a history, beforehand, of that great crisis, which, above all others, foreshadows a time with which "the world that now is" will, we are assured, come to a close.

My immediate concern, in this place, is to define the historical chronology¹ of the times of which we have the anticipated history in the two last chapters of Daniel. I shall confine my remarks to such events as are noted in, or have a direct bearing upon, that prophecy.

§ 194. THE SECOND EMPIRE took its rise from Alexander's conquest of Asia. Dan. viii. 21; xi. 3.

Alexander ascended the throne of Macedon, Hecatombæon, B.C. 336: crossed the Hellespont early in the spring of 334: conquered at the Granicus in Thargelion of the same year: fought at Issus, Nov. 333: took Tyre after a seven months' siege, July 332: in the same year, took Gaza, and founded Alexandria in Egypt. In 331 he passed through Phœnicia to Thapsacus (July), and fought at Arbela, 1 Oct. In 330, July, Darius was slain. Here the direct connexion with Scripture prophecy may be supposed to cease. Alexander died in the year B.C. 323: the day is known from the Journals (*Εφημερίδες*) of Diodotus and Eumenes, (ap. Plutarch. *Vit.* 76): it was the 28 Dæsius, which Ideler (i. 407) identifies with the 11th June.

§ 195. We pass on to the time noted in Dan. xi. 6. "The king of the south" is *Ptolemy Lagi*, (323—285): this king at first handled the Jews severely, he took Jerusalem by stratagem on a sabbath-day (Agatharchid. ap. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 1): Appian says he destroyed the walls, *Syr.* c. 50. Afterwards, however, he became satisfied of the Jewish loyalty. The person who is said to be "one of his princes, and to be strong above

¹ I acknowledge my obligations, once for all, to the Commentary of Hävernicks on Daniel xi. and to Mr. Clinton's Ap-

pendix on the Syrian and Egyptian Kings.

him, and to have a great dominion," is Seleucus Nicator, who, originally one of Ptolemy's generals, and sent by him as viceroy to Babylon, effected his independence, made himself master of Syria, and founded the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, B.C. 312. He was slain in Jan. 280 B.C.

§ 196. Dan. xi. 6. "In the end of years," &c. Here the prediction passes on to the third of the dynasty, *Antiochus Theos* (261—246). He married his half-sister Laodice: but Ptolemy Philadelphus, with whom he was at war, made peace with him on condition that he should repudiate her and her children in favour of Ptolemy's daughter Berenice. After Ptolemy's death, Antiochus rejected Berenice, and recalled Laodice, by whom, however, he was assassinated, and Berenice likewise with her children was put to death.

§ 197. "But out of a branch of her roots," &c., v. 7, 8. This was *Ptolemy Evergetes*, brother of Berenice, and her avenger. He invaded Syria and carried off great plunder, recovered also from Persia the sacred spoil and images which Cambyses had taken. The power of Syria for a time was completely prostrate. The latter clause of v. 8 should, perhaps, be rendered (with Hävernicks), "he desists from the king of the North for (some) years." *Ptolemæus cum Seleuco in annos decem pacem facit*. Justin. xxvii. 2, 3. The peace was broken by the Syrian king (*Seleucus Callinicus*), and the war was renewed. Evergetes however was obliged by domestic commotions to abandon his conquests and return into Egypt.

Seleucus Callinicus B.C. 246—226.

Ceraunus 226—223.

and *Ptolemy Evergetes* 247—222.

The reign of Evergetes was of great importance to the Jews, whom he signally favoured, Joseph. c. *Apion*. ii. 5; comp. *Ant.* xii. 4. He was also, as Strabo remarks xvii. p. 796, the last good king in this dynasty. Some have conjectured that this prophecy may have been shown by the priests to Ptolemy: a supposition which would account for the revolution which took place in his sentiments towards the Jews, and which is nowise improbable, but has the similar cases of Cyrus and Alexander in its favour. (Hävernicks *u. s.*)

§ 198. "But his sons shall be stirred up," &c. v. 10. *Seleucus Ceraunus*, eldest son of Seleucus Callinicus ascended the

throne (Aug.) 226, and reigned about 3 years. He levied war against Egypt, but was cut off by assassination before he could accomplish his purpose. His brother *Antiochus*, surnamed *the Great*, succeeded him about Aug. 223. Of him it is said, *v.* 10, "One shall certainly come and overflow and pass through," *i. e.* invade Egypt. This was in the beginning of the summer of 218 *a. c.*, when he engaged in war with Ptolemy Philopator for Coele Syria. (Clinton *App.* p. 315.). The last clause of the *verse* Hävernicks renders: "And he shall arm himself again, the second time, even to his fortress (shall he reach)." The first invasion, namely, ended in overtures of peace, which Antiochus pretended to accept. But in the spring of the following year, 217, he renewed the war, and came to the town of Raphia, a border-fortress of Ptolemy's dominions. Here, notwithstanding his immense forces, amounting to 62,000 foot, 6,000 horse, and 102 elephants, he was utterly routed, and with difficulty escaped with his life, *v.* 11. But though Ptolemy was thus successful, and "cast down many myriads," *v.* 12 (Polybius speaks of 10,300 slain, and 4,000 captives), yet he was "not strengthened by it." He did not pursue his advantage, but gave way "to his wonted indolence and evil habits of living." (Polyb.). *Spoliasset regno Antiochum, si fortunam virtute juvisset. Contentus tamen recuperatione urbium quas amiserat—noctes in stupris, dies in conviviiis consumsit*, Justin. xxx. 1. (Hävernicks *u. s.*) Hence Antiochus was able to recover his losses. He pursued his conquests in the East with triumphant success, and on the death of Ptolemy Philopator in 205 *a. c.*, conspired with Philip to dismember his kingdom (Clinton p. 316): in 198 he defeated Scopas and the forces of Ptolemy Epiphanes, and reduced all Coele Syria.

§ 199. The reign of Antiochus includes an important crisis of Jewish history, which is described in *v.* 14. "In those times shall many stand up against the king of the south: also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall." Until this conjuncture, the Jews had remained faithful to the throne of Egypt, but now, seduced by the rising power of Antiochus, they treacherously deserted their allegiance, and so fell under the power of Syria. And this procedure the prophecy censures in severe terms: these men are "sons of the violent, or lawless, of the people." Their not only

submitting to Antiochus, but providing his army with sustenance, and assisting in the expulsion of the Egyptian garrison from Mount Zion, (*Ant.* xii. 3. 3) are, as the Angel describes the matter, a working of the mystery of lawlessness, wherein they were unwittingly bringing about the fulfilment of the Scriptures, and opening a way for the threatened judgment of which the Syrian Antichrist was to be the instrument¹.

§ 200. Verses 15, 16, describe the further proceedings of Antiochus against Egypt. "The king of the north shall come and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities," viz. Sidon, into which Scopas with 10,000 men had cast himself: this in 198 B.C. Antiochus took Sidon and all the other fortified cities as far as Gaza. It was in this year that the Jews revolted from Egypt to Syria.

Verse 17. This difficult verse is thus well explained by Hävernick. "He will set his face to come into the strength, (*i.e.* to weaken the power) of his (the Egyptian) whole kingdom, and covenants (reconciliation, or overtures) with him, (comp. *v.* 6. *Hebr.* and LXX.). And he will effect (his purpose,) and he will betroth in marriage to him (the young Ptolemy Epiphanes) the daughter of women (his young daughter Cleopatra), corrupting her, but she shall not stand (abide) for him, nor be for him" (for his advantage in the end).

The facts are as follows:—At the end of the Second Punic War, the Romans were invested with the guardianship of the infant king Ptolemy Epiphanes. Hence it became a matter of much anxiety with Antiochus to maintain his conquests against this formidable power, especially as the Romans had required him by their ambassadors to desist from all attempts upon the possessions of Egypt. Antiochus had recourse to a policy which should alienate Egypt from its new alliance. He made it his aim to "come into the whole strength" of Egypt, to bring about its overthrow, by subverting the friendly relation which

¹ Hävernick justly remarks that the ethical view of this transaction which is taken in this prophecy, is one strong token of its genuineness and divine authority. For such was not the light in which the transaction was regarded in times little later than the Maccabean.

The LXX. seem unable to sympathise in, or to comprehend, the censure:—they alter the text, and make out quite a different sense. Josephus relates it without a word of disapprobation, but rather with a kind of satisfaction.

now subsisted between Egypt and Rome. Hence his *overtures* (יִשְׂרָאֵל)...θεραπεύων ἤδη τὸ μειρακίον ἵνα ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀτρέμῃ. Appian. *Syr.* c. 5. And he carried his point for the time, so far, namely, that Cleopatra was actually betrothed to Epiphanes, with Coelesyria as her dowry.

In v. 18, "the isles" or "coasts" mean Rhodes, Samos, Colophon, Phocæa, and other islands which were taken by Antiochus. This drew upon him the vengeance of Rome. Scipio, in the battle of Magnesia, in the autumn of 190 B.C., "made his reproach, (*i. e.* his insolence) to cease," "besides turning it upon him," *i. e.* putting him to utter shame, as he had boasted that he would put the Romans. Antiochus by his whole demeanour in this engagement brought himself into general contempt.

Verse 19. "He shall turn his face toward the fort or strongholds of his own land," &c. Antiochus, to repair his finances exhausted by the war and the ruinous peace with Rome, levied supplies from his subjects, under military terror, for he set garrisons throughout his land. Attempting to plunder the temple of Belus in Elymais, he was slain, with his followers, in a popular insurrection, about Oct. B.C. 187.

§ 201. Verse 20. *Seleucus Philopator*, son and successor of Antiochus M., is the "raiser of taxes" here spoken of. In the first nine years of his reign he paid to Rome an annual tribute of 1000 talents. Hence the unsparing exactions which he made upon his subjects, and his attempt even to despoil "the glory of his kingdom," *i. e.* the Temple at Jerusalem. The fact that he did attempt to strip the Temple, and that the attempt failed in some remarkable way, is attested by Polybius in Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3. 3. In 2 Macc. iii. the story appears with miraculous circumstances. Are we to reject them only because they are miraculous?

This king lost his life, "neither in anger, nor in battle," but by a conspiracy, in which the principal actor was the Heliodorus of the story just mentioned. Appian. *Syr.* c. 45.

We are now arrived at the times of ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, who is the subject of the remainder of the chapter.

§ 202. The accession of this king is dated *Æ. Sel.* 137 in 1 Macc. i. 10, which means the year between Nisan 176 and Nisan 175 B.C. The description of the manner of his accession;

("To whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom, but he shall come in peaceably with flatteries,") does not correspond to the circumstances of Antiochus, and certainly it is not that kind of description which would have been written after the event. Doubtless its true significance lies beyond the times of this persecutor. The same remark applies to v. 22, 23, 26, 27, and to several incidents in the following verses.

§ 203. Antiochus's first expedition into Egypt seems to have occurred in 171 B.C., for in 2 Macc. v. 1 we read of a *second* expedition in 170 B.C. In the first, the generals of Ptolemy were defeated in an engagement between Pelusium and Mount Casius. S. Jerom. in l. Of the second, Porphyry says, after Suctorius, *Porro Antiochus parcens puero et amicitias simulans ascendit Memphin, et ibi ex more Ægypti regnum accipiens puerique rebus se providere dicens cum modico populo omnem Ægyptum subjugavit sibi*. On his return he took Jerusalem, plundered the Temple, and ordered a general massacre, in which 80,000 are said to have perished. 2 Macc. v.

A third expedition took place in 169 B.C., the particulars of which may be gathered from Livy, xlv. 19.

§ 204. In 168, *primo vere*, Antiochus set out on his fourth expedition. Liv. xlv. 11, 12. The famous embassy of Popillius, which put a bar to all further attempts against Egypt, left Rome in Nov. or Dec. 169, was detained several months at Delos, and set forward thence to Egypt after intelligence of the battle of Pydna, which was fought 22 June 168. Hence Antiochus's departure from Egypt cannot be placed earlier than July or August of that year. Soon after his return, he gave orders for the persecution of the Jews. On the 25th Cisleu = 25 Nov., the Temple was desecrated. It lay desolate precisely 3 years, and was purified 25th Cisleu = 22 Nov. B.C. 165.

§ 205. Antiochus died *ἡμέρας πλείους* after the tidings of the Maccabean successes, and especially of the restoration of the Temple-worship, had reached him in Persia on his retreat from Elymais to Babylon. The year is *Æ. Sel.* 149, i.e. Nisan 164—Nisan 163 B.C. He had reigned 12 years, but not complete, Appian. *Syr.* 66. But his accession took place B.C. 176–5, his death therefore in B.C. 164–3.

This brief account of leading dates, will furnish a clue to the chronology of the earlier chapters of the First and Second Books

of Maccabees. It will be seen in a subsequent chapter for what purpose I have given this summary. For the same purpose, I must add the following dates:—

§ 206. In the year 150 *Æ. Sel.* = Jewish year 163 – 2 B.C., *Antiochus Eupator* besieged Jerusalem. The siege lasted into a sabbatical year. It ended in a treaty by which Antiochus agreed to leave the Jews in the unmolested enjoyment of their religion. The documents are given 2 Macc. xi. Their dates, 24 Dioscorus, 25 Xanthicus, *Æ. Sel.* 148, will be found explained in the “*Institutes of Chronology.*” The year is 162 B.C.

In the following Jewish year, (*Æ. Sel.* 151, B.C. 162 – 1), *Demetrius* ascended the throne. Judas Maccabæus gained that signal victory over Nicanor, the general of the new king, with which the writer of the Second Book of Maccabees brings his narrative to a close. The day was 13 Adar, “being the day before the day of Mordecai,” *i. e.* 5 March B.C. 161. 1 Macc. vii. 48; 2 Macc. xv. 36; Joseph. xii. 10. 5.

APPENDIX.

ON THE DATES OF THE CAPTURE OF THE TEMPLE BY POMPEY, AND AFTERWARD BY HEROD.

§ 207. JOSEPHUS notes it as a singular "fatality" that the Temple was taken on the same day, first by Pompey, and precisely 27 years later by Herod and Sosius, namely, τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστείας, *Ant.* xiv. 16. 4. The latter event, he says, befel in the consulate of Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus, *i. e.* B.C. 37: therefore the former must be referred to B.C. 64. Yet *Ant.* xiv. 4. 3. he refers it to the year of the consulate of Antony and Cicero, *i. e.* to the year B.C. 63.—Again, Dion Cassius refers, or seems to refer, the capture by Herod to the consulate of Claudius and Norbanus, *i. e.* to the year 38 B.C.

§ 208. To begin with the latter event.

A solemnity designated simply as ἡ ἑορτὴ τῆς νηστείας can denote only the great Day of Atonement, or 10th Tisri, which in 37 B.C. fell on the 4th Oct., and which in any year must lie somewhere between the middle of September and the middle of October. The established calendar-language of the Jews will not allow us to suppose any other fast than this to be intended. Therefore in respect of the years 38, 37 B.C., when the Julian calendar was settled, we cannot have recourse to the hypothesis of a day lying between two consular years, towards the end of one and the beginning of another, *i. e.* very late in December, or very early in January. If Dion says that the year was that of Claudius and Norbanus, either he or Josephus must be in error. It is not likely that Josephus should be mistaken about so important an event, especially as he derived the materials for this part of his history from the commentaries of Nicolaus the Damascene, Herod's freedman and confidential minister. On the other hand, we should hesitate to charge the mistake upon Dion, if he had noted this event in its regular place and under its proper year :

for Dion's authority is that of the Roman contemporary annals. It will be found however, that Dion's relation occurs in a summary of Antony's proceedings in the East during several years, upon which he enters under the year 718 u.c. *Coss. Gallio et Nerca*, = B. C. 36. In substance it is as follows. "Sosius, left in command of Cilicia and Syria by Antony, conquered Antigonius in a pitched battle. Antigonius fled to Jerusalem, and Sosius besieged him there. The city was again taken (i. e. as by Pompey) on the day of Saturn. Antony gave the kingdom to Herod, and put Antigonius to death: ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ τε Κλαυδίου τοῦ τε Νορβανοῦ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐγένετο."—This may be a careless expression, implying, not that the siege occurred, but that Sosius was put in command, or defeated Antigonius in the field, in the year B. C. 38. Or, Dion may inadvertently in this summary relation have thrown into one year the events of two.—However, he proceeds thus: "In the following year nothing worthy of mention was done by the Romans in Syria, for Antony wasted the whole year in a journey to Italy and back, and Sosius kept himself quiet that he might not excite Antony's jealousy." Hence it appears that soon after the settlement of Jewish affairs by Antony, the latter went into Italy. But this journey was made, as Dion himself shews, at the close of the year 37 B. C. *Coss. Agrippa et Gallo*, or at the beginning of 36 B. C. *Coss. Gallio et Nerca*. xlviii. 54. If Jerusalem was taken in Oct. 38, what becomes of the whole year 37 B. C.? Hence Dion cannot mean to say that the city was taken in the year 38.—Besides, it is admitted that the years of Herod's reign bear date from 37 B. C., but why from that year, if it was the year not of but after the extinction of the Asamonean line by the execution of Antigonius? And again, if the year was 38 B. C., how could Josephus, in a matter of such moment, have been betrayed into the gross blunder of supposing an interval of 27 years between the two captures, since between 64 and 38 B. C. are but 26? And lastly: Dion's remark, that the city was taken on the day of Saturn, by which we need not suppose him to mean (in his ignorance) the sabbath extraordinary of a solemnity, agrees very well with the year 37, *dom. let. F. G.*, in which the 10th Tisri = (by calculation) 4 Oct. Friday, included 18 hours of the 6th (Jewish) day and 6 hours of the sabbath, but does not agree

with the year 38, in which 10 Tisri = 16 Sept. fell on a Wednesday.

What Josephus says, xiv. 15. 14., "Winter ended, Herod approached Jerusalem, and this was the 3rd year from his appointment by the Romans," agrees as well with the year 37 as with the year 38. For Herod's appointment was made in the summer of B.C. 40: the 3rd year therefore was yet current in the spring of B.C. 37, at the time when he advanced to the siege of Jerusalem.

§ 209. This question being settled, we may proceed to the other, concerning the year of the capture of the city by Pompey. According to Josephus, the year should be 64 B.C., the day 4 Oct., for in this year also the 10th Tisri fell on that day of the (anticipated) Julian calendar. And here, also, Dion is perfectly right in saying that the city was taken on a *Saturday*, if Josephus is right in placing it to the year 64 B.C. and to the 10th Tisri. For in B.C. 64 (*dom. let. E.*), the 4th Oct. was Saturday¹. That Dion does not confound "the day of Saturn" with the sabbath extraordinary of the 10th Tisri, may be inferred from the details of the history, where it is stated that Pompey, throughout the siege, availed himself of the known ἀργία of the Jews on the seventh day, to execute his operations, unmolested, on that day as it came round.

§ 210. But if the year was 64 B.C., how came Josephus to assign it to the consulate of Cicero, which began on the nominal 1 Jan. of 63 B.C.? The difficulty is set aside if it can be shown, that the nominal calends of January in Cicero's consulship may have fallen some time in the previous October of the anticipated Julian calendar. This is the view taken by the earlier chronologists generally. Thus Scaliger says, that the cal. Jan. of Cicero's consulship fell either on the 13th or the 23rd of October B.C. 64, according as the preceding year was a common or an intercalated year. In support of this opinion, Cicero's poetical history of his consulship is appealed to: in the *second* book of which, and therefore in the earlier part of his consulship, he speaks of an eclipse of the moon, about the time of the *feriæ Latinae*, and when Mons Albanus was covered with snow (*nivalis*).

¹ But in 63 B.C. the 10th Tisri fell 22 Sept., which was a *Tuesday*.

*Quod ferme dirum in tempus cecidere Latina
Cum claram speciem concreto lumine Luna
Abdidit, et subito stellanti nocte perempta est².*

This eclipse is supposed to have been the partial one of 7 Nov. 64 B.C. There was another, a total eclipse, 12 May 63 B.C., but at that time of year the Mons Albanus would not be *nivalis*.

§ 211. De la Nauze, however, maintains against the elder chronologists, that cal. Jan. 691 U.C. coincided with (Julian) 14 Mar. 63 B.C. Mr. Clinton thinks the calendar-reckoning in that year was not much out. Both appeal to *Cic. Cat.* 2. 10. Catiline and the conspirators laid their plans *nocte quæ consecuta est posterum diem Nonarum Novembr. i.e.* in the night between 7–8 Nov. *Cic. pro Sulla* 18. On the 9th Nov. Cicero delivered this second oration against Catiline, in which, *l.l.*, occurs the following passage: *Veruntamen quid sibi isti miseri volunt? num suas secum mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi? quemadmodum autem illis carere poterunt, his præsertim jam noctibus! quo autem pacto illi Apenninum atque illas pruinas ac nives perferent?* Which, it is urged, but ill agrees with the supposition that the (nominal) 9th Nov. fell at the (Julian) 22nd–31st of August.—Yet it is not irreconcilable with that supposition, for the war might well be expected to last into the winter, as in fact it did. Cicero's meaning may be, that the summer was now far spent, the long nights coming on³, and that a campaign in the Apennines beginning so late in the year as the end of August was a formidable undertaking. According to Dion, xxxvii. 39, Catiline was defeated in the beginning of the next consular year, *Coss. Silano et Licinio*, therefore not long after 1 Nov. according to Scaliger, but according to Mr. Clinton in February, according to de la Nauze in the end of March or beginning of April. But Cicero, *pro Sextio* 5, says, *Si M. Petreii non excellens animo et amore reipub. virtus, non summa auctoritas apud milites...fuisse, datus illo in bello esset hiemi locus, neque unquam Catilina quum e pruina Apennini atque e nivibus illis emersisset, atque æstatem integram nactus*

² The fragment occurs *de Divin.* l. 11.

³ Observe the particle *jam*: his præsertim *jam noctibus*: “especially of

nights so long as the nights already are;” or, “now that the nights are beginning to get longer and longer.”

Italice calles et pastorum stabula cepisset, sine multo sanguine ac sine totius Italice vastitate miserrima concidisset. I do not see that we are obliged to infer from this passage, that the decisive engagement took place either in the dead of winter or in the spring. What Cicero says in praise of Petreius seems to be this: that "at a time of year when a less active general would have shrunk from a campaign in the Apennines, or a less popular and commanding officer would not have been able to induce the soldiery to enter upon such a service, Petreius did not allow the prospect of the difficulties to damp his patriotic zeal: whereas, if, on account of the winter, he had hung back, if, consequently Catiline had been left undisturbed to make himself master of the passes of the country and the provisions of the farms, and to emerge from the Apennines in the spring with the whole summer before him, the war would have become a long and bloody one." Thus understood—and the words express no more than this—the passage accords with Scaliger's view quite as well as it does with Mr. Clinton's; but it lies against that of de la Nauze, and it is surprising that Ideler should appeal to it in support of that view: for if the new year began so late as the middle of March, there would have been no room for such commendation.—Thus far then, there is nothing that can be called decisive against the opinion of the old chronologists.

§ 212. Another element of the question is, the death of Mithridates. This event is noticed by Cicero in his oration for Muræna, which was delivered between v. id. Nov. and iv. id. Dec. in the year of his consulship. Now the intelligence of this event reached Pompey at Jericho just before he went up to the siege of Jerusalem, which siege, it is evident, did not last many weeks. If the date of the capture be that of Mr. Clinton, December B.C. 63, it is, of course, quite possible that the same intelligence may have reached Rome by the end of November 63, and would therefore be quite fresh when Cicero pleaded for Muræna. But the words of Dion seem rather to imply that the war with Mithridates was extinct by the death of the king, by the time that Cicero entered upon his consulship: *ὑπατεύσαντος ὅτε Μιθριδάτης οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰργάσατο ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν διέφθειρεν, ἐπεχείρησεν ὁ Κατιλῖνας, &c.*: "Cicero having become consul

(not ὑπάτευνοντος, being consul) at a time when, &c.” They will agree, however, with the other view, and so leave it uncertain whether the siege and capture of Jerusalem belong to the beginning or to the end of Cicero’s consulship. Thus much, however, may be gathered from the order of events both in Dion and in the epitome of Livy, *Lib.* cii., that the capture of Jerusalem preceded the out-break of Catiline’s conspiracy. The order in both is : 1. the death of Mithridates : 2. the capture of Jerusalem : 3. Catiline’s conspiracy. But, if Jerusalem was taken in Dec. 63, the out-break of Catiline’s conspiracy was earlier, not later.

Again : Mr. Clinton gathers from Dion, xxxvii. 6, 7, that, between the spring of the consular year 690 B.C. and the death of Mithridates, a whole year intervened. “B. C. 64. In the spring of this year Pompey is in Syria : ἐν τῷ ἥρῃ ἐν ᾧ Λουκίος τε Καῖσαρ καὶ Γάιος Φίγουλός ὑπάτευνον...Τιγράνου τὸν Πομπήιον ἐν Συρίᾳ ὄντα ἐπικαλεσαμένον : c. 7—*where he winters*, Πομπήιος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσπίδι καὶ τότε ἐχείμασε, c. 8.” But this is not necessarily the meaning of the words. It appears that Tigranes being worsted in the second engagement with Phraates, early in the spring of 690 U.C. = 64 B.C. sent to Pompey who was then in Syria : Pompey refused to take part in the quarrel, alleging that he had no orders from the Roman people. The kings then reconciled their differences with the view of making common cause against Rome. Πομπήιος δὲ καὶ τότε ἐν τῇ Ἀσπίδι ἐχείμασε, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐτ’ ἀνθιστάμενα προσηγάγετο, &c. It is not certain where this “Aspis” was situated : Ussher thinks, in Pontus, but the commentators on Dion with greater probability place it in Syria ; as Dion in c. 11 says that Pompey ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ διέτριβεν. comp. Appian. p. 245. I understand the passage thus : After the reconciliation between the kings, suppose early in April B.C. 64, Pompey *even then* (καὶ τότε) kept his winter quarters in Aspis—or shifted them to Aspis :—whence he reduced those parts of the country which held out against him. And this ἐχείμασεν, which here occurs just after the mention of the spring of the consulship of Cæsar and Figulus, I understand of the same time as the διέτριβεν ἐν Συρίᾳ which occurs in c. 11, where, under the year of Cicero, Dion takes up the history of Mithridates from an earlier point, and in connexion with it, passes on to the transactions in Judæa.

It seems then that there is nothing in our extant sources of information which militates against the opinion of Scaliger, that the consulship of Cicero began in October B.C. 64. That is the year indicated by Josephus as the year of the taking of Jerusalem. Then, if we adopt Scaliger's view, namely, that the cal. Jan. fell on the anticipated Julian 13 Oct., the error in respect of the consular year noted by Josephus will amount only to a few days: for Jerusalem was taken only 9 days before Cicero became consul. But indeed we are at liberty to suppose the calendar-reckoning of Cicero's year to be still more in error. The contemporary history of that and the contiguous years furnishes no old Roman date of an astronomical phenomenon which would enable us to adjust it to the Julian reckoning.

§ 213. There is yet another element of the question under consideration: namely, the birth-day of Augustus. He was born, says Suetonius, ix. kal. Oct. in the consulate of Cicero and Antony, *Vit.* 1. *i.e.* on the 23rd of September B.C. 63. (Whether this date be one of the anticipated Julian, or of the ancient pontifical calendar, remains to be determined.) He died 19 August A.D. 14., aged 76 years *minus* 35 days: Suet. *Aug.* 100. With this agrees the statement of Dion, who makes him 75 years, 10 months, 26 days old at his decease. Either statement leads up to the Julian 23 Sept. B.C. 63. as the birth-day of Augustus. But it does not follow that the pontifical or old Roman 23 Sept. B.C. 63 coincided with the anticipated Julian. A person who was born on a given day of the old calendar might still keep his birth-day, after the reformation of the calendar, on the day which bore the same name: so Suetonius and Dion might naturally calculate Augustus's age at death by measuring the interval from the one day to the other, without troubling themselves to inquire whether 23 Sept. so called in B.C. 63, was precisely 76 Julian years removed from the day so called in A.D. 14. Certain it is, that the birth-day of Augustus¹ was kept on the 23 Sept. This fact is attested by monuments, among others, by the ancient *Fasti Kalendares* ap. Gruter. *Corp.*

¹ See a letter of Augustus dated ix Kal. Oct. and written on occasion of his 64th birth-day: A. Gell. xv. 7.

Inscr. p. cxxxiii. Suppose Augustus, or historians, had wished to reduce the nominal date to the true one as referred to the Julian calendar, we have no reason to think this would have been an easy task. It is more likely that it never occurred to any one to attempt it. Even when Augustus consulted an astrologer concerning the scheme of his nativity, it is not likely that he would do more than mention the day and hour of his birth, *i. e.* the *day-name*: which was 23 Sept. *paullo ante solis exortum*. Suet. *u. s.*: nor at all more likely that the astrologer, especially if he were not a Roman, would give himself the trouble of wandering through the intricacies of the ante-Julian reckoning to hunt out the precise astronomical conjuncture to which the nominal day must be referred. I allude here to the story related by Sueton. c. 100, how Augustus together with Agrippa paid a visit to the mathematician Theogenes at Apollonia. *Cum Agrippæ, qui prior consulebat, magna et pene incredibilia prædicerentur, reticere ipse genituram suam, nec velle edere perseverabat, metu ac pudore ne minor inveniretur. Quæ tamen post multas adhortationes vix et cunctanter edita, exsilivit Theogenes adoravitque eum. Tantam mox fiduciam fati Augustus habuit, ut schema suum vulgaverit nummumque argenteum nota sideris Capricorni quo natus est percussisset.* Such coins are still extant. From this horoscope Scaliger deduced for the birth-day of Augustus, 21–22 July, *post solis occasum* (so he contends we must read in Sueton. c. 5, for *ante solis exortum*) *Sole ultimas Cancræ partes obtinente. Proinde ultimis partibus Capricorni orientibus natus est sole occaso*: whence he infers that the 23rd Sept. (pontif.) B.C. 63, is represented by the 21st or 22nd July (Julian). Scaliger's calculation is approved also by Petavius, *Doct. Temp.* x. 64. But, as Rubenius observes (*de Nat. Augusti* ap. Græv. *Ant. Rom.* t. xi. 1379), the words of Suetonius himself, c. 94, refute the proposed alteration, *Quo natus est die, cum de Catilinæ conjuratione ageretur in Curia, et Octavius ob uxoris puerperium serius adfuisset, nota ac vulgata res est, P. Nigidium, comperta moræ causa, ut horam quoque partus acceperit, affirmasse, Dominum terrarum orbi natum.* The senate was certainly not assembled at night, and the birth of a son just after sunset of the preceding day could be no excuse for the delay. Besides, Nigidius, no astrologer, must have grounded his presentiment on the coincidence of the birth with

the rising sun. Scaliger's interpretation therefore falls to the ground, and lends no support to his view, which we follow, of the state of the calendar in the given year. Kepler, as I learn from Rubenius *u. s.* takes a different view. *Veteres sub eo quemque sidere natum putabant quod eo nascente luna obtinebat*: he makes out, that in B.C. 63 the moon was in Capricorn on the 1st and 2nd July (Julian), which, therefore, he identifies with the nominal 23 Sept.

De la Nauze, however, identifies the nominal 23 Sept. with the 28th Sept. Julian: and Ideler, adopting this view, remarks; "if we bear in mind that the Romans affixed the equinoxes and solstices to the 8th degree of the corresponding signs, we shall have no difficulty in reconciling the rise of Capricorn with the birth of the emperor *paulo ante solis exortum*." (*Handbuch* 2. 114.)

I cannot but think that these and the numerous other discussions in which it is assumed that the horoscope calculated by Theogenes contained the true *tropical* date of the birth of Augustus are, on that very account, erroneous. I represent the matter thus: Octavian was urged to name the day and hour of his birth: he named it, as he had received it, "23 Sept. sunrise" in such a year. It did not occur either to him or to the mathematician of Apollonia to reduce the family-date to its astronomical equivalent: besides, such a reduction could only be effected by inspection of the pontifical annals, or similar documents. It sufficed the astrologer to find the Egyptian equivalent of the day named to him¹, considering its place in the calendar as fixed; which done, he calculated the horoscope, not of the nativity, as Suetonius relates, *but of the conception*, *i. e.* about 23 December B.C. 64. The old Roman calendars have *Sol Capricorno* in the month of January.—Augustus was not likely to give himself the trouble, proud as he was of his splendid horoscope, to sift the matter accurately².

¹ The visit to Theogenes occurred after the introduction of the Julian Calendar.

² Sueton. *Vit.* 94. has a story from Asclepiades about the conception of Au-

gustus during a *Solemne Apollinis sacrum*, but whether this was at Velitræ (*Vit.* 6.) or at Rome does not appear. The *Cal. Vet. ap.* Gruter cxxxiii. places the *Apollinares ludi* at 6 July.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL TO THE SEVENTY YEARS' CAPTIVITY.

§ 214. IN the first portion of the preceding chapter we verified that element of the scheme of the Mosaic *Αἰών* which is the *terminus ad quem* of the second cycle of 490 years. By a very strict and rigorous discussion and combination of Scriptural and profane notes of Chronology, we proved and established beyond all question, that the Seventy Years' Captivity began—as in the Introduction to this Work we assumed, upon the authority of Mr. Clinton and other Chronologists—in the year 606 B.C. We have now to ascertain the exact sum of the years contained in the interval between the accession of Rehoboam and the year 606. For about 250 years of this term we find a double series of time-marks in the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel. These two series being parallel must mutually adjust each other. For our primary purpose, however, it is not necessary to examine the whole series of synchronisms, but only such of them as are strictly constructive for the whole term. This done, and having thereby obtained the year B.C. which answers to the 1st of Rehoboam, we will consider the details belonging to this part of the history.

§ 215. In order to construct the Chronological Canon of the kings of Judah and Israel, we have first of all to ascertain a principle of adjustment, if such exist. Is the sum of the several terms of reign the sum of the whole period, as in the astronomical Canon of Ptolemy? Is each term, as there, a term of years *complete*? A very little consideration will shew that this is not the case. Thus,

1. Rehoboam reigned 17 years: 1 Kings xiv. 21.

Jeroboam began to reign in the same year, and “the days which he reigned were twenty-two years:” *ibid* 20.

2. Abijam succeeded Rehoboam in the 18th of Jeroboam and reigned 3 years: xv. 1.
3. To him succeeded Asa in the 20th of Jeroboam. *ibid* 9.
4. To Jeroboam succeeded Nadab in the 2nd of Asa and reigned 2 years. xv. 25.
5. After Nadab, Baasha in the 3rd of Asa: *ibid* 28.

Now if 1 Rehoboam = 1 Jeroboam, and the years are in every instance complete, we have

| | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 17th, or last, of Rehoboam | = 17th Jeroboam. |
| 1st Abijam | = 18th |
| 3rd, and last | = 20th |
| 1st Asa | = 21st: not the 20th. No. 3. |
| 2nd | = 22nd and last. |
| 3rd | = 1 Nadab: not 2 Asa. No. 4. |
| 4th | = 2nd.....(last.) |
| 5th | = 1 Baasha: not 3 Asa. No. 5. |

Thus on the plan of making *all* the years complete, the results in the four first synehronisms contradict the history three times.

If we suppose *all* the years to be *current*, but each reign to bear date from a fixed epoch in the year (suppose 1 Nisan):

Then, 16th, and last, of Rehoboam = 16th Jeroboam:

| | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 Abijam | = 17.....: not 18th. No. 2. |
| 2 and last | = 18..... |
| 1 Asa | = 19.....: not 20th. No. 3. |
| 2 | = 20..... |
| 3 | = 21 and last. |
| 4 | = 1 Nadab: not 2nd. No. 4. |
| 5 | = 1 Baasha: not 3rd. No. 5. |

On this plan, the results contradict every synchronism of the history.

It is evident, then, that some of the reigns are enumerated in years current, others in years complete.

§ 216. That the years of each king bear date from a fixed epoch is highly probable in the nature of the case, and the supposition is warranted by the fact that this mode of enumeration always, so far as we know, obtained among the Jews, as it did among the Egyptians¹. And if by enumerating the years,

¹ According to the Rabbis 1 Nisan is the epocha regum et festorum. *Inde etiam anni regum Hebræorum supputantur ita ut si quis rex in Adar regnaret,*

a Nisan alter annus imperii ejus inciperet," Reland. *Ant. Heb.* iv. 1. Buxtorf. *Synag. Jud.* xvii.

throughout, on this principle, we find the multifarious details of the history in any degree harmonized, in the same degree may we be confident that we have got the true principle. For the kings of Judah, there can be no other epoch than the 1st Nisan. It by no means follows—but rather the contrary—that the reigns of Israel go by the same rule. It was the policy of Jeroboam to remodel the ecclesiastical polity for the ten tribes, and it is certain he innovated upon the regulations of the ecclesiastical year. For “he ordained a feast in the eighth month, on the fifteenth day, like unto the feast that is in Judah: *...even in the month which he had devised of his own heart*; and ordained a feast unto the children of Israel.” 1 Kings xii. 32, 33.

Now 1. let us suppose the reign of Jeroboam began, and that he dated his years from an epoch m months later than the 1st Nisan. Then

1 Rehoboam = $12-m$ months of 1 Jeroboam.
 2 = m of 1 J..... $12-m$ of 2 J.
 17 = m of 16 J..... $12-m$ of 17 J.
 1 Abijam ... = m of 17 J..... $12-m$ of 18.

But the 1st of Abijam began in the 18th of Jeroboam: therefore, either the 1st of Abijam did not begin on the 1st Nisan (which is contrary to the hypothesis), or the 1st of Jeroboam did.

2. Let us suppose then, that the years of Jeroboam and his successors, like those of the kings of Judah, bear date from 1 Nisan. Then

1 Rehoboam = 1 Jeroboam (identically).
 17 = 17
 1 Abijam ... = 18
 2 = 19
 3 } .. = 20
 1 Asa... }
 2 = { 21
 1 Nadab.
 3 = { 2 Nadab.
 1 Baasha.

That is, since Nadab succeeded in the 2nd of Asa, which, on this principle, is identical with the 21st of Jeroboam, it follows that Jeroboam's reign had not numbered even 21 years

complete. This plainly contradicts Scripture; "the days which he reigned were twenty-two years:" not complete perhaps, but certainly more than 21 years; whereas this mode of enumeration gives but 20 years and a fragment.

§ 217. There is therefore no other way of reconciling the different notes of time, but to suppose that the epoch of Jeroboam's reign is *earlier* than that of Rehoboam: a supposition which will be found nowise incredible, when it is considered that the kingdom was solemnly conferred upon Jeroboam in the name of the Lord by the prophet Ahijah in the lifetime of Solomon, and apparently just at the end of his reign. 1 Kings xi. 29—40. Jeroboam had doubtless some reason for selecting a day in the *eighth* month for the great annual festival of his church: possibly this may have been the day on which Ahijah announced to him that the kingdom of the ten tribes should be his: at all events, Jeroboam was very likely to date his reign from that day, thereby antedating the epoch of Rehoboam by some months. But however it is to be explained, the fact is, that the years of Jeroboam bear an earlier date than Rehoboam's. The epoch may have been the 1st of the 7th, or the 15th of the 8th month, or some other date which we cannot define, but certainly it must precede the 1st Nisan by some months, for there is no other supposition on which we can harmonize the chronological items of the subsequent period of the history.

Thus, therefore,

The last year of Solomon contains m months of 1 Jeroboam.

| | | |
|------------------|--------------------------------|----------|
| 1 Rehoboam | 12- m of 1 and m of 2 Jer. | |
| 17 | 17 | 18..... |
| 1 Abijam | 18 | 19..... |
| 2 | 19 | 20..... |
| 3 | } | 20 |
| 1 Asa ... } | | |
| 2 | (12- m) of 21 | 1 Nadab. |

The 1st of Nadab commenced in the second of Asa: therefore the reign of Jeroboam numbered 21 years complete, and his 22nd year was current at his death. But, by the hypothesis, the 1st of each new king begins not at the death, but at the fixed *epocha regum* (whatever in this case it might be) preceding the death, of his predecessor. Thus, if a king of

Judah died (e. g.) in the 5th or 7th month of his 3rd year, he may be said to have reigned 3 years, but the reign of his successor bears date, not from the demise of the crown, but from the preceding 1st of Nisan, i. e. 1 Nisan of that 3rd year, as above in the case of Abijam and Asa.

§ 218. It is not necessary in this determinative argument to take *all* the data in succession: we will select only such as are strictly constructive for the whole period. To each year thus determined we append its ordinal in the *Æra* of Rehoboam, beginning at 1 Nisan.

| <i>Æ. R.</i> | <i>Judah.</i> | |
|--------------|------------------|--|
| 1 | 1 Rehoboam..... | 1— 2 Jeroboam...Reh. r. 17', 1 Kings xiv. 21. |
| 17 | 17..... | 17—18.....Jer. r. 22' (<i>curr.</i>) <i>ib.</i> 20. |
| 18 | 1 Abijam..... | 18—19.....Ah. <i>began</i> 18 Jer. |
| 19 | 2..... | 19—20.....r. 3'. (<i>curr.</i>) xv. 1. |
| 20 | 1 Asa..... | 20—21.....Asa b. 20 Jer. xv. 9. |
| 21 | 2..... | 21 J—1 Nadab.....Nad. b. 2 Asa, r. 2' (<i>curr.</i>) xv. 26. |
| 22 | 3..... | 1 N—1 Baasha ...Baa. b. 3 Asa, r. 24', xv. 33. |
| 57 | 38..... | 1 Ahab.....Ah. b. 38 Asa, xvi. 29. |
| 58 | 39..... | 1—2..... |
| 61 | 1 Jehoshaphat... | 4—2.....Jeh. b. 4 Ahab, xxii. 41. |

§ 219. After the reigns of Jehoshaphat and Ahab, the dates for a time become confused: some of the numbers of the Hebrew text are palpably corrupt, as the following analysis will shew.

1. Jehoshaphat reigned 25 years, 1 Kings xxii. 42.
2. Ahab 22 1 Kings xvi. 29.
3. Ahaziah succeeded Ahab 17 Jehoshaphat: reigned 2 years, 1 Kings xxii. 51. This cannot be: for 17 Jehoshaphat begins in 20 Ahab, and Ahab reigned 22'.
4. Joram s. Ahab succeeded Ahaziah in 2 Joram s. Jehosh. ; 2 Kings i. 17. This contradicts the statement of 2 Kings viii. 16, that Joram s. J. began in 5 Joram s. A. The passage 2 Kings i. 17 reads like an interpolation: at all events, the numbers are corrupt.
5. Joram s. Ahab began 18 Jehosh. ; 2 Kings iii. 1. Neither can this be true, for 18 Jehosh. = 21—22 Ahab, and therefore falls, in part, in the last year of Ahab's 22', or in the first of Ahaziah's 2'.

The data being thus confused through the corruption of the text, which was, doubtless, occasioned by the perplexing identity

of the names in the two lists, we must be guided by the length of reign.

Ahab reigned 22 years, Jehoshaphat 25. Let us suppose both terms to be complete, and see whether this, or what other, form of hypothesis, accords with the genuine data.

| | | |
|----|--------------------|----------------|
| 61 | 1 Jehoshaphat..... | 4- 5 Ahab. |
| 79 | 19 | 22- 1 Ahaziah. |
| 81 | 21 | 2 Ah.-1 Joram. |
| 82 | 22 | 1- 2..... |
| 85 | 25 | 4- 5..... |
| 86 | 1 Joram..... | 5- 6..... |
| 92 | 7 | 11-12..... |
| 93 | 1 Ahaziah | 12 J.-..... |

This scheme realizes the following data of the history :

1. Ahab reigned 22' and Jehoshaphat 25' [complete].
2. Ahaziah s. Ahab reigned 2' [complete].
3. Joram s. Ahab reigned 12' [complete].
4. Joram s. Jehosh reigned 8' [current].
5. Ahaziah s. Joram reigned 1' [complete].

and is at variance only with the data which we have already proved not to be genuine.

It is true, the same result will follow on the supposition that Ahab's and Jehoshaphat's years are only current: i. e. that Ahab reigned 21 years and Jehoshaphat 24 years complete: in which case 1 Ahaziah s. J. = 92 Rehoboam.

The other forms of hypothesis are,

1. Ahab reigned 22' complete, Jehoshaphat 24' complete.
 - (a). Ahaziah s. Ahab reigned 2' complete.
 - (b). 1'
2. *vice versâ*, with the same alternative.

| 1. a. | 1. b. | 2. a. | 2. b. |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 J' = 4-5 A ^b | 1 J' = 4-5 A ^b | 1 J' = 4-5 A ^b | 1 J' = 4-5 A ^b . |
| 19 = 22-1 A ^b | 19 = 22-1 A ^b | 18 = 21-1 A ^b | 18 = 21-1 A ^b . |
| 21 = 2-1 J ^m | 20 = 1-1 J ^m | 20 = 2-1 J ^m | 19 = 1-1 J ^m . |
| 24 = 3-4 ... | 24 = 4-5 ... | 25 = 5-6 ... | 25 = 6-7 |
| 1 J ^m = 4-5 ... | 1 J ^m = 5-6 ... | 1 J ^m = 6-7 ... | 1 J ^m = 7-8 |
| which is false. | which is true. | which is false. | which is false. |

i. e. none of these forms is consistent with the data except the second, *viz.* Ahab reigned 22 years, Jehoshaphat 24 years, and Ahaziah 1 year. The result of this form is 1 Joram = 85

Reh. and 1 Ahaziah s. J. = 92 Reh. So that it is doubtful, thus far, whether 1 Ahaziah be 92 or 93 Rehoboam. We must leave this point undecided for the present, for want of other distinct criteria in the contemporary narrative.

§ 220. As the years of Jehu are conterminous with the years of Joram, (for otherwise the reign of Joram would have been set down as 13 years,) this 1st of Jehu therefore begins during the 1st of Ahaziah = 93 (or 92) of Rehoboam, and the 1st of Joash, after Athaliah's usurpation, begins in the 7th of Jehu. Our enumeration therefore proceeds thus:

| | | | |
|-----|-----------|------------------|---|
| 93 | 1 Ahaziah | 12 Joram, 1 Jehu | Ah. b. 12 Jo. 2 Kings viii. 25. |
| 100 | 1 Joash | 7-8 Jehu | Joash b. 7 Je. r. 40 ⁷ , xii. 1. |
| 138 | 39 | 1 Joash. | |

In the Hebrew text, indeed, of 2 Kings xiii. 10, we read that Joash of Israel ascended the throne in the 37th year of Joash of Judah. But this is manifestly an error: for in that case, 1 Joash would = 44 Jehu. Now Jehu reigned 28 years and Jehoahaz 17 years, therefore even supposing the latter to be current, 1 Joash would = 45th Jehu. Besides, the subsequent synchronisms would be deranged. Some copies of the Septuagint preserve the true reading, "thirty-ninth."

| | | | |
|-----|-----------|---------------|---|
| 139 | 40 Joash | 1-2 Joash | Joash of Judah r. 40 ⁷ , xii. 1. |
| 140 | 1 Amaziah | 2-3 | Amaz. b. 2 Joash, xiv. 1. |
| 154 | 15 | 16-1 Jeroboam | Jer. ii. b. 15 Am. xiv. 23. |

Here the sequence is interrupted by another corruption of the text: 2 Kings xv. i. "Azariah (= Uzziah) began to reign in the 27th of Jeroboam." This cannot be, for 27 Jeroboam begins in the 41st of Amaziah, but Amaziah reigned only 29 years. From this difficulty, however, we are relieved by the following notice: 2 Kings xiv. 17, "Amaziah lived after the death of Joash (of Israel) 15 years:" and Joash reigned 16 years: which ended, as we have seen, in the 15th Amaziah. Hence

| | | | |
|-----|-------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| 154 | 15 Amaziah | = 16- 1 Jeroboam II. | |
| 168 | 29 | = 14-15 | |
| 169 | 1 Uzziah .. | = 15-16 | |
| 220 | 52 | = ... 1 Pekah..... | Pekah b. 52 Uz. xv. 25. |
| 237 | 1 Ahaz | = 17-18 | Ahaz b. 17 Pekah xviii. 1. |
| 248 | 12 | = ... 1 Hoshea | Hoshea b. 12 Ahaz xvii. 1. |

§ 221. Again, in the synchronism which gives 1 Hezekiah, we find either a corruption of the numbers, or, at least, a difficulty which requires explanation. 2 Kings xviii. 1. "In the 3rd of Hoshea, Hezekiah began to reign;" but v. 9, "4th Hezekiah = 7th Hoshea," and v. 10, "6th Hezekiah = 9th Hoshea."

All these data might, indeed, be reconciled by the following scheme :

| | |
|------|------------------------|
| [248 | 12 Ahaz.....1 Hoshea. |
| 250 | 14 .....2-3 |
| 251 | 1 Hezekiah...3-4 |
| 254 | 4 .....6-7 |
| 256 | 6 .....8-9 |

but then we should contradict another datum: for this scheme gives to Ahaz but 14 years complete, whereas he reigned 16 years; 2 Kings xvi. 2. It follows that 2 Kings xviii. 1. is corrupt, and the scheme proceeds thus :

| | |
|-----|------------------------|
| 248 | 12 Ahaz .....1 Hoshea. |
| 251 | 16 .....3-4 |
| 252 | 1 Hezekiah...4-5 |
| 255 | 4 .....7-8 |
| 257 | 6 .....9..... |

Thus we have reached the last year of the parallel reigns of Judah and Israel: for the date of which we have hereafter to choose between 257 and 256 Rehoboam.

§ 222. From this time we have nothing to guide us but the length of reign of the several kings; and the results must of course be uncertain, so long as we are not sure whether the years of each reign are reckoned in current or complete time.

The reigns are :—

Hezekiah, 29 years, 2 Kings xviii. 2, certainly complete: for it was in the 14th year that "Sennacherib came up against all the fenced cities of Judah and took them:" and Hezekiah sent to Lachish, with overtures of submission, and raised the tribute which was ordered, 14—16: yet, after this, Sennacherib sends his officers, Tartan, Rabсарis and Rabshakeh, to Jerusalem, as related xviii. 17.—xix. 8. Isaiah xxxvi. 2.—xxxvii. 8. Comp. 2 Chron. xxxii: Rabshakeh and the others return to Sennacherib at Libnah: and Sennacherib, hearing of Tirhakah's

expedition, sends again to Hezekiah, 2 Kings xix. 8 ff. Here are three embassies, and the last is followed by the miraculous discomfiture of the Assyrian host, "that night," xix. 35. All these transactions must needs fill up a considerable part of the 14th year of Hezekiah, if not the whole of it. Then "in those days was Hezekiah sick unto death...and the Lord added to his life 15 years."

Thus we have

| | | |
|-----|----|-----------|
| 252 | 1 | Hezekiah. |
| 280 | 29 | ..... |
| 281 | 1 | Manasseh. |

Manasseh reigned 55 years, 2 Kings xxi. 1. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1.

| | | |
|-----|----|-----------|
| 281 | 1 | Manasseh. |
| 335 | 55 | ..... |
| 336 | 1 | Amon. |

If the years were only current, 1 Amon would be 335 Rehoboam. Hence the chronology wavers between 336, 335 on the first supposition, and between 335, 334 on the second.

§ 223. Amon reigned 2 years: 2 Kings xxi. 19. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 21.

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|---|---------|
| 336 | or | 335 | or | 334 | = | 1 | Amon. |
| 337 | ... | 336 | ... | 335 | = | 2 | ..... |
| 338 | ... | 337 | ... | 336 | = | 1 | Josiah. |

But if the years of Amon were only current, 337, or 336, or 335 = 1 Josiah: thus the Chronology wavers between 338—335 for the 1st Josiah.

§ 224. After this point there is, happily, no room for doubt, though the uncertainty arising from the want of express determination between complete and current time would increase at every step, had we only the length of reign to go by. For we have before proved that the 1st of Jehoiakim, 609 B. C. = the 32nd of Josiah, § 163 *note*: whence 1 Josiah must = 640 B. C.

§ 225. Thus then we have obtained a synchronism between the year B. C. 640 and the year of Rehoboam 338, or 337, or 336, or 335: i. e. 1 Rehoboam is either 977, or 976, or 975, or 974 B. C. *A priori* the first of these is the most probable, for all the rest result from assuming that one or more of the

terms of reign are reckoned in current years, without any necessity, in respect of the synchronisms, for such assumption. That it is a true principle to reckon each term by complete years, except where the synchronisms prove the enumeration to proceed by years current, will further appear when we come to cast up our results; for it will be seen, that three reigns out of four, on an average, are measured by years complete.

But, if 1 Nisan B.C. 977 be the epoch of Rehoboam, it follows, on the rule which was proved above (§ 211—213), that the epoch of Jeroboam lies somewhere in B.C. 978. And this result is in complete accordance with a fact which we might even have treated as one of the elements of the enquiry now in hand, but which I preferred to reserve to the last. The prophet Ezekiel, in a vision of the impending siege and destruction of Jerusalem, was commanded to lie on one side for the space of 390 days, which days, he was made to understand, represented 390 *years of the provocations of the house of Israel*, and afterwards 40 days for the iniquity of the house of Judah, each day for a year. There can be no doubt that the crisis which is the subject of this vision, is the siege of Jerusalem: its limit then, and the *terminus ad quem* of the 390 years and of the 40 years¹, is the year 588 B.C. in the 4th or 5th month. The *terminus a quo* is therefore the very year 978 B.C., which by a strict construction proceeding upon one uniform rule, we have found to be the epoch of the reigns of the house of Israel: not, of course, the *actual* epoch of Jeroboam's reign, but, we must infer, the date of the commission of the ten tribes to Jeroboam by Ahijah the prophet.

Having thus constructed the scheme as a whole, by means of the determinative synchronisms, we may proceed to exhibit the data of each reign, and especially to compare the other synchronisms expressed in the history with those which result from a uniform adherence to the rule above enunciated.

¹ The 40 years reckoned back from | cisely the commencement of Jeremiah's
588 lead to 628 B.C. = 13 Josiah, pre- | prophesying.

§ 226.

| B. C. | A. R. | Judah. | Israel. | |
|-------|-------|--------------------|------------------|---|
| 978 | | last y. of Solomon | —1 Jeroboam. | The years B. C. and A. R. bear date from 1 Nisan. The 1st of Jeroboam bears date from some point in the year preceding the 1 Nisan of 1 Rehoboam. |
| 977 | 1 | 1 Rehoboam | 1-2 | |
| 976 | 2 | 2 | 2-3 | |
| 973 | 5 | 5 | 5-6 | Shishak k. of Egypt invades Jerusalem, 1 K. xiv. 25. 2 Chr. xii. 2. |
| 961 | 17 | 17 | 17-18 | War with Jeroboam all the r. of Rehoboam. |
| 960 | 18 | 1 Abijam* | 18-19 | Abijam carries on the war with Jeroboam, 1 K. xv. 7. His miraculous victory is related 2 C. xiii. The power of Jeroboam is prostrated. |
| 959 | 19 | 2 | 19-20 | |
| 958 | 20 | 1 Asa | 20-21 | |
| 957 | 21 | 2 | 21-1 Nadab. | |
| 956 | 22 | 3 | 1-2 N. 1 Baasha. | Baasha slew Nadab and exterminated the house of Jeroboam in 3 Asa, 1 K. xv. 28. |

§ 227. The details of the reign of Asa are somewhat perplexed, but it needs only an attentive comparison to reconcile and adjust them in a satisfactory manner. The principal difficulty lies at 2 Chron. xv. 19; xvi. 1, where it is said, "There was no war unto the 35th year of Asa. In the 36th year of the reign of Asa, Baasha king of Israel came up against Judah, &c." Now Baasha lived only to the 26th of Asa, 1 Kings xvi. 8. It has been proposed to obviate this difficulty by assuming that the 35th year is reckoned from the beginning of the divided kingdom, in which case it would coincide with the 15th of the reign of Asa. But I cannot consent to this forced expedient. To me it seems evident, that for 35th and 36th we must read 25th and 26th. Then the war with Baasha lies in the very last year of the reign of that monarch.—Again, we read in 2 Chron. xiv. 2, that "in the days of Asa the

* Son of "Maachah, daughter," i. e. granddaughter, "of Absalom" 1 Kings xv. 2. 2 Chron. xi. 20-22: in 2 Chron. xiii. 2. she is called "Michaiah" (which is only an error of transcription, מַכִּיָּה for מַעֲכִיָּה) "daughter of Uriel of Gibeah." The two statements are easily reconciled: Absalom had only one daughter, Tha-

mar, 2 Sam. xiv. 27. Maachah was daughter of Thamar by Uriel of Gibeah. The name Maachah, derived from Absalom's own mother, 2 Sam. iii. 3. 1 Chron. iii. 2., seems to have become hereditary in Absalom's family, for Abijam's wife the mother of Asa was also "Maachah daughter of Absalom," 1 Kings xv. 10.

land of Judah had peace 10 years," yet in 1 Kings xv. 32, it is said, "there was war between Asa and Baasha all their days;" now Baasha reigned 24 years. But the latter of these statements ought not to be urged very strictly:—it need imply no more than that Asa and Baasha were declared enemies all their days. And as for the former, I think it a mistake to suppose that it speaks of the *first* ten years of the reign of Asa. What part of his reign is meant, is evident upon comparing the description of these ten years in xiv. 1—8, with xv. 10—18. That is, the ten years during which Asa had peace (Baasha and his other enemies not daring to make war upon him), and destroyed idolatry, and commanded Judah to seek the Lord God of their fathers, &c., are the period ensuing upon the great reformation in the 15th year of Asa, xv. 10, that is, immediately on the return of the host from the discomfiture of the Ethiopians. In other words, the Chronicler, entering upon the history of the reign of Asa, notes, first, *as the most remarkable circumstance belonging to it*, that there was a period of ten years, during which the kingdom had rest and peace through repentance and faithfulness to the covenant, xiv. 1—8. Then he recites the occasion of this great reformation. It was in the 15th year of Asa that Zerah the Ethiopian invaded the land, and was miraculously discomfited. Azariah son of Oded went forth to meet the victorious army on its return, and exhorted the assembled nation to return to the Lord. "Then Asa took courage and put away the idols out of the land...and he gathered all Judah...at Jerusalem in the 3rd month of the 15th year of the reign of Asa." Then, after a description which is exactly parallel with xiv. 1—8, it follows, "And there was no *more* war unto the 35th (read 25th) year of the reign of Asa." Here we have just the period of *ten years* noted in xiv. 1, *viz.* from the 15th to the 25th of Asa. And here we may remark, that it is evident from xiv. 8, that Asa had actual war with Baasha before his 15th year, for we there read of "cities which Asa had taken from mount Ephraim." Thus the narrative in the Chronicles is in perfect agreement with the statement in 1 Kings xv. 32, for it appears that Asa had war with Baasha all the days of the latter; open war prior to his 15th year, and no declared peace from that year to his 25th. "Then in the 26th year Baasha came up

against Judah, and built Ramah, to the intent that he might let none go out or come in to Asa king of Judah," xvi. 1. Here was the recommencement of actual hostility on the part of Baasha, in the last year of the reign of the latter. And the history proceeds to shew how Asa by a league with the Syrians diverted Baasha from his purpose. After this we read no more of Baasha: from the Book of Kings we find that he must have died that same year. To Asa, however, the prophet Hanani denounced, that because he had "relied on the king of Syria, and not on the Lord God," therefore, "from henceforth he should have wars." 2 Chron. xvi. 7—9. Thus the reign of Asa falls into three portions: 15 years of war with Baasha, and at last an invasion of Ethiopians; 10 years of reformation and rest; then renewed war with Baasha, and, after his death, with other enemies who are not mentioned, 15 or 16 years¹.

¹ Movers *Kritische Untersuchungen über die biblische Chronik* (Bonn, 1834), p. 255–257, after a full and accurate statement of the difficulties which render the history of Asa "one of the most perplexed parts of the Chronicles," professes his inability to reconcile the discordant statements, and ascribes the confusion to "compilation from heterogeneous accounts." I hope I have satisfied the reader that there is no ground to charge the Chronicler with contradiction either of himself or of the Book of Kings; but, on the contrary, that all these details of the history are in perfect harmony. One of the difficulties on which this writer insists—the statement in xv. 19, that "there was no war unto the —th year of Asa"—has been anticipated and answered by our translators, who render it "no more war:" an obvious and facile solution, which seems not to have occurred to Movers. Neither did it occur to him to suspect a corruption in the numerals, 35th and 36th for 25th and 26th, although he has collected and classified, and very clearly and satisfactorily accounted for, a multitude of similar errata committed by copyists in respect of nu-

merals, p. 53 ff. Thus 1 Chron. xxiii. 3 compared with v. 24, the numbers 20 and 30 are confused. And indeed, if it be true, which Movers in that section of his valuable work has rendered very probable, that numbers in the old copies were often expressed in *ciphers* similar to those which we know to have been used by the Syrians and Phenicians (see Hoffmann, *Grammat. Syriac.* p. 83, and Tab. ii.) the number 35 might easily be formed out of 25, $\overline{V}\overline{\pi}\overline{\pi}\overline{\pi}$ or $\overline{V}\overline{\pi}\overline{3}$ out of $\overline{V}\overline{\pi}\overline{\pi}$ or $\overline{V}\overline{3}$ (5 being denoted by a mark like the Roman V, 10 by a mark like a horizontal R, and 20 by a figure resembling our 3.) Or, independently of this supposition, the transcriber might be led into error by supposing that Asa's disease in his feet, xvi. 12, almost immediately followed upon the denunciation of Hanani the Seer and Asa's imprisonment of him for his faithful rebuke. The same mistake seems further to have led to the alteration of "36th" to "38th," which appears in the LXX: that is, the copyist might be the more readily deceived by the resemblance of the letter-numeral for 5 to that for 8, (¶ for ¶, see p. 185, *note*,) from supposing the 36th year,

B. C. A. R. Judah.

Israel.

902 76 16 Jehoshaphat 19-20 Ahab.

899 79 19 22 A.-1 Ahaziah.

898 80 20 1-2 Ahaziah.

897 81 21 2 A.-1 Joram s. Ahab.

xvi. 31-33. *Elijah the Tishbite*, 1 K. xvii. ff. At the end of 3 years the national worship is restored.

Ben-hadad besieges Samaria and is defeated. Ahab spares him. 1 K. xx, (3 years before Ahab's last year, xxii. 1.) Naboth the Jezreelite, xxi.

Ahab slain at Ramoth-Gilead, xxii, after a reign of 22 y. [*complete*], xvi. 29. AHAZIAH succeeds and reigns 2 y. [*complete*]. Jehoshaphat, reproved by Jehu s. of Hanani, again reforms Judah, 2 Ch. xix. Confederacy of Moab, Ammon and other tribes against Jehoshaphat. Miraculous overthrow, 2 Ch. xx. Elijah: fire from heaven, 2 K. i. JO-
RAM s. of Ahab, *succ.* Ascension of Elijah, 2 K. ii. Moab rebels, and is defeated, *ib.* iii¹, by the conjoint forces of Israel, Judah, and Edom. The King of Moab raises the siege by sacrificing the son of the king of Edom, *ib.* (comp. Amos ii. 1.)

¹ "It is scarcely to be doubted," says Gesenius, *Commentar. über Jesai*, xv. p. 502, *note*, "that 2 Kings iii. and 2 Chron. xx. relate to the same incident." Then he points out the glaring discrepancies between the two accounts, with the view of making it appear that the narrative in the Chronicles is thoroughly *unhistorical*, a version of the story related in 2 Kings iii, conceived quite in the spirit of the priesthood, and designed for the glory of the pious king Jehoshaphat. The discrepancies indeed are glaring enough, as well they may be, since the two occurrences are perfectly distinct. Besides, as Movers has ably shown, the reality of the story in 2 Chron. xx. is attested by Psal. xlviii, which cannot relate (as Gesenius and Ewald pretend) to the times of Hezekiah, and which does admirably accord in all its parts with the story as here related. (I

regret that my space does not allow me to transcribe this part of Movers's argument.) Further, this miraculous victory is alluded to by the prophet Joel, iv. 1; for, where he speaks of all nations gathered together "in the valley of Jehoshaphat," he undoubtedly alludes to this overthrow of Judah's enemies as a kind of type of that future scene which he predicts. "The Lord will gather together the heathen to a great battle in the valley of Jehoshaphat (*the scene of Jehoshaphat's victory*) as though they would destroy the Holy City: but the very name of this battle-field, Jehoshaphat, "Jehovah judgeth!" is not only a memorial of that great and prosperous king, but an omen of the judgment of the Lord, &c." Ewald, *Propheten*, i. 80. Lastly, even in 2 Kings iii., there is a circumstance which *requires* explanation, and *finds* it in the story of 2 Chron. xx.

The

| B. C. | Æ. R. | Judah. | Israel. | |
|-------|-------|----------------|-----------------|--|
| 896 | 82 | 22 Jehoshaphat | 1-2 Joram s. A. | Elisha's miracles; 2 Kin. iv. v. Ben-hadad besieges Samaria: the famine, the plenty; vi. vii. Seven years of famine begins; viii. |
| 893 | 85 | 25 | 4-5 | JORAM s. J. succ., son-in-law of Ahab, an idolater. In Israel, 7 years of famine continue, 2 Kin. viii. After which, Elisha is at Damascus, <i>ib.</i> Hazael murders Ben-hadad. In Judah, Joram, s. J. slays all his brethren, 2 C. xxi. 4. Edom and Libnah revolt, 2 K. viii. 20. He receives a writing from Elijah the prophet ¹ , 2 C. xxi. Philistines ² and Ethiopian Arabs take Jerusalem, and take captive Joram's wives |
| 892 | 86 | 1 Joram s. J. | 5-6 | |

The Moabites, deceived by the appearance of the water, said, "This is blood, the kings are surely slain, and they have smitten one another; now therefore, Moab, to the spoil!" Was it so ordinary an occurrence for confederate armies to fall to slaughter each other, that the Moabites should jump to this conclusion at once? Surely there must have happened something of this kind to suggest the thought. And so it was. The Moabites recollected what had happened to themselves and the Ammonites and Edomites but a few years before, when, being confederate against Jehoshaphat, "the children of Ammon and Moab stood up against the inhabitants of mount Seir utterly to slay and destroy them; and when they had made an end of the inhabitants of Seir, every one helped to destroy another." 2 Chron. xx. 23. It may be further remarked, that this story serves also to account for the circumstance that the king of Edom is confederate with Judah and Israel against Moab, in 2 Kings iii. He was glad of an opportunity of avenging the slaughter of "the inhabitants of mount Seir."

¹ That such a letter should have been written by Elijah before his death, is no wise surprising if Elijah was indeed an inspired man of God. This circumstance,

noted only in the Chronicles, intimately accords with the account in the Book of Kings of the commission given to Elijah in that most solemn hour when he stood before God in Horeb: "Anoint Hazael to be king over Syria, and Jehu to be king over Israel, and Elisha to be prophet in thy room," 1 Kings xix. 15. The crisis of judgment to which that commission pointed was now at hand, and the king of Judah, partaker and heir of Ahab's sin, was to share in the punishment. One year witnessed the horrible death of Joram son of Jehoshaphat by the hand of the LORD, and of his successor Ahaziah and Joram son of Ahab, by the hand of Jehu. Thus in the Book of Kings, the ministry of Elijah reaches its goal, after his ascension, in the judgment delegated to Hazael and Jehu: in the Book of Chronicles, containing the history of Judah only, the same ministry appears in connexion with the same crisis in the person of the apostate son of Jehoshaphat.

² This invasion is alluded to in Joel iv. 5. "And what are ye also to me, O Tyre and Sidon, and all the coasts of Philistia? ... who have taken my silver and gold, and have brought into your temples all my choicest treasures, and have sold the children of Judah and Jerusalem to the sons of Javan!"

B.C. Æ.R. Judah. Israel.

885 93 8 J. = 1 Ahaziah 12 J-1 Jehu.

884 94 Usurpation, 6 y. 1-2 Jehu.

and sons except Jehoahas = Ahaziah.

Joram of Judah dies of an horrible disease, *ib.*

JEHU rebels against Joram s. of Ahab and kills him. Ahaziah, being on a visit to Joram at Jezreel, is slain by Jehu³. On the death of Ahaziah, ATHALIAH destroyed all the seed royal except Joash, who was secreted by his aunt Jehosheba. Athaliah's usurpation lasted 6 years. Hazael oppresses Israel, x. 32.

³ In the Kings, Ahaziah endeavouring to escape from Jezreel is pursued by Jehu, who gives order to "smite him also in the chariot. *And they did so at the going up to Gur, which is by Ibleam. And he fled to Megiddo, and died there.*" 2 Kings ix. 27. In the Chronicles, *after the slaughter of Ahaziah's brethren*, we read, "and Jehu sought Ahaziah, and they caught him, for he was hid in Samaria, and brought him to Jehu, and when they had slain him, they buried him," xxii. 7-9. The two accounts are not necessarily contradictory, since possibly the whole relation in the Chronicles may belong to the time *after* Ahaziah's flight to Megiddo: i.e. it may be that he was wounded at Ibleam but not killed, and so fled to Megiddo; *then* Jehu, hearing that he was still alive and in concealment, made search for him, and he was found in Samaria, brought before Jehu, and killed. And this *possible* solution of the difficulty is rendered *probable* by the order of events in the Chronicles. For the search for Ahaziah is there placed *after* the slaughter of Ahaziah's kinsmen. "Ahaziah came to Jezreel to see Joram, and went out with Joram against Jehu," v. 7. So far both accounts agree. But the Chronicler omits what immediately followed, perhaps because it was mixed up with the recital about Joram, which he did not intend to relate. In the Kings, Jehu having finished his work in Jezreel,

"arose and departed and came to Samaria," ix. 12. In the way, he falls in with Ahaziah's kinsmen, and slays them, *ib.* 13. And this, the Chronicler does relate: "It came to pass, when Jehu found the princes of Judah and the sons of the brethren of Ahaziah, which ministered to Ahaziah, he slew them," xxii. 8. It is not said, *where*; but in the Kings we learnt that it was on the way to *Samaria*. And then it follows in the Chronicles, v. 9, "And he sought Ahaziah, and they caught him, *for he was hid in Samaria*, and they brought him to Jehu, &c." Here then, far from contradiction, we discover the fine and accurate coincidence of independent accounts which complete each other. The only variance is, that the one account says only in general, that Ahaziah escaped, wounded, to Megiddo and died there (in that part of the country), the other says nothing about the wound, and gives the particulars of that which the former had stated briefly in two words, יָמָתָם.

שָׁם. Nay, there is reason to believe that even the text of the Chronicles *hints* at the wound: for the LXX has *κατέλαβον αὐτὸν λατρευόμενον ἐν Σαμαρεία*, implying the reading וְהָיָה בְּשָׁמְרוֹן מִתְרַפֵּא בְּשָׁמְרוֹן (comp. v. 6. LXX and Heb.) instead of מִתְחַבֵּא.

| B. C. | A. R. | Judah. | Israel. | |
|-------|-------|--------------------|-------------------|---|
| 878 | 100 | 1 Joash | 7-8 Jehu. | JOASH began to reign 7 Jehu, 2 K. xii. 1. |
| 857 | 121 | 22 | 28 J.-1 Jehoahaz. | Jehu r. 28 y. 2 K. x. 36. Succeeded by JEHOAHAZ in the 23d of Joash, 2 K. xiii. 1 ¹ . |
| 856 | 122 | 23 | 1-2 Jehoahaz. | Joash repairs the Temple, xii. 4-16. Hazael and his son still oppress Israel, 2 K. xiii. Syrians take Gath, and are diverted from Jerusalem by a present of the Temple-treasures, xii. 17. Joash does well all the days of Jehoiada, xii. 2; but after the death of Jehoiada he falls into apostasy, 2 C. xxiv. 15. |
| 840 | 138 | 39 | 17 Je.-1 Joash. | JOASH (of Israel) succ. in 39 Joash, 2 K. xiii. 10 ² . Martyrdom of Zechariah son of Jehoiada, 2 C. xxiv. 20. |
| 839 | 139 | 40 | 1-2 Joash | |
| 838 | 140 | (41 J.) 1 Amaziah. | 2-3 | Syrians take and spoil Jerusalem, <i>ib.</i> 23, at the end of the year (i.e. after the death of Zechariah). Joash, left diseased on his bed, is slain by conspirators, <i>ib.</i> 25. 2 K. xii. 19. 21. AMAZIAH succ. 2 Joash, xiv. 1. Israel, brought to extremity by Syrian oppression in the r. of Jehoahaz, begins to recover. Elisha dying, promises Joash three victories over Syria. The miraculous resuscitation at Elisha's grave, 2 K. xiii. Amaziah hires mercenaries from Israel for a war upon Edom, but dismisses them on a reproof from a prophet: the Israelites are incensed, 2 C. xxv. Amaziah is successful against Edom. He challenges Joash, is conquered, and Jerusalem is spoiled, <i>ib.</i> and 2 K. xiv. |
| 825 | 153 | 14 | 15 | |
| 824 | 154 | 15 | 16 J.-1 Jeroboam. | Joash d. JEROBOAM succ. 15 Joash, 2 K. xiii. 23. |
| 810 | 168 | 29 | 14-15 Jeroboam. | Amaziah outlives Joash 15 y. 2 K. xiv. 17. r. 29 y. v. 1. |

¹ This statement deviates from our principle of adjustment only half a year, since the 1st of Jehoahaz on our principle includes half of the 22nd and half

of 23rd Joash.

² In the Hebrew text the numeral is "37th;" but some copies of the LXX have the true reading, "39th."

| B. C. | Æ. R. | Judah. | Israel. | |
|-------|-------|-------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| 809 | 169 | 1 Azariah } = Uzziah | 15-16 | UZZIAH, see § 220 ² . |

The revival of prosperity in Israel and Judah. Jeroboam recovers the whole territory of the 10 tribes, according to the prediction of JONAH, 2 K. xiv. 25, and Uzziah the whole territory of Judah, 2 C. xxvi. 1-15. [*Joel* prophecies in Judah, *Hosea* and *Amos* in Israel.]

| | | | |
|-----|-----|----------|--|
| 783 | 195 | 27 | 41 Interregnum, or Anarchy, eleven years to 772 B. C. |
|-----|-----|----------|--|

§ 229. The fact that the long and prosperous reign of Jeroboam was followed by *eleven years of anarchy*, is not expressed in the history, but is necessarily implied in the Chronological data. If we were to assume, on the ground of the synchronism 1 Uzziah = 27 Jeremiah, that there was anarchy in Judah after the death of Amaziah, viz. 13 years, the time of anarchy in Israel will be increased from 11 years to 23. Namely:

| Æ. R. | Judah. | Israel. |
|-------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| [168 | 29 Amaziah | 14-15 Jeroboam. |
| | Anarchy, 13 years. | |
| 181 | 1 Uzziah. | 27-28 |
| 195 | 15 | 41 |
| | | (Anarchy, 23 years.) |
| 218 | 38 | 1 Zechariah, 2 K. xv. 8.] |

But there is nothing to indicate a time of anarchy in Judah: on the contrary it is said, 2 Chron. xxvi. 1, "*then*"—after the slaughter of Amaziah—"all the people of Judah took Uzziah, &c." The fact of an interregnum in Israel, well accords with the denunciations of Hosea and Amos against that kingdom.

| B. C. | Æ. R. | Judah. | Israel. | |
|-------|-------|-----------|--------------------|---|
| 772 | 206 | 38 Uzziah | — Zechariah. | ZECHARIAH b. 38 Uzziah, r. 6 months, the last of the house of Jehu, slain by SHALLUM, 2 K. xv. 8, who began 39 Uzziah, r. 1 month, and was slain by ME- |
| 771 | 207 | 39 | Shallum, 1 Menahem | |

² 2 Kings xv. 1. "In the 27th year of Jeroboam began Azariah to reign." The corruption of the text is not acci-

dental. Uzziah, it will be seen, succeeded in the 27th year before the end of the reign of Jeroboam.

B. C. Æ. R. Judah.

Israel.

| | | | | |
|-----|-----|----|--------|-------------------|
| 760 | 218 | 50 | Uzziah | 10 M. 1 Pekahjah. |
| 759 | 219 | 51 | ..... | 1-2 |
| 758 | 220 | 52 | ..... | 2 P. 1 Pekah. |
| 757 | 221 | 1 | Jotham | 1-2 Pekah. |
| 742 | 236 | 16 | ..... | 16-17 |
| 741 | 237 | 1 | Ahaz | 17-18 |
| 740 | 238 | 2 | ..... | 18-19 Pekah. |
| 739 | 239 | 3 | ..... | 19-20 |

NAHEM, *ib.* 13-17. *Pul, king of Assyria, invades Israel, ib.* 19. In Judah, Uzziah, invading the priest's office is smitten with leprosy, 2 C. xxvii. 16. *Isaiah* begins to prophesy in the last year of Uzziah.

PEKAHJAH began 50 Uzziah, r. 2 y. slain by Pekah. 2 K. xv. 23-26.

PEKAH *b.* 52 Uzziah, r. 20 y. *ib.* 27. JOTHAM *b.* 2 Pekah, *ib.* 32¹. [*Micah* prophesies concerning Samaria and Jerusalem].

AHAZ *b.* 17 Pekah, 2 K. xvi. 1. Rezin k. of Syria and Pekah of Israel form a confederacy against him, and invade Judah with intent to besiege Jerusalem; it did not come, however, to a siege, 2 K. xvi. 5. *Isai.* vii. 1-9².

After this joint-campaign, Rezin recovered Elath to Syria and expelled the Jews, 2 K. xvi. 6, and in that or a subsequent expedition "smote Ahas and carried a great multitude of captives to Damascus," 2 C. xxviii. 5. Pekah likewise "smote him with a great slaughter, for he slew in Judah 120,000 in one day, which were all valiant men".... "And the children of Israel carried away captive 200,000 women, sons and daughters:" upon the remonstrance of the prophet Oded, the captives were honourably re-

¹ This statement, again, deviates half a year from our rule of adjustment. But the rule is confirmed by xv. 30, where the death of Pekah is assigned to the 20th year of Jotham, *i. e.* 20 Jotham = 20 Pekah; hence 1 Jotham begins in 1 Pekah.

² 2 Kings xvi. 5. "Then Rezin and Pekah came up to Jerusalem to war לְמַלְחָמָה and they besieged Ahas (not besieged but יִצְרוּ עַל אָחָז they pressed

upon Ahas, put him to straits, *i. e.* put him in fear) but were not able to overcome him (not so, but לְהִלָּחֵם to fight, to bring it to a battle,") *Isai.* vii. 1. "Rezin and Pekah came up to Jerusalem to fight against it לְמַלְחָמָה עֲלֵיהֶּם and was not able to fight against it" לְהִלָּחֵם עֲלֵיהֶּם, which Gesenius renders, *heranzog um es zu belagern aber es kam nicht zur Belagerung.*

| B.C. | Æ.R. | Judah. | Israel. |
|------|------|--|-----------|
| 738 | 240 | 4 Ahaz (= 20 Jotham, 2 K. xv. 30). | 20 Pekah. |

stored, *ib.* 6-15³. Edom and the Philistines invade Judah at the same time, *ib.* 17-19.

Ahaz sends to Assyria (T. Pileser) for help, *ib.* 16. 2 K. xvi. 7. T. Pil. invades Syria and takes Damascus, *ib.* 9., also Israel, and takes Gilead, Galilee, all Naph-tali, &c. *ib.* xv. 29: then Pekah is conspired against and slain by Hoshea, *ib.* 30.

³ This I take to be the true order of events, for I do not think, with Light-foot, that the events related in 2 Kings xvi. 5, and 2 Chron. xxviii. 5, belong to one and the same campaign. The former was a joint-expedition, the latter separate, ("The Lord delivered him into the hand of the king of Syria, and they smote him, &c.... And he was also delivered into the hand of the king of Israel who smote him, &c.") This successful expedition of the king of Syria is probably the same with that noted in 2 Kings xvi. 6, in which Elath, the fortified harbour on the Red Sea, was taken. Of the expedition of Pekah the book of Kings is wholly silent: yet it may be gathered even from this book that Pekah's warfare with Judah was not summed up in a single, and that a fruitless, expedition. For in xv. 37, on occasion of Jotham's death it is remarked, "In those days the LORD *began* to send against Judah Rezin and Pekah:" that is, no sooner was that wise and powerful king dead, and his wicked and imbecile son Ahaz had succeeded to him, but these two kings formed a confederacy against Judah, and prepared to besiege Jerusalem. Now that expedition came to nothing, but the mention of "*beginning*," *התחיל*, certainly implies a war of longer continuance than a single campaign. In Isaiah also it is intimated that though the threatened danger of a siege passed away, and though the confederate kings themselves were destined to a speedy overthrow—(*viz.* before the child, then con-

ceived, should be of age to choose between good and evil, and to say *my father* and *my mother*, vii. 16; viii. 4, *i. e.* within the space of two or three years from the time of the prophecy)—nevertheless Judah should first be devastated. "Thus saith the LORD of Hosts: It shall not stand, it shall not be: but the head of Syria is (and shall be) Damascus... And the head of Ephraim is (and shall be) Samaria... *If ye believe not ye shall not be established*" *אם לא תאמינו כי לא תאמינו*

Compare the words of Jehoshaphat in 2 Chron. xx. 20. *הָאֱמִינוּ בַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְתִאֲמִנו*, *ἐμπιστεύσατε ἐν Κυρίῳ καὶ ἐμπιστευθήσεσθε*, *build on the Lord and ye shall be built up*. So here, perhaps with an allusion to that saying of the pious king, Isaiah says, "If ye will not have faith in God, He will not be faithful to you; your *Amen* to His promise is the condition of His *Amen*. Neither this, *nor any other*, danger shall come to you from these two kings, if ye will believe." Then Ahaz is put to the proof, *Ask thee a sign*: he is found wanting—he says not *Amen* to the promise, *אֲמֵן* *לֹא*; it follows "he shall not be established" *לֹא יֵאֱמָן*. "Therefore the Lord Himself will give you a sign:" the child that is to be born (the ideal representative of Immanuel) shall eat butter and honey—the spontaneous product of a land devastated and untilled (comp. v. 22)—until it be of age to discern

§ 230. With the death of Pekah, who was slain by Hoshea, (probably immediately after, and in consequence of the Assyrian invasion) there must have ensued a second time of anarchy, which lasted 8 years. For though Pekah was slain in the 20th of Jotham = 4th Ahaz, Hoshea did not begin to reign till the 12th of Ahaz. To this I refer Isaiah's description, ix. 17—20, of a time of lawlessness, which shall burn like fire, "none spares another; they eat on the right and hunger, they devour on the left and are not satisfied; they eat—each one the flesh of his own arm. *Manasseh Ephraim, and Ephraim Manasseh, and both against Judah.*"

| B.C. | Æ.R. | Judah. | Israel. | |
|------|------|-------------------------|-------------|--|
| 730 | 248 | 12 Ahaz | — 1 Hoshea. | HOSHEA "did evil . . . but not as the kings of Israel which were before him." |
| 727 | 251 | 15 | 3-4 | Shalmaneser invades him and makes him tributary, 2 K. xvii. 1, 2. |
| 726 | 252 | 1 Hezekiah ¹ | 4-5 | HEZEKIAH b. 3 Hoshea, see § 217. |
| 725 | 253 | 2 | 5-6 Pekah | Hezekiah, having cleansed the Temple and restored religion in the first month, commands a solemn Passover to be holden in the second month, to which he invites Israel as well as Judah, 2 C. xxix. xxx ² . |

cern between good and evil, and to cry *father and mother*, and then shall Syria and Ephraim be desolate of their kings. In other words, and apart from the idea of Immanuel—"this shall be a sign unto you, your land shall be devastated, it shall lie as a wilderness of pastures, yielding only milk of cattle and honey of bees by the space of two or three years from this time, and then shall these two kings be cut off." Thus the narrative in Chronicles forms an admirable commentary on this prophecy, that is, in respect of its immediate sense.

¹ He was 25 years old when he began to reign, 2 Kings xviii. 1. 2 C. xxix. 1. Now Ahaz was 20 years old and reigned 16 years (15 complete): 2 Kings xvi. 2. 2 Chron. xxviii. 1. There must be an error somewhere, for at this rate Hezekiah was born when Ahaz was 10 or 11 years old. The LXX, Syriac and Arabic of 2 Chron. xxviii. 1. make Ahaz 25 years old, and this is the solution adopted by most of the commentators. Perhaps,

however, the error may lie in the statement of Hezekiah's age; i.e. he may have been 15, not 25 at his father's death. In this case, the birth of Hezekiah lies in the first year of Ahaz, and may be the partial, immediate, and typical fulfilment of the sign given to Ahaz, Isai vii.

² On the first day of the first month of the first year of his reign, he began to cleanse the Temple, xxix. 17. This must mean, on our principle of reckoning the reigns, the 2nd year, i.e. 722 B.C. unless the actual epoch of Hezekiah coincided with the nominal, or preceded it a few days or weeks: which is not likely, for the reign of Ahaz in that case would be *at most* just 15 years, and therefore would not have been set down as 16 years. The fact seems to be, that Ahaz died late in 726 B.C., and that Hezekiah began to reign not very long before the passover of 725 B.C., long enough however to take measures for the purification of the Temple and restoration of religion, which was to commence with the new year.

B.C. & R. Judah. Israel.

723 255 4 Hezekiah. 7-8 Hoshea.

721 257 6 9

"Divers of Asher, Manasseh and Zebulun humbled themselves and came to Jerusalem." About this time Hoshea revolted, and allied himself with So (= Sevechus) k. of Egypt: "Shalmaneser shut him up and bound him in prison," 2 K. xvii. 4, then invaded all Israel, and besieged Samaria, 4 Hez. = 7 Ho. *ib.* 5. xviii. 10, took it in 6 Hez. = 9 Ho. *ib.* 10. and carried away Israel to Assyria. *End of the kingdom of Israel.*

§ 231. SUMMARY OF THE PRECEDING STATEMENTS.

| <i>Judah: from 1 Nisan.</i> | | <i>Israel: from an earlier Epoch.</i> | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------|
| Rehoboam | 17 | Jeroboam | 21 = 22 current. |
| Abijam | 2 = 3 current. | Nadab | 1 = 2 |
| Asa | 41 | Baasha | 23 = 24 |
| Jehoshaphat | 25 | Elah | 1 = 2 |
| Joram | 7 = 8 current. | Zimri, &c. | 1 |
| Ahaziah | 1 | Omri | 11 = 12 |
| Athaliah | 6 | Ahab | 22 |
| Joash | 40 | Ahaziah | 2 |
| Amaziah | 29 | Joram | 12 |
| Uzziah | 52 | Jehu | 28 |
| Jotham | 16 | Jehoahaz | 17 |
| Ahaz | 15 = 16 current. | Joash | 16 |
| Hezekiah | 6 | Jeroboam | 41 |
| Sum | <u>257</u> | [Interregnum] | 11 |
| | | Zechariah, &c. | 1 |
| | | Menahem | 10 |
| | | Pekahjah | 2 |
| | | Pekah | 20 |
| | | [Interregnum] | 8 |
| | | Hoshea | 9 |
| | | Sum | <u>257</u> |

Hence it appears that our scheme has, thus far, realized all the lengths of reign assigned to the kings of Judah in periods of complete years, with the exception of 3 reigns out of 13: and likewise those assigned to the kings of Israel, with the exception of 5 reigns out of 20. It has also realized all the synchronisms (exclusive of those which are palpably corrupt) except *two*, and even these are true in point of fact, and vary only half a year from the principle.

§ 232.

B.C. A.R.

- 720 258 7 Hezekiah. Hezekiah successful against the Philistines. Rebels against Assyria. Sennacherib invades Judah, and, at first, is pacified by a tribute. Besieges Lachish, sends Rabshakeh to incite the Jews of Jerusalem to revolt, 2 K. xviii. Isai. xxxvi. Besieges Libnah: Tirhakah comes against him: he sends a letter to Hez. whom Isaiah comforts. That night, Sennacherib's host is miraculously overthrown, *ib.*
- 713 265 14 Hez. illness and miraculous recovery: 15 y. added to his life: Merodach Baladan's embassy. Isaiah reproves Hez. and foretels the Babylonian judgment, 2 K. xx. Isai. xxxviii, ix. 2 C. xxxii.
- 697 281 1 Manasseh. MANASSEH reigns 55 y.: goes an awful length in apostasy, 2 K. xxi. 1-18. 2 C. xxxiii. 1-10. The captains of Assyria take M. prisoner to Babylon: returning thence, he repents and reforms, 2 C. *ib.* 11-17.

§ 233. Of the histories which are peculiar to the Chronicles, none has been more vigorously impeached than that which relates to the deportation of Manasseh and his subsequent reformation. The chief ground of suspicion against it, according to Winer, *Bibl. Realw.* s. v. is—not the silence of the Book of Kings, but—the circumstance that the story coincides so closely with the twofold object which the author of the Chronicles evidently had in view, viz. to extenuate as much as possible the untheocratic lives of the kings of Judah, and to find a motive for everything in final causes (*alles teleologisch zu motiviren*). It is sufficient to observe, that this is one of those stories which if not strictly true must be pure fiction. If it be a figment, it is most cleverly managed, for it tallies with the history of the times with a degree of exactness which no ancient Jewish writer of fictions has attained to, or pretended to aim at: witness the marvellous *incuria* of history and chronology which appears in the Book of Judith. The Assyrians, it is said, took Manasseh to *Babylon*. A Jew inventing the story after the Exile (for that is the supposition) would surely have named *Nineveh*. But in truth, it so happens that Babylon, which in the time of Esarhaddon, son of Sennacherib, was independent, had again become a province of Assyria. For as I shall shew in another place (see the *Appendix*), *Axerdis* (Abydenus), i.e. *Esarhaddon II.*, who, according to Berosus, reigned in Syria from B. C. 683 to 662, appears under the name

Asaridin in the Canon of Ptolemy as king of *Babylon*, from B. C. 680 to 667. And this same king, according to Abydenus, made conquests in *Egypt and the interior of Syria*. With this compare Ezra iv. 2, where the Samaritans ascribe their settlement in the land to *Esarhaddon*, king of Assur. True, this colonizer of Samaria, 2 Kings xvii. 24, *might* be Esarhaddon I., son of Sennacherib: but now compare Isaiah vii. 8, which is conclusive: "Within 65 years shall Ephraim be broken in pieces and be no more a people." This was said in 741 B. C., and 65 years lead to 676 B. C.; i. e. to the reign of that Esarhaddon who was king of Assyria and of Babylon, and who "made conquests in the interior of Syria and in Egypt." This then is the Esarhaddon of Ezra iv. 2, the king of Assyria of 2 Kings xvii. 24. And observe, that the colonists whom he brought into the land were partly men of Babylon, *ib.* Of course this Assyrian king would not leave Jerusalem untouched in an invasion which took in both Syria and Egypt. It should also be observed that Josiah, as a vassal of Assyria, 2 Kings xxiii. 29, had authority in the old territory of the Ten Tribes, *ib.* 19 (comp. v. 15 with xvii. 28). How the kings of Judah became vassals of Assyria is nowhere related, unless it be in this history of Manasseh. Moreover, the story of Manasseh's deportation is connected, as Movers remarks, p. 331, with a circumstance which accurately corresponds with the existing state of affairs: *viz.* after his return, Manasseh erected new walls on the west side of the city of David, from the fountain Gihon to the fishgate, enclosing Ophel, and also garrisoned the fenced cities of Judah, v. 14. Doubtless this was done at the order of the king of Assyria, by way of opposing a barrier to the designs of Egypt, whose powerful king, Psammetichus (671—617 B. C.), was bent upon extending his dominion into Asia, and actually spent 29 years in besieging Ashdod, Herod. ii. 157. So much, then, of the story as relates to the deportation to Babylon, is quite in keeping with the history of those times. And the rest, which relates to Manasseh's repentance and reformation, cannot possibly be a fiction. It is inconceivable that any Jewish writer should have selected Manasseh, the most atrocious of all the kings of Judah, the idolater, and murderer of the prophets, the man whose sin was the direct procuring cause of the judgment which came upon Jerusalem, 2 Kings xxi. 12 ff.; xxiii. 26; xxiv. 3, to be the

subject of such a romance. It may be said (I know not whether it has been), that the whole story is an allegory, in which Manasseh's captivity, repentance and restoration, covertly denote the fortunes of the whole nation,—an allegory, in short, of the Babylonian judgment, designed for the exhortation and comfort of the exiles. That it *has* an allegorical meaning I admit, for Manasseh in his sin, punishment, repentance and restoration, is a conspicuous type or symbol of the whole nation, provoking God to the uttermost, sent into captivity, and thence upon its repentance restored to its own land. But an allegory of merely human contrivance would never have been foisted into a book which lays claim to strict historical veracity: besides, two parts out of three of the story are strictly historical, and the second of these two is peculiar to the Book of Chronicles. Besides, I shall have occasion to point out hereafter “an economy of times and seasons” belonging to this story, which attests at once its allegorical import and its objective reality. I will only remark in conclusion, that the specific difficulties alleged by Gramberg, and even acknowledged as weighty by Movers, p. 327, are little better than cavils. *First*, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 15, the idol-altars in the Temple are said to have been removed and cast out of the city by Manasseh, but 2 Kings xxxiii. 12, it was Josiah who “destroyed the altars which Manasseh had made in the two courts of the Temple.” As if there were any contradiction here! Why, even the Chronicles relate that Amon revived *all* the idolatries of his father, v. 21; “he walked in *all the way* that his father had walked in, and served *the idols* that his father served.” It is nowhere said that Manasseh *destroyed* his idols and altars; “he took them away and cast them out of the city,” v. 15, his son Amon restored them, Josiah finally destroyed them. *Secondly*, if idolatry was abolished by Manasseh in all Judah, how are we to account for its so speedy revival and extensive prevalence in the beginning of the reign of Josiah, 2 Kings xxiii. 4 ff.? The answer is furnished by the Chronicles: Manasseh put a stop to idolatry, and “*commanded* Judah to serve the Lord. Nevertheless the people did sacrifice still in the high places, yet unto the Lord their God only,” v. 16, 17. From the worship of the high places to idolatry was ever but a step. Manasseh was not able to repair the evil which he had done: the people were in heart addicted to their idols, and may well be sup-

posed to have returned to them during the latter years of his long reign. And this answers the *third* objection: "if Manasseh repented of his sins and made amends, why are they denounced as the cause of the judgment on a later generation, 2 Kings xxiv. 3; Jer. xv. 4?" Manasseh's repentance may have procured his own pardon and a respite of judgment to his people. But his sin did not die with him. Like Jeroboam son of Nebat, he made his people to sin; Judah sinned on notwithstanding Manasseh's reformation.

§. 234.

B.C. Æ.R.

| | | | | |
|-----|-----|----|--------|--|
| 642 | 336 | 1 | Amon | AMON, <i>v.</i> 2 years: restored idolatry: slain by conspiracy, 2 K. xxi. 19. 2 C. xxxiii. 21. |
| 640 | 338 | 1 | Josiah | JOSIAH began to reign at 8 y. old, 2 K. xxii. 1. 2 C. xxxiv. 1. |
| 636 | 342 | 5 | ..... | At 12 y. old he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places and idols, 2 C. xxxiv. 3 ff. |
| 628 | 350 | 13 | ..... | [<i>Jeremiah</i> begins to prophesy.] |
| 623 | 355 | 18 | ..... | After purging the land, <i>ib.</i> 8, in his 18 y., <i>ib.</i> and 2 K. xxii. 3, he begins to repair the Temple: the book of the Law is discovered: <i>the great Reformation and solemn Passover</i> , 2 K. xxii. 10 ff. xxiii. 21 ff. 2 C. xxxiv. xxxv. 1-18. |

The date "18th year," 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8; 2 Kings xxii. 3, must obviously be understood with some latitude: it is not the date of the order for the repairs of the Temple, but of the solemn Passover: for all these events, the repairs, the discovery of the law, the covenant made by the whole nation, and the preparation of the Passover, cannot be crowded into the short space of 14 days¹. These incidents therefore belong in part to the 17th of Josiah. It appears also from the Chronicles, that the description 2 Kings xxii. 4-20, of the purging of the land from idols lies out of its place in the order of time: *v.* 21 joins on to *v.* 3, the intermediate verses relate to an earlier period, between the 12th and 18th years of Josiah, and the verb in *v.* 4, must be understood in the pluperfect tense. The narrator in 2 Kings, hastening *in medias res* begins his story at the crisis of the reform, the 18th year, the year of the great covenant and Passover, then relates the circumstances which led to that important

¹ Here then we have an instance of an anticipative date precisely similar to that of S. Luke iii. 1. In both cases, the

crowning event gives its date to the whole series of antecedent events.

event, and thence reverts to the earlier acts of Josiah. No other view is tenable, for it is not likely that so good a king would be altogether inactive against idolatry during 17 years of his reign.

§ 235.

B.C. Æ.R.

610 368 31 Josiah.

1 Jehoahaz.

609 369 1 Jehoiakim.

606 372 4

Josiah, as an ally of the king of Assyria, joins battle with Pharaoh-Necho and is slain in the plain of Megiddo, 2 K. xxiii. 29. 2 C. xxxv. 20 (at Hadadrimmon, Zech. xii. 11)¹. JEHÓAHÁZ (Shallum, Jer. xxii. 10, 11) succeeding, reigns only 3 months, 2 K. xxiii. 31. Necho "put him in bonds at Riblah in the land of Hamath, that he should not be king in Jerusalem," 2 K. xxiii. 33. Jehoahaz was taken into Egypt (2 K. and 2 C. and Jer. u. s.), and Pharaoh gave the throne to Eliakim, changing his name to JEHOIÁKIM.

Nebuchadnezzar conquers Judæa. Beginning of the seventy years' captivity. Chap. III. sect. i. On Jehoiakim's rebellion after this defeat, see p. 172.

¹ This is the engagement of which Herodotus speaks, ii. 159. Σύροισι περὶ ὁ Νεκῶς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδόλῳ ἐνίκησε· μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδουτιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίας ἰούσαν μεγάλην εἶλε. He confounds Magdolos (the Migdol of Scripture), the frontier town of Egypt, with Megiddo: Kadytis, all agree, is Jerusalem, Kadushah, "the Holy City." Movers has pointed out a further interesting coincidence between the account in Chronicles and that of Herodotus.

"A God," says Necho—אלהים (not יְהוָה, as elsewhere in Chron., i. e.

Jehovah)—"a God commanded me to make haste; beware of the God who is with me," אלהים אשר עמי, i. e. the guardian god of the king. Now Herodotus relates that Necho, in consequence of an oracle, μαντήδιον ἐμποδίου γενομένου, desisted from the work of the canal, which he was making between the Nile and the Red Sea, παυσάμενος δὲ τῆς διαύρουχος ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατήϊας, and to this Syrian expedition in particular;

he adds, that Necho dedicated the war-dress in which he made this campaign, to *Apollo of Branchida*.

² The Hebrew text of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3, is mutilated by an error of the copyists. Compare

2 Kings xxiii. 33.

וַיִּסְרְדוּ פָרְעָה נֶכְחַ
בְּרַבְלָה בְּאֶרֶץ חֶמֶת מִמֶּלֶךְ
בִּירוּשָׁלַם.

2 Chron. xxxvi. 3.

וַיִּסְרְדוּ מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם

בִּירוּשָׁלַם.

i. e. the copyist has dropt a line and substituted "deposed him," for וַיִּסְרְדוּ "fettered him." The LXX. had the genuine reading in their copy, whence they make καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτὸν Φ. Ν. ἐν Δεβλαθα ἐν γῇ Αἰμαθ τοῦ μη βασιλεύειν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. For that this clause is not interpolated from the text of Kings, appears from the Chaldee form Δεβλαθα רבבלה instead of רבלה.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PROPHETS WHO LIVED BEFORE THE EXILE.

§ 236. JONAH is mentioned, 2 Kings xiv. 25, as having foretold the deliverance of Israel and recovery of its former prosperity, which came to pass in the reign of Jeroboam the Second, B. C. 824—783.

Of JOEL we learn only that he was the son of Pethuel. The time of his prophesying seems to lie not very long before that of Amos, whose prophecy begins with a text of Joel. Movers, p. 119 ff. and Ewald refer it to the reign of Joash, but on grounds which I think inconclusive.

AMOS prophesied in the reign of Jeroboam the Second, and in that part of it which was contemporary with the reign of Uzziah, that is, B. C. 808—783. He began to prophesy "two years before the earthquake:" this, as a remarkable event, is alluded to by Zechariah long afterwards, xiv. 5, but its time is not known. The close connexion between the close of Joel and the opening of Amos seems to indicate that the two prophets were not far separated in time.

HOSEA began in the same reigns, but continued to prophesy into the reign of Hezekiah i. 1; *i. e.* from before 783 B. C. till after 726 B. C. Like Amos, he prophesied against the Ten Tribes; he may have lived to see the fulfilment of his predictions.

§ 237. ISAIAH was commissioned to the prophetic office in the death-year of Uzziah, vi. 1. His prophecies fall into two parts distinct in matter and manner: the first, extending from *chap.* i. to xxxix. consists of a series of oracles, arranged for the most part in the order of their delivery: the other, from *chap.* xl. to the end, is one continued prophetic discourse.

PART I.

i. *Chap.* i—v. Prophecies against Jerusalem, delivered in the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham. This section is completed with the narrative of Isaiah's mission *chap.* vi.

ii. *Chap. vii—xii.* The Prophecy of Immanuel, delivered in the first year of Ahaz, on occasion of the confederacy of Rezin and Pekah against Jerusalem.

iii. *Chap. xiii. xiv. 27.* Prophecies against Babylon and Assyria.

iv. *Chap. xiv. 28—xxiii.* Prophecies immediately relating to the Assyrian invasion.

1. *xiv. 28—32.* Against *Philistia*: delivered in the death-year of Ahaz, 726 B.C. The Philistines in the reign of Ahaz had shaken off the subjection to which they were reduced by Uzziah, 2 Chron. xxviii. 18. Hezekiah in the early part of his reign reduced them again, 2 Kings xviii. 8. The two last verses relate to the devastation of Philistia by the Assyrians.

2. *xv. xvi. Moab.* This was to come into accomplishment within three years, xvi. 14. It seems to relate to the invasion of Shalmaneser, 723—721.

3. *xvii. Damascus and Ephraim*: especially the latter: fulfilled 721. The last verses predict the destruction of the Assyrian when he should come against Judah. *Chap. xviii.* seems to form part of this prophecy; *i. e.* to relate to Ethiopia, which under So or Sevechus had made alliance with the Ten Tribes against Assyria, and under Tirhakah came out against Sennacherib for the relief of Jerusalem.

4. *xix. Egypt.* This prophecy predicts the political convulsions of Egypt, from the time of the Ethiopian dynasty, to the accession of Psammetichus.—To this oracle is added as an appendix *chap. xx*, delivered “in the year in which Tartan came to Ashdod, sent from Sargon king of Assyria, and he besieged it and took it.” Sargon must have been the successor of Shalmaneser, between him and Sennacherib, therefore about 718 B.C. He is mentioned only in this place, but Berosus probably means him where he says, *Postquam regnasset frater Senecheribi, &c.*, Eus. *Chron. Armen.* 42. Ashdod was the key to Egypt, and thitherward Assyria would naturally turn its arms immediately after the reduction of Syria, Ephraim, and Phœnicia. It seems from the prophecy, that the siege lasted three years. Afterwards it cost Psammetichus 29 years’ siege to recover it to Egypt.

5. *Chap. xxi. 1—10.* “The burthen of the desert of the sea.” The purport of this prophecy is evidently the capture of Babylon by the Medes and Persians, *v. 2*. But why is it placed here in a cycle of prophecies relating to the times of the Assyrian invasion, 726—713? I venture to suggest an explanation, derived from the passage of Berosus above referred to. *Postquam regnasset frater Senecheribi et deinde postquam Acies in Babylonios dominatus esset, et necdum triginta quidem diebus regnum tenuisset a Marodach Baladano occisus est, et Marodach B. per vim (regnum) tenuit sex mensibus, eum vero interficiens regnabat quidam cui nomen Elibus. Verum tertio regni ejus anno Senecheribus rex Assyriorum exercitum conflabat adversus Babylonios, prælioque cum iis commisso vicit... In Babylonios ergo dominatus regem illis filium suum Asordanum constituit.* By which I understand, that after the reign of *Sargon*, on the accession of *Sennacherib*, Babylon rebelled, and was reduced, three years later, by *Sennacherib* himself. In respect then of this near event, Babylon did come within the cycle of the Assyrian judgment, and this may be blended in the prophetic vision with the later catastrophe.

6. The short oracle concerning *Duma* (an Arab tribe) *v. 11, 12, and*

7. that against Arabia, 13—17, seem to belong to the same period with the foregoing.

8. *Chap. xxii.* Vision of the siege of *Jerusalem*: this belongs to the same cycle, for those who first heard it would think of an Assyrian siege. The event shewed that Babylon was meant. In this entire cycle the interval between the fateful moment of *Sennacherib*’s approach to the siege of *Jerusalem*, and the time of the Babylonian judgment, more than a century later, *does not exist*. It is a time of respite.

9. *Chap. xxiii. Tyre.* Tyre was blockaded by *Shalmaneser* during five years, after the fall of *Samaria*, *Menander ap. Joseph. Ant. ix. 2*. But it was not taken, and after this it still flourished. The prophecy begins at the Assyrian invasion: then follows a long respite, till the Babylonian times.

v. *Chap. xxiv—xxvii.* The desolation of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*; after the judgment, *Messiah*’s kingdom.

vi. *Chap. xxviii—xxxv.* The same general subject; with particular application to the prophet’s own times (*xxx. xxxi.*).

The latter series was evidently delivered before the catastrophe of Samaria, for *chap.* xxviii. prophesies the desolation of the northern kingdom. Probably both the series v. and vi. start from the same point as iv., *i. e.* from the year of the death of Ahaz, and so lie before the reformation in the first year of Hezekiah.

vii. The historical chapters, xxxvi—xxxix.: the miraculous removal of the Assyrian judgment from Jerusalem. Hezekiah "sick unto death" is miraculously restored: *a symbol of the respite now granted to Jerusalem.* In the concluding chapter, *Babylon* is pointed to as the instrument of the respited judgment.

PART II. *Chap.* xl—*end.*

Throughout this latter prophecy, separated from the former, as the difference of style would seem to intimate, perhaps by an interval of many years, the Prophet, in the spirit, takes his station in the times and amid the scene of the Exile, which in the former prophecy he had portrayed as perspectively blended with the Assyrian crisis. He addresses, not his contemporaries, but the generation of a century later, the unhappy nation in its exile. Occasionally, however, he reverts to the sins of his own age.

A tradition is preserved by the Rabbins and the ecclesiastical writers, that Isaiah died a martyr's death, sawn asunder by Manasseh. And this seems to be acknowledged in the Epistle to the Hebrews, xi. 37, comp. 2 Kings xxi. 16. However this may be, the allusions to the writer's own times, which are met with in the second part—the complaints of gross idolatry, sacrifice of children, evil rulers—which do not accord either with the times of the Exile, or with those of the pious Hezekiah, imply that these prophecies were delivered during the reign of Manasseh. If Isaiah began to prophesy about 760 B.C. and was then 20 years old, he would be 83 years old at the accession of Manasseh, under whom we may suppose him to have lived yet six or seven years.

§ 238. MICAH prophesied in the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah,¹ and was therefore contemporary with Isaiah.

¹ That Micah prophesied in the reign of Hezekiah is noted also in Jer. xxvi. 18, 19, which refers to Micah iii. 12.

He seems to have delivered the book which bears his name, as a summary of his prophesying: for it is not composed, as Isaiah's, of a series of separate discourses or visions, but forms a connected whole.

Chap. i. 5—8. Speaks of the desolation of Samaria as yet future. It is foretold also that "it shall reach to Judah," i. 9; that "the Assyrians shall come into the land," v. 5. I suppose therefore, that all these prophecies were *collected* before the year of Sennacherib's defeat: *i.e.* that the series as a whole, is parallel with the First Part of Isaiah.—The Babylonian judgment is predicted iv. 10, but blended with the Assyrian, as in Isaiah.

§ 239. "The burden of Nineveh" was delivered by NAHUM *after* the judgment executed by Assyria on the Ten Tribes, ii. 2; yet before the defeat of Sennacherib's host, i. 11—13. The subject of the prophecy is the overthrow and utter destruction of Nineveh. There is reason to believe, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter, that the death of Sennacherib coincided with a revolution which greatly impaired the power of Assyria (*Appendix*, On Assyrian and Chaldean Chronology). The final overthrow occurred in the year 606 B.C., which is the epoch, in the eye of prophecy, of the Babylonian Empire. In ii. 6, the manner of the destruction is foretold. The capture of Nineveh was facilitated by an extraordinary flood of the river. (Diod. Sic. ii. 27. from Ctesias.) Both stages of the judgment on Assyria are blended in one, though separated by an interval of nearly a century.

The time of Nahum lies between B.C. 721—713. If the date of the destruction of No-Ammon, iii. 8, were known, it might enable us to fix the time of the vision more exactly.

ZEPHANIAH prophesied in the reign of Josiah i. 1, before the 18th year = 623 B.C. Comp. i. 4. with 2 Kings xxiii. 4.

The prophecy of HABAKKUK predicts the Chaldean invasion, i. 6, and the overthrow of Babylon, *chap. ii.* It lies therefore before B.C. 606, but contains no special note of time.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE EXODUS TO THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM.

§ 240. THE date of the Schism, B. C. 977, lies forty years after the accession of Solomon, 1 Kings xi. 42; these forty years may be *complete* or *current*, or perhaps they may be reckoned from the anointing of Solomon, which took place in the last year of the life of David. Hence it is uncertain whether the accession of Solomon shall be dated B. C. 1017, or B. C. 1016. The same degree of uncertainty must attach to the accession of David, whose reign lasted 40 years and 6 months, 2 Sam. v. 5: the year may be 1057 or 1056. Ascending from this point, we find no intimation in the history of the length of Saul's reign; none, of the length of time during which Samuel and his sons judged Israel between the day of Mizpeh (1 Sam. vii.) and the election of Saul. Before the day of Mizpeh lies a term of 20 years and 7 months, beginning at the Captivity of Shiloh, 1 Sam. vii. 1: and before this, a term of 40 years, during which Eli judged Israel.

Thus the history contained in the First Book of Samuel carries us $40^y + 20^y.7^m$ before the day of Mizpeh, but by what length of time the latter epoch preceded the accession of David, B. C. 1056 or 1057, we have, so far, no means of ascertaining. Consider it at present an unknown quantity (x). In the Book of Judges, we find a sum of just 390 years, included between the first servitude and the end of the Philistine oppression. Beyond this, *i. e.* between the Eisode and the first servitude, we have another unknown quantity (y); for the length of the interval, which certainly was considerable, is nowhere defined. Hence the sum of the terms enumerated in the history, between the year of David's accession and the year of the Exodus is $x + 60^y.7^m + 390^y + y + 40^y$. But S. Paul (Acts xiii.) enumerates between David and the Exodus, the following terms, $40 + 450 + 40$. Here it is remarkable that the middle term is equal to the sum of the

60^y + 390^y of the historical series. If the statement is meant in that sense, *i. e.* if the 450^y noted by S. Paul are composed of the 390^y noted in the Book of Judges, and of the 60^y noted in the First Book of Samuel, then, since the term *x* is manifestly defined by the Apostle as 40 years, it will follow, that the term *y* is altogether omitted in his enumeration. Now I do not affirm that he must necessarily have meant to sketch a *continuous* outline of the times of Israel from Moses to David; we are not competent to determine *a priori* what a Man of God, speaking by the Holy Ghost, *must* have purposed to say. It is sufficient, if the words admit of, though they may not imperatively demand, that interpretation according to which the outline in question is complete and continuous. And such is the case here. He says: καὶ ὡς τεσσαρακονταετῇ χρόνον ἐτροφοφόρησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ καθελὼν ἔθνη ἑπτὰ ἐν γῇ Χαναὰν κατεκληρονόμησεν αὐτοῖς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ὡς ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα¹ ἔδωκεν κριτὰς ἕως Σαμουὴλ τοῦ προφήτου. For such is the true reading of the passage. "During a period of 40 years He carried them as a nurse in the wilderness, and having overthrown seven nations in the land of Canaan, he made them to inherit their land during 450 years: and thereafter gave them judges until Samuel the Prophet." The *compages* of the passage is κατεκλ. αὐτοῖς τ. γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔδωκεν κριτὰς ἕως Σ. τ. προφ., which is an outline of the history. "The forty years ended, He brought them into and settled them in the land, and after that (settlement), gave them judges until Samuel the Prophet." When to this historical, he would add a chronological outline, he might have appended a measure of time to each clause separately, *e. g.* τ. γ. αὐτῶν ὡς ἔτεσι (...), καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἔτεσι (...) ἔδωκε κριτὰς: *i. e.* he might have discriminated the period occupied in the Book of Joshua from that in the Book of Judges. Or, he might specify the whole term at once; and this is what he has done at the end of the former clause; where it reads as if he had said, κατεκληρονόμησεν αὐτοῖς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν (καὶ ἐκληρονόμησαν αὐτήν) ὡς ἔτεσιν νν'. The μετὰ

¹ This is the reading of A. B. C. 15. 18, | soston: Griesbach recommends, Lach-
and others; Copt. Armen. and S. Chry- | mann adopts it.

ταῦτα retains the reference which it had independently of the chronological additament: *i.e.* it means “after the overthrow of the seven nations,”—“after the settlement under Joshua.” In precisely the same manner, the last clause is an historical outline with a chronological measure *superadded*: *κάκειθεν ἠτήσαντο βασιλέα καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Σαοὺλ υἱὸν Κεὶς, ἄνδρα ἐκ φυλῆς Βενιαμὴν, ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα· καὶ μεταστήσας αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν τὸν Δαυεὶδ αὐτοῖς εἰς βασιλέα.* The historical outline is complete in itself; it consists of three terms, 1. a time of training during 40 years in the wilderness; 2. the settlement in the promised land, followed by a time of judges, from the death of Joshua to Samuel; 3. the time from Samuel to David, during which the nation asked and received a king. The first term began with a note of chronology, *Καὶ ὡς τεσσαρακονταετῇ χρόνον*: the other two are complete without any such note of time, but the Apostle saw good to superadd a chronological statement in continuation of that with which the first term began; and this he does, as it were of after-thought, by inserting the terms *ὡς ἔτεσιν νύ* and *ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα*, each *at the end* of the historical term to which they belong. This seems to me a clear and intelligible view of the Apostle’s meaning and intention: and this interpretation is, to say the least, equally probable with any other, *e.g.* with that which represents the Apostle as wholly pretermittting the chronological measure of the interval between the Eisode and the time of the judges, and as deriving his 450 years from the summation of the 390 years contained in the Book of Judges and the 60 years of 1 Samuel. Setting out then with this parity of probability, we have to consider two things. *First*: whether this arrangement be compatible with the details of the history, *i.e.* whether the course of events and order of times contained between Joshua i. and 1 Sam. vii. can be adjusted without violence to a scheme of 450 years? *Secondly*, whether the results involved in this interpretation—the facts of cyclical parallelism noted in the Introduction, and many others which are yet to be described—are not more than sufficient to set the question at rest. Only the former question belongs to this place, and to this we now proceed.

§ 241. On looking into the history for an epoch which may correspond with the Apostle’s *ἕως Σαμουὴλ τοῦ προφήτου*,

one can scarcely doubt that it is to be found at that great crisis of the history which I have designated "the day of Mizpeh." A solemn repentance of the whole nation, testified by a great convocation at Mizpeh, where "they drew water, and poured it out before the LORD, and fasted on that day, and said there, We have sinned against the LORD;" their enemies the Philistines, gathering themselves together to overwhelm them on that day, as the Egyptians did at the Red Sea; Samuel, another Moses, crying unto the LORD; the extraordinary sacrifice of the sucking lamb offered as a holocaust; the LORD, in fulfilment of Hannah's prophecy (ii. 10), "thundering with a great thunder on that day upon the Philistines, and discomfiting them;" the utter defeat; and finally, Samuel taking a stone and setting it up between Mizpeh and Shen, and calling the name of it Eben-Ezer, saying, Hitherto hath the LORD helped us:—all this indicates a momentous crisis, the like of which had not occurred since the passage of Israel through the Red Sea. Moreover it is added, that on this day Samuel began to judge Israel: *v.* 6. "And Samuel judged the children of Israel in Mizpeh," *v.* 15. "And Samuel judged Israel all the days of his life."

§ 242. The history of the Judges ends with a period of 40 years of Philistine oppression, during which Samson judged 20 years: *xiii.* 1. *xv.* 20. But in the First Book of Samuel, we find the Philistines still in the height of their superiority. No *new* invasion is mentioned: the Book of Judges spoke of a dire overthrow which occurred at Samson's death; the Book of Samuel says nothing of this, and represents them as still masters. The Ark goes into captivity, and it is not until 20 years after its return that the power of the Philistines is broken. If these be separate periods, the Philistine servitude must have lasted 60 years at least, or else there were two servitudes separated by an interval of, perhaps, 40 years. Of course this is possible. But now let us observe the numbers. Twenty years of Samson, *Judg.* *xv.* 20, and twenty years after the restoration of the ark and before the prostration of the Philistine host at Mizpeh, *1 Sam.* *vii.* 1, just make the forty years of servitude, *Judg.* *xiii.* 1. In this view, the 40 years of Eli, as they end at the capture of the Ark, must have begun 20 years before the servitude. Also, the Ark was taken about the time

that Samson was in captivity: its restoration coincided, very nearly, with the time of Samson's death. This explains how it was that Israel, for the last twenty years of the forty, was comparatively unmolested. The Philistines were weakened by the dire overthrow "of all their lords" who perished with Samson; they had previously learned by that which befel their Dagon from the presence of the Ark, that "none could stand against these mighty Gods." In this period of comparative quietude the work of reformation began under Samuel, and when at length the nation was ripe for mercy by penitence and prayer, God arose to thunder upon His enemies, and break them in pieces, and exalt the horn of His Anointed.

§ 243. The connexion between Judges and Samuel is of this kind. The former having brought down the narrative to the beginning of the Philistine invasion, xiii. 1, there drops the national history out of sight to relate the personal adventures of Samson, through a term of twenty years. Here the history contained in this book comes to a close, for the remaining chapters form an appendix belonging to a much earlier period. The Book of Samuel, in its opening chapters, goes back to the *origines* of the new order of things now about to commence. It begins with the birth of the "Prophet like unto Moses," who, while "power and might," supernaturally aided in the person of Samson, did what it could for Israel's deliverance, was growing up in silence beside the altar of Shiloh, to be the instrument by which "the Spirit of the Lord of Hosts" would finish His salvation.

§ 244. This adjustment of the disconnected lines of the history, not only does no violence to general probability, but explains the difficulties which otherwise belong to this part of the sacred narrative¹. After this, the whole train of

¹ I have the satisfaction to find that I have been partly anticipated in this view of the chronological connexion between Judges and 1 Sam. Hengstenberg, *Authentic des Pentateuchs*, ii. 23, thus reports, with approbation, the results of a dissertation by Keil in the *Dorpat. Beitr. zu d. theol. Wissensch.* ii. 303 ff. "The Philistine oppression lasted 40 years: but these 40 years extend beyond

the events noted in the Book of Judges. For Samson, with whose death the Book of Judges comes to a close, was but to begin to deliver Israel, xiii. 5; comp. 1 Sam. iii. 3: he judged Israel in the days of the Philistines 20 years, xv. 20. At his death, the power of the Philistines is still unbroken: his exploits were rather tokens that the God of Israel could deliver His people, prophetic intimations

events from the Exode to Samuel easily fits itself to the outline given by St. Paul. For since the interval is 450 years, of which 390 extend from the Mesopotamian servitude to the end of the 40 years of the Philistine servitude, that is, to the day of Mizpeh, there remains a period of 60 years for the interval between the Eisode and the first servitude. Now since this interval includes the time of the settlement under Joshua, of which between 6 and 7 years reach to *chap.* xiv. (comp. *v.* 7. 10. with Num. xiv.), and after this point "a long time," xxiii. 1, till the death of Joshua at the age of 110 years, xxiv. 29, and further, a space of time during which all the elders who outlived Joshua died off, *ib.* 31. Ju. ii. 10, it is plain that a term of 60 years is not too much. But neither is it too little. For even if we suppose Joshua but 30 years old at the Exode, we shall have 80 years from thence to his death, and 20 more from his death to the first servitude.

§ 245. Now, since the ascending reckoning has led us to the year B.C. 1056 or 1057 as the year of David's accession, the day of Mizpeh lies in one of the years 1096, 1097, and the Exodus in the year 1586 or 1587. The symmetry of the general scheme requires the years 1586, 1096, 1056, but independently of this consideration I shall presently be able to allege an historical argument which attests the same thing. We may now examine the details, first, of the period from Samuel to Rehoboam, and then, of the 490 years from the Exodus to Samuel.

of a deliverance *to come*, than themselves the means of the deliverance. In the Book of Samuel we find ourselves just where the Book of Judges left us. In c. iv. the Philistines are warring against Israel, whose distress is aggravated to the uttermost by the taking of the Ark into captivity. *That the Philistine oppression, to which this war belongs, is the same with that in the Book of Judges, admits not of a doubt. Else the first would be without its end, the latter without its beginning.* Now the Philistine oppression in 1 Sam. lasted after that catastrophe 20 years: it terminated in the great victory which the LORD granted to Israel when under the guidance of Samuel it truly turned to

Him, 1 Sam. vii. 14. Hence, of the 40 years of Eli's high-priesthood, the last 20 fall in the Philistine servitude." So far this writer is in agreement with me: but when he proceeds to allot the 20 years of Samson to the *latter* half of the 40, I must altogether dissent from him. He overlooks, in fact, one principal argument for the general view, viz. the equation, 20 years of Samson + 20 years in 1 Sam. = 40 years. He was led to this erroneous application of the period by the wish to curtail the interval between the Exode and the 4th year of Solomon to the measure of 480 years, 1 Kings vi. 1. With the same intention, he makes the Ammonite and Philistine servitudes contemporary.

SECTION I.

FROM THE DAY OF MIZPEH TO REHOBAM.

§ 246. Κάκειθεν ἡγήσαντο βασιλέα, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Σαουλ υἱὸν Κεὶς, ἄνδρα ἐκ φυλῆς Βενιαμὴν, ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ μεταστήσας αὐτὸν ἡγείρεν τὸν Δαυεὶδ αὐτοῖς εἰς βασιλέα. It has been already explained that the chronological term is superadded to the historical sketch, to denote the time, not from the people's demand of a king, but from one crisis to the next, from Samuel to David. It is as though he had said, "And from that time they began again to tempt, as did their fathers, by the space of forty years: and the consummation of their provocation was this, that they asked a king, &c." This obviates the objection, that if Saul reigned 40 years, then the day of Mizpeh must have preceded the accession of David by much more than that length of time, since Samuel judged Israel a long time before the people began to demand a king, 1 Sam. vii. 15. viii. 1 ff. And certainly nothing in the history of Saul countenances the supposition of so long a reign as forty years. His *third* year is mentioned, xiii. 1, and directly after this, his rejection and the anointing of David; from which time to the death of Saul, when David was 30 years old at most, 1 Sam. viii. 4, we get but a fraction of the term which is requisite to make out the supposed period of forty years. Josephus, it is true, gives Saul a reign of 40 years: he might easily mistake the meaning of the tradition: and certainly he has misrepresented it in one point, for he says that Saul reigned 18 years during the life of Samuel, and 22 after his death, *Ant.* vi. 14. 9. At this rate, David was but 8 years old at Samuel's death; yet Samuel was living when David fled from Saul after his victory over Goliath and his marriage with Saul's daughter, 1 Sam. xix. 18. The modern Jewish chronology makes the reign *seven years*. All that can be determined from the history is as follows:

§ 247. When first Saul appears in the history he is described as a young man, 2 Sam. ix. 2. The term which is there used,

יָמָיו, according to Gesenius, always means *juvenis maturæ ætatis sed cælebs*, and such is its meaning, doubtless, in Ruth iii. 10. Judg. xiv. 10. Isai. lxii. 5. Besides these passages it is found only here and 1 Sam. viii. 16. As the word is properly a passive participle, equivalent to *electus* or *selectus*, and as the unmarried young men are generally the flower of a nation, the accessory notion *cælebs* is easily explained, and it may not be necessary to suppose that the word is invariably used in that restricted sense. Hence this description of Saul does not necessarily afford a determination of the question: he may have been at this time single or married: all that can be inferred from the term is, that he was in the prime of life. Certainly, unless his election occurred within two or three years of the crisis at Mizpeh, he could not then be a bachelor. For his *second*, or perhaps even *fourth*, son Ishbosheth (the *Ishui* of 1 Sam. xiv. 49. *Eshbaal* of 1 Chron. viii. 33; ix. 39.) was 40 years old at his accession after Saul's death: not perhaps at Saul's death, but 5 years after it, 2 Sam. ii. 10, 11. That is to say, Ishbosheth was born 5 years after the victory of Mizpeh: and Jonathan, perhaps also the other two brothers, were older than he. Hence if the demand for a king was made five, ten, or fifteen years after the day of Mizpeh, Saul might still be called a *bakhur*, or "choice man," but a bachelor he was not, unless these two events came so near together as would make the notes of time in 1 Sam. vii—viii. 4. inexplicable. Between these two events the interval can scarcely have been less than 15 or 20 years. If it was 20 years, at the end of that period Saul may have been still a young man, of not much more than 30 years, and yet have a son (Jonathan) almost grown up to manhood. And that such was the fact, is almost a necessary inference from the history. For, in the 3rd year of Saul's reign, 1 Sam. xiii. 2, we find Jonathan already a man of war and a captain of the host. It is true, this third year is dated, not from Saul's election but from his reappointment, xi. 14. But nothing in the history warrants the supposition, that the interval between the election and the reappointment lasted more than a very short time, a year or two at most.

§ 248. Hence all that can be determined from these data the history may be summed up thus:—

1. Saul's election could not occur earlier than ~~ten~~ years (as an extreme supposition) after the victory at Mizpah: i. e. not earlier than 1086 B. C.

2. As Ishbosheth was born 1091 B. C. and therefore Jonathan in 1092 B. C. at latest, and as Saul could not be less than 15 years old at the birth of his eldest son, therefore Saul was born 1107 B. C. at latest. But after the age of 50 (taking again an extreme supposition) Saul could no longer be called a נָעַר, therefore the latest possible date of Saul's election is $1107 - 50 = 1057$ B. C. As this is the year before Saul's death, and as he unquestionably reigned four years at least, the extreme possible limit becomes 1060 B. C. That is to say, Saul's election can by no possibility be placed earlier than 1086, nor later than 1060 B. C.

§ 249. Here the statement respecting David's age is of some use. David was 30 years old, either at Saul's death, (1056 B. C., or seven years after, 2 Sam. v. 4, for it is doubtful which is meant. At all events David was 30 in 1049 B. C. at latest, therefore 20 in 1059 at latest. But when David was anointed by Samuel, and even when he encountered Goliath, he was yet a נָעַר, na'ar, or "young man under 20 years of age," for that seems to be the constant meaning of the word. Therefore the latest possible date of the encounter with Goliath is 1060 B. C. And as this occurred certainly *after* the 4th year of Saul, the latest possible date of Saul's accession becomes 1063 B. C. In other words, Saul's actual reign lasted *seven years at least*.

Again, Samuel was born in one of the years of Eli's high-priesthood, that is, in one of the 40 years preceding 1117 B. C. the year of the Ark's captivity, (20^{y.} 7^{m.} before 1096 B. C.) He was yet a child when he was made the Lord's messenger to Eli, who at that time was "very old," ii. 22. This, and the general tenor of the narrative, would seem to imply that the message was given towards the close of Eli's life, not long before the captivity of the Ark. At most, Samuel may have been 20 years old at the time of the captivity. But he was "old" when he made his sons judges over Israel, viii. 1, whose ill government was the occasion of the demand for a king. If he was 20 in 1117, he was 70 in 1067. Hence this line of evidence leads to nearly the same result as the former.

The sacerdotal succession, Eli, (Phinehas), Ahitub, Ahiah = Ahimelech, Abiathar, furnishes no exact limit to our question, for the age of Ahitub at the death of Phinehas is not known. We find Ahiah, the grandson of Phinehas, high-priest in the third year of Saul, and this he may have been in the course of nature, so early as 1080, for Ahitub may have been 30, and have had a son 10 years old at the death of Phinehas in 1117 B. C.—Our deduction however, from the ages of Samuel and David, seems to warrant our assigning the beginning of Saul's reign to one of the years between 1070 and 1063 B. C.: the Jewish reckoning (of seven years' reign) is just possible, within the limits above determined, but not in itself improbable: for the anointing of David occurred very soon after the 3rd year of Saul, and after this, the course of events is evidently rapid.

§ 250.

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1066 B. C. | Probably at Passover (or Pentecost), the day of the deliverance at Mizpeh. Samuel begins to judge Israel. |
| 1091 — | Ishbosheth born: Jonathan, older. |
| 1086 — 1079. | David born in one of these years. |
| 1070 — 1063. | In one of these years, Saul, previously anointed and elected, then rejected, is, after his victory over the Ammonites (xi), solemnly re-elected. The time was about Pentecost, xii. 17. |
| 3rd of Saul. | War against the Philistines, xiii—xv. |
| 4th ? | Saul sent against Amalek: is proved, and being found wanting, is rejected. |
| ..... | David is anointed by Samuel at Bethlehem: is sent for to be minstrel to Saul: xvi. |
| ..... | (After David's return home) the Philistines come out to war at Shochoh: David slays Goliath, xvii. |
| before 1066 — 1069 B. C. | |
| ..... | David at Saul's court, hated by Saul: he comes to Samuel: xviii, xix, finally quits the court of Saul, and goes to the priest Ahimelech at Nob: the same day to Achish at Gath, xx, xxi: thence to the cave at Adullam, where he gathers a company, xxii. 1, 2 ^s : pursued by Saul, who slays Ahimelech and the priests; Abiathar escapes to David: D. defeats the Philistines at Keilah (about harvest): flees to Ziph: thence to |

¹ At v. 18 he is described as "a mighty valiant man and a man of war:" i. e. one who had given proof of his prowess, and

promised to be such.

² If 1 Chron. xii. 18 belongs to this conjuncture, the time was the first month.

- Engedi, xxiii: spares Saul's life, who takes an oath of him and departs, xxiv.
- Samuel dies. David with Nabal, at the time of sheep-shearing. Saul again pursuing David is a second time spared by him, and departs, xxv. David flees to Achish at Gath (16 months before the death of Saul).
- 1058, Winter. David at Ziklag all this year.
- 1057 B. C. The Philistines make war. Saul at Endor: is defeated on the following day, and slays himself. David reigns over Judah in Hebron, 7 years 6 months, 2 Sam. ii. 11.
- 1056, Spring. Abner makes Ishbosheth, Saul's son, king over Israel: he reigns two years, *ib.* 10¹, then is assassinated, iv. 6.
1051. David anointed king of all the tribes, in Hebron: takes Jerusalem: smites the Philistines, v: brings the ark from Kirjath-jearim, vi. 1 Chron. xiii.
- 1049, Autumn. David's victories, viii.

251. The time of the war with Ammon, and of David's sin with Bathsheba, may be defined thus:—(1) Mephibosheth, who was 5 years old in 1056 B. C., 2 Sam. iv. 4, had "a young son" before the Ammonite war, 2 Sam. ix. 12; which therefore must lie *after* 1046 B. C. (2) Solomon at his accession was old enough to be a father, (for Rehoboam was 41¹ old at the death of Solomon, who reigned 40 years, 1 Kings xiv. 21); yet still so young, that he speaks of himself as "a little child," 1 Kings iii. 7. Perhaps he was 15 or 16 years old, surely not more than 20. Hence the birth of Solomon lies not before 1036 B. C. (1016 + 20) and not later than 1032 (1016 + 16). Both indications are consistent.

The time of Absalom's rebellion must lie at least 9 years after the birth of Solomon. After Amnon's sin, Absalom waited two years before he took vengeance, xiii. 23; three years after this he spent in voluntary exile, *ib.* 38, and after his return, four years passed while he was stealing away the hearts of the people². Hence the time of the rebellion lies

¹ This seems the most obvious way of understanding the passage; it may be, however, that the two clauses following are parenthetical, and so the passage reads thus: "and reigned two years, (but the house of Judah followed David, and the time that David was king in Hebron over the house of Judah was 7 years

6 months) and (then) Abner, &c.

² For so we must read in 2 Sam. vii. 7, where the Hebrew has 40: Josephus has preserved the true reading, four years. If 40 be the true reading, the number can only be referred to the last year of the reign of David: which is perhaps just possible, but not at all probable.

after 1036-9 = 1027 B.C. *i. e.* in one of the last ten years of David's reign.

After the rebellion, the history notes a period of about four] years: three years of the famine, xxi; 9 months and 20 days of the numbering of the people, xxiv, 8.

§ 252.

1036-1032 B.C. In one of these years Solomon is born.

after 1027 Absalom's rebellion.

The famine, three years.

The numbering of the people.

David's preparation for the Temple, 1 Chron. xxii.

1018-7 Adonijah's rebellion. Solomon is anointed and proclaimed king.

1016 (Autumn) David dies.

1013, 1 Nisan. 4th year of Solomon begins.

2 Zif. (20 Apr.) Solomon began to build "in the month Zif, which is the 2nd month," 2 Kings vi. 1, "in the 2nd day of the 2nd month, 2 Chron. iii. 2.

1006, 1 Nisan. 11th year of Solomon begins.

Tabernacles. "At the feast in the month Ethanim, which is the 7th month," the Temple is dedicated: the feast lasted 14 days in all; *i. e.* the feast of Tabernacles was followed by the feast of Dedication, 7 days more, 2 Kings viii. 2. 65, 66: hence the Temple was finished, *i. e.* completed and dedicated on the 1st of the month Bul, which is the 8th month, vi. 38.

SECTION II.

FROM THE EXODUS TO THE DEATH OF MOSES.

§ 253. SINCE Moses was 80 years old when he stood before Pharaoh, and 120 at his death, in the 12th month of the 40th year from the Exode, it follows that the communications with Pharaoh and the judgments in Egypt occupied but a short space of time : a few weeks at most.

1. The river turned into blood, vii. 17.
2. *After seven days*, v. 25, Plague of frogs, viii. 1.
3. *Respite*, v. 15. Plague of lice, 16.
4. Plague of flies, 21.
5. Murrain on the cattle, ix. 3.
6. Boil on man and beast, v. 8.
7. Hail, v. 18: "the barley was now in the ear, and the flax was balled," 31.
8. Locusts, x. 4.
9. Darkness, *three days*, 22.
10. Smiting of the first-born, (night of 14-15 Nisan). Each plague seems to have ensued on the morrow after it was threatened; and the threat was made as soon as it was apparent that Pharaoh would not let the people go.

§ 254. By calculation, the 14th Nisan in B. C. 1586 was Friday 10 April. That night, Israel went out of Egypt. From Rameses to Succoth, thence to Etham, thence to Pihahiroth, where they crossed through the Red Sea¹, then 3 days

¹ The LXX, Gen. xli. 28, identify Rameses or Raameses with Heroopolis, the situation of which place (since the French expedition in Egypt) is well known (Hengstenberg, *die Bücher Mose's und Aegypten*, p. 50 ff.): i. e. about 45 Roman miles N.W. of Suez. The situation of Etham must be sought at the head of the gulph: this is evident (against Sicard and v. Raumer, *Zug der Israeliten*, p. 12) from its description, Ex. xiii. 20. Numb. xxxiii. 6, "which

is at the edge of the wilderness." Its name also, according to Jablonsky, means *terminus maris*. Besides, the wilderness into which the Israelites entered on crossing the sea is called the wilderness of Etham, Numb. xxxiii. 8.—Arrived then at the head of the gulph, at the close of the second day's march, they had but to turn southward on the east side of the sea, and they were safe. But here they received command to do what must have seemed the extreme of infatuation—

journey in the wilderness to Marah, thence to Elim where they encamped, and, it would seem, rested from their wandering. If each of the stages before the arrival at Pihahiroth occupied a day, the passage of the Red Sea should be assigned to the morning of Tuesday 14 April: the arrival at Marah to the evening of Thursday 16 April, and at Elim to Friday evening 17th April.

§ 255. They reach their station in the wilderness of Sin on the 15th of the 2nd month, which (in the Hebrew reckoning) began on the evening of Saturday 9th May. Here manna is given six days successively (xvi. 5.) until the morning of the seventh day from their arrival, the Sabbath, and the first Sabbath on record. With this agrees our calculation: manna fell on the morning of Sunday 10 May, and every morning till *Saturday* 16 May.

§ 256. The next date on record is that of the arrival at the wilderness of Sinai, "in the 3rd month, the same day," i.e. the new-moon of the month, Tuesday 26th May. Within a few days (on the 3rd day after Moses was called up into the mount, xix. 16,) the law was delivered. Now the Jews have always assumed the day of the delivery of the law to have been the first Pentecost, i.e. the 6th day of the 3rd month. This would be Sunday the 31st of May.

After this ensues the period of 40 days during which Moses was in the mount: at the end of which he descends and breaks the tables of stone which were in his hands. The date is the 17th of the 4th month = Friday 10th July, or, possible, *Saturday* 11 July. ("Aaron made proclamation and said, *to-morrow* is a feast unto the LORD," xxxii. 5.)—The

to turn southward on the west side of the gulph. This was expressly designed for the purpose of drawing Pharaoh after them, xiv. 2, 3.—Pi-hahiroth is described as "between Migdol and the sea:" which is intended, as Hengstenberg remarks, not as a geographical definition, for Migdol = Magdolum is but 12 miles from Pelusium, but to call attention to the danger which they incurred by this seemingly foolish movement. Migdol was the frontier town, and doubtless strongly garrisoned. Thus they were shut in between

the sea and the troops which would march down from Migdol.—The place of the passage is not to be sought at any point of the existing gulph, but higher up, in the ancient bed of the Red Sea; which, at no very remote period, extended 90,000 paces with an average breadth of 18,000 — 22,000 paces, northward, nearly to the ruins of the Serapeum: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 2, 232 ff. At the head of this ancient gulph was Etham; Pi-hahiroth somewhere on its Egyptian side.

second period of 40 days would therefore expire 19 or 20 August.

§ 257. The next date is that of the setting up of the Tabernacle, on the 1st day of the new year: Exod. xl. 1: Tuesday 16 March 1585. The consecration of Aaron and his sons lasted seven days after the descent of the Glory of the Lord, Exod. xl. 34. Lev. viii. 33. ix. 1. After this, Nadab and Abihu offering "strange fire" were slain, *before the Passover*; comp. Lev. x. 4. Num. ix. 6, and Mr. Blunt's *Veracity of the Five Books of Moses*, p. 113 ff.

§ 258. Same year, 2nd month 1st day = Wednesday 14 April, the numbering of the people, Num. i. 1: 14th day, the deutero-pascha appointed, ix. 1: 20th day, "the Cloud was taken up, and the children of Israel took their journey out of the wilderness of Sinai," Num. x. 11: this would be Monday 3 May, or perhaps Sunday 2 May. The Cloud was not again taken up until the arrival in the wilderness of Paran, x. 12. *i.e.* in Kadesh, xiii. 26, which was "eleven days' journey from Horeb by the way of mount Seir," Deut. i. 2. But there was a delay of some few days at Kibroth, xi. 32, and of seven days in Hazeroth, xii. 15: so that, with the allowance for Sabbaths, the arrival at Kadesh cannot be placed much earlier than the end of May. After this we have the 40 days of the spies, xiii. 25, which will terminate towards the beginning of the 5th month ("it was the time of the first ripe grapes," xiii. 20). The Jewish tradition therefore cannot be far wrong in placing the anniversary of the sentence of wandering at the 10th of the 5th month.

§ 259. After this, with the exception of the history of Korah's rebellion, the history presents a blank for nearly 38 years. That Korah's sedition occurred toward the close of this term seems to be implied in Num. xx. 3, where the death of the rebels "before the Lord" is alluded to as something of recent occurrence. In the first month of the 40th year (16 March-14 April, B.C. 1547) the host, after a long circuit, returns to the wilderness of Zin and encamps in Kadesh, Num. xx. 1. Aaron dies on the 1st day of the 5th month, xxxiii. 38; xx. 28, 29, and the whole month was spent in mourning for him: the arrival in the valley of Zered (east of the Dead Sea) xxi. 12, took place 38 years after the departure from Kadesh,

Deut. ii. 14: perhaps in the 7th or 8th month.—On the 1st of the 11th month, Moses begins the Deuteronomy: i. 3. At the end of this month, or the beginning of the 12th, he dies, and is mourned 30 days, xxxiv. 8.

§ 260. Here it may not be amiss to clear up the difficulties with respect to the route of the Israelites described in the summary Num. xxxiii, and in Deuteronomy, compared with the direct history in Exodus and Numbers. For this arrangement I am indebted to Hengstenberg, *Authentic des Pentateuchs*, ii. 427. ff.

Deut. x. 6, 7. "And the children of Israel took their journey from *Beeroth* (wells) of the children (*B'ney*) of *Jaakan* to *Mosera*: there Aaron died, and there he was buried; and Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his stead: and thence they journeyed unto *Gudgodah*, and from *Gudgodah* to *Jotbath*, a land of rivers of waters¹."

Num. xx. 22. "And the children of Israel journeyed from *Kadesh* and came unto *mount Hor*. And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron in *mount Hor*, by the coast of the land of Edom, saying: Aaron shall be gathered unto his people &c.... And they went up into *mount Hor*, and Aaron died there in the top of the mount."

Num. xxxiii. 30. "And they departed from Hashmonah and encamped at *Moseroth*;...from *Moseroth*...in *B'ney-Jaakan*;...from B. J. at *Hor-Hagidgad* [*Gudgodah*];...from H. H....in *Jotbathah*;...from J. at *Ebronah*;...from Eb....at *Ezion-gaber*;...from Ez....in the wilderness of Zin which is *Kadesh*;...from *Kadesh*...in *mount Hor* on the edge of the land of Edom. And Aaron the priest went up into *mount Hor*, and died there."

Now first, whereas in Deut. Aaron is said to have died in *Mosera*, in Numbers on *mount Hor*, these accounts are reconciled by supposing that *Mosera* was the name of a particular station in the vicinity of *mount Hor*. And the supposition is strength-

¹ These two verses are interposed in the midst of a history of the giving of the Law at Sinai, only by way of shewing how, where, and when the sentence pronounced against Aaron on occasion of his trespass in the matter of the golden calf, 39 years before, was fulfilled. In the

following verses, "at that time the Lord separated the tribe of Levi, &c." Moses returns to his subject after the parenthesis. "That time" = the time of Aaron's trespass, or, when Moses laid up the Tables in the ark, v. 5.

ened by the fact, that *Jaakan* or *Akan*, Gen. xxxvi. 27. 1 Chr. i. 42, was a descendant of *Seir the Horite*: the territory named after his children (*B'ney-Jaakan*) may naturally, therefore, be sought in the vicinity of Mount Hor.

But secondly, all these accounts will be completely reconciled by supposing that the place which *after and in consequence of* the judgment in the matter of the spies was called *Kadesh*, because there the Lord sanctified Himself upon the children of Israel, lay in the territory of the B'ney-Jaakan, in the wilderness of Zin or Paran.

Now to this place the Israelites twice journeyed: the first time from Sinai in the second year: the second time, after nearly 38 years, in the 1st month of the 40th year. The list of stations in Num. xxxiii. is so framed as to name no station *a second time*. The first arrival at Kadesh is intended at v. 31. "they departed from Moseroth and pitched in Bney-Jaakan." Then was the sentence of wandering; and at v. 32 begins the route towards the Red Sea: v. 32—36 contain the whole of the information respecting the journeys of these 37 or 38 years. At v. 36 begins the route on the return northwards from the Red Sea to Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin = B'ney-Jaakan, at the end of the 39th year: but none of the stations, of which from Ezion-Gaber to Kadesh there must have been a good many, are mentioned: because, namely, the route had been previously related v. 32—35, and 30, 31. In like manner, between Kadesh and Punon only two stations are recounted in this list, though there must have been many more, for Punon, being on the south-east of the Dead Sea, was distant from Kadesh, on this route of the Israelites, by twice the distance from Kadesh to Ezion-gaber: the intermediate stations are omitted, chiefly because they had been recited before. It is only to be further remarked, that in the short narrative, Deut. x., Moses speaks of the route *from Kadesh to Ezion-gaber in the 40th year*: in Num. xxxiii. 30, 31, of the route *from Sinai to Kadesh*, and 32—35, *from Kadesh to Ezion-gaber*, both in the 2nd year.

1. *Route from Egypt to Sinai.*

| <i>Numbers xxxiii.</i> | <i>Exodus.</i> |
|--|--|
| Rameses. | ... xii. 37. |
| Succoth. | ib. |
| Etham. | xiii. 20. |
| Pi-Hahiroth. | xiv. 2. |
| Three days in the wilderness of Etham. | Three days in the wilderness of Sur, xv. 22. |
| Marah. | ib. 8. |
| Elim. | ib. 9. |
| Red Sea. | |
| Wilderness of Sin. | xvi. 1. (2nd month, 15th day). |
| Dophka. | |
| Abnah. | |
| Rephidim. | xvii. 1. |
| Sinai. | xix. 1. (3rd month). |

2. *Route from Sinai to B'ney-Jaakan (Kadesh).*

| <i>Numbers xxxiii.</i> | <i>Numbers x. ff. Deut.</i> |
|---|--|
| Kibroth Hattaavah. | Departure from Sinai, 2nd year, 2nd month, 20th day, Numb. x. 11. |
| Hazereth. | Numb. x. 12. xi. 3. 34. Deut. ix. 22. |
| Rithma, Rimon Parez, Libna, Rissa, Kehelatha, Mount Sapher, Hara- | Numb. xi. 35. |
| dah, Makheloth, Tahath, Tarah, Mithcah, Hashmonah, Moseroth, | Into the wilderness of Paran, in which is Kadesh, Numb. xiii. 1. 27. On the way to Mount Seir, to Kadesh Barnea, Deut. i. 2. 19. |
| B'ney-Jaakan (afterwards, Kadesh). | |

3. *Route from Kadesh after the sentence of wandering.*

| |
|--|
| <i>Numbers xxxiii.</i> |
| B'ney-Jaakan (2nd year, Autumn). |
| Hor Hagidgad (Gudgodah). |
| Jotbathah. |
| Ebronah. |
| Ezion-gaber (on the sinus Elaniticus). And thence back again by many stations not enumerated because already mentioned on Route 2. |
| B'ney-Jaakan. (40th year, 1st month). |

4. *Route from Kadesh to the Jordan, 40th year.**Numbers xxxiii.*

B'ney-Jaakan = Kadesh.

Mosera, by Mount Hor. Aaron dies.

Gudgodah.

Jotbath... Deut. x.

Southward to Ezion-gaber, Numb.

xiv. 25.

(Northward from Ezion-gaber, on
east of Edom).

Zalmonah, Punon.

Oboth.

Numb. xxi. 10.

Ije-Abarim.

*ib.*Dibon-Gad, Almon-Diblathaim,
Mountains of Abarim.Valley of Zered, xxi. 12: cross Ar-
non, *ib.* Beer, Mattanah, Nahaliel,
Bamoth, Pisgah, Numb. xxi.

Plains of Moab.

Plains of Moab.

SECTION III.

TIMES OF JOSHUA AND THE JUDGES.

§ 261. IT was on the 10th day of the first month that Israel passed through Jordan, Joshua iv. 19. The day was 13 or 14 April, 1546, precisely 40 tropical years from the day of the passage through the Red Sea. After the circumcision of the congregation, the Passover (which had not been kept since the 2nd year, 1585), was celebrated in its season, Sunday, 18 April; and on the following day, on which the first-fruits of harvest were dedicated, the manna ceased, and Israel ate of the old and new fruits of the land, v. 11.

Immediately after the Passover, the siege of Jericho would begin: it was finished in seven days, *chap.* vi. The war with Ai would occupy but a few days, vii. viii. The convocation on Mount Ebal, in which Joshua read the whole law "before all the congregation of Israel, with the women, and the little ones, and the strangers that were conversant among them," viii. 30—35, would probably take place at the Pentecost.

§ 262. After this, the war of occupation begins: its history extends from *chap.* ix. to xi. "All the kings" of Palestine "gathered themselves together with one accord." Gibeon, however, by craft obtained a league. Then, five kings of the south form a confederacy against Gibeon, and are miraculously defeated, x. 1—14, taken and killed, *ib.* 16—27, and the host passes on victoriously from city to city of the south; Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, Debir—all share the same fate; of each it is said, "Joshua, and all Israel with him, fought against it, and took it, and the king thereof, and all the cities thereof; and they smote them with the edge of the sword, and utterly destroyed all the souls that were therein; he left none remaining." In these expeditions the Israelites became masters of the whole of the south. "So Joshua smote all the country of the hills, and of the south, and of the vale, and of the springs, and all their kings; he left none remaining, but utterly destroyed all that breathed, as the Lord God of Israel commanded. And Joshua smote them from Kadesh-barnea even unto Gaza,

and all the country of Goshen even unto Gibeon." No great length of time was occupied in this series of conquests, for it is added: "And all these kings and their land did Joshua take *at one time*, because the Lord God of Israel fought for Israel. And Joshua returned and all Israel with him, unto the camp to Gilgal." Comp. v. 15. There can be little doubt, then, that all this belongs to the first year, 1546 B. C.

§ 263. To the following year we must refer the northern expedition, xi. 1—14. The confederated kings of the north raised a vast army at the lake Merom, and were there delivered into the hand of Joshua. Then he went from city to city, and "all the cities of these kings he went and smote with the edge of the sword, and utterly destroyed them."

In these two wars the subjugation of the land was completed. "So Joshua took all that land, the hills and the south country, and all the land of Goshen [all this, in the former expedition, x. 41, and now in this war he took] the valley and the plain and the highlands of Israel and the valley of the same: [so that the conquests now extended] even from the Mount Halak that goeth to Seir, even unto Baalgad in the valley of Lebanon, under Mount Hermon: and all their kings he took, and smote them and slew them." But these northern conquests were not so soon completed as those of the south; for, it is added, "A long time did Joshua make war upon all these kings, יָמִים רַבִּים, v. 18. This war being brought to an end, it yet remained to dispossess the gigantic highlanders, the Anakim, of their strong-holds in the mountains: against these, therefore, the war is now directed. "At that time came Joshua, and cut off the Anakims from the mountains, from *Hebron, Debir*, Anab, and all the mountains of Israel: Joshua destroyed them utterly with their cities: there was none of the Anakims left in the land of the children of Israel: only in Gaza, in Gath, and in Ashdod, there remained." And thus was the conquest of the land completed in five expeditions:—1. Jericho; 2. Ai; 3. The kings of the south; 4. Those of the north; 5. The Anakim in the southern and northern highlands. "So Joshua took the whole land, and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel according to their divisions by their tribes; and the land rested from war." So ended the wars of Joshua.

§ 264. Now the time of the expedition against the Anakim is limited by an incidental notice which occurs afterwards. In the history of the partition of lands, which begins at xiv. 1, when the lot of Judah is about to be described (xv. 1—12), it is premised that a certain portion was assigned to the house of Caleb. "Then the children of Judah came unto Joshua in Gilgal; and Caleb, the son of Jephunneh the Kenezite, said unto him, Thou knowest the thing that the Lord said unto Moses, the man of God, concerning me and thee in Kadesh-barnea. Forty years old was I when Moses the servant of the Lord sent me from Kadesh-barnea to spy out the land; and I brought him word again as it was in mine heart. And now, behold, the Lord hath kept me alive, as he said, these forty and five years, even since the Lord spake this word unto Moses, while Israel wandered in the wilderness: and now, lo, I am this day fourscore and five years old. Now therefore give me this mountain, whereof the Lord spake in that day; for thou heardest in that day how the Anakims were there, and that the cities were great and fenced; if so be the Lord will be with me, then I shall be able to drive them out, as the Lord said. And Joshua blessed him, and gave unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh Hebron for an inheritance. And the land had rest from war." The time of this incident is the 47th year from the Exode, 1540 B.C. And it must have preceded xi. 21, for *there* the Anakim are utterly exterminated from the land, from *Hebron* and *Debir* by name. *Here* Caleb speaks of them as being still in those parts; and in xv. 13 we have the story how "he drove out from Hebron the three sons of Anak, Sheshai and Ahiman and Talmi, the children of Anak, and he went up thence to the inhabitants of Debir." Hence it seems, that at the time when the northern conquests were completed, *chap.* xi, and now the war was to be turned against the Anakim, Caleb and the house of Judah undertook the expulsion of these giants from the southern highlands, while Joshua expelled them from the highlands of Israel, xi. 21. Here then is no inconsistency. Nor is there any contradiction between x. 36—39, where Hebron and Debir were described as taken and utterly destroyed, and this history of Caleb's expeditions, xv. 13 ff. On the contrary, the very

wording of this history marks the consistency of both narratives. "Caleb drove *thence* the sons of Anak, and he went up thence to *the inhabitants of Debir*:" and in the parallel place of Judges i. 9; "The children of Israel went down to fight against the Canaanites which dwelt in the mountains . . . and Judah went against *the Canaanites that dwelt in Hebron* . . . and from thence he went *against the inhabitants of Debir*." Both cities were taken and destroyed in the first year, that is, six years previously to Caleb's expedition; during which interval, while Israel was engaged in the northern wars, the remains of the three Anakite tribes, Sheshai, Ahiman and Talmi, had fortified themselves in their old localities. What is said at x. 40, "he left none remaining, but utterly destroyed all that breathed," must not be urged literally: it describes the spirit of stern obedience which characterized the wars of Joshua; he made no compromise with the accursed, so that if any escaped, it was through no slackness or defect of obedience on his part: herein he set an example to the tribes, which, when they entered upon their inheritances, they did not follow.

§ 265. The war for the extermination of the Anakim, of which Caleb's expedition forms part, began B. C. 1540, the 47th year of the Exode. How long it lasted is not mentioned; but, this ended, "the land rested from war," xi. 23, and xiv. 15, and it only remained that the tribes should receive their several inheritances and take possession of them. And "now Joshua was old and stricken in years," xiii. 11. At the time of the delivery of the Law, Exodus xxxiii. 11, he is called נָעָר, *na'ar*, which E. V. renders "a young man" wrongly; for, like *παῖς*, it there means *servant*; Gesen, s. v. If we suppose him of the same age as Caleb, he would now be past the age of 85, which Caleb himself describes as a time of life so advanced that his own unimpaired vigour at that age was very remarkable. Therefore, though Joshua lived to the age of 110, there is no need to suppose a considerable interval between the time of xi. 21, xiv. 13, and that of xiii. 1; which, in fact, is in no respect likely, for the war upon the Anakim could not occupy many years; and that being ended, the partition of lands and dismissal of the transjordanic tribes would no longer be delayed. Hence I refer the partition to the year 1539 B. C. Its history

is given in *chap.* xiii—xix. in such manner as to serve as a lasting document of the possessions of the tribes. Hence, although the $2\frac{1}{2}$ transjordanic tribes had received their inheritance from Moses himself, the record is repeated and amplified on this occasion, *chap.* xiii. Joshua is commanded to "divide the land for an inheritance to the nine tribes and the half tribe of Manasseh," xiii. 7. Accordingly, "Eleazar the priest, and Joshua, son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the children of Israel," distributed it by lot, xiv. 1, and xix. 51. And first we have the account of the inheritance of Judah, then of the house of Joseph, that is, the tribe of Ephraim and the other half of Manasseh. After this, it is related, "And the whole congregation of the children of Israel assembled together at Shiloh, and set up the tabernacle of the congregation there. *And the land was subdued before them.* And there remained among the children of Israel seven tribes, which had not yet received their inheritance. And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, How long are ye slack to go to possess the land?" Then it is surveyed and mapped out in seven portions, which are given by lot. It appears, then, that the convocation at Shiloh, held immediately after the conquest of the land, lies after the settlement of the tribes of Judah and Joseph. Indeed, we have seen that Judah, at least, took possession *before* the time of xiii. 1, 7, xiv. 1; and that Joseph entered upon possession at the same time, may be inferred from the circumstance that this tribe, together with Judah, is distinguished from the other tribes. Hence, xiv. 1 and xix. 51 will relate to one and the same convocation at Shiloh, in which Eleazar and Joshua and the princes first *defined* the borders of the territory which was *already* occupied by the houses of Judah and Joseph, and then allotted the unoccupied land to the other seven tribes.

§ 266. The partition of lands being completed, and the cities of refuge and cities of the Levites being separated, xx. xxi., Joshua dismissed the $2\frac{1}{2}$ tribes to their settlements beyond Jordan, xxii. 1—9. As there is no reason why they should be detained from their homes when the war of occupation was at an end, it seems to follow, from this circumstance also, that the convocation at Shiloh took place immediately on the conclusion of the war, *i. e.* that xi. 23 and xviii. 1 are imme-

diately continuous in the order of time; which indeed is intimated in the latter passage, in the words, "And the land was subdued before them." Thus the time of xiii—xxii. lies in the year 1539 B. C., and the tribes were settled in the Promised Land at the end of seven years from the Eisode. Then ensues a long interval, more than 20 years, for Joshua could not be more than 80 at the Eisode; and here we are arrived at the time of his death, at the age of 110 years, xxiv. 29. With this agrees the statement in xxiii. 1. "Now it came to pass a long time after that the Lord had given rest unto Israel from all their enemies round about, &c." It should be remarked that though *chap.* xxiii. and xxiv. belong to the same period, perhaps the last year of Joshua's life, the *place* of assembly is not the same. The convocation of *chap.* xxiii. was probably held in Shiloh, at the Tabernacle; whereas, that of *chap.* xxiv. is expressly said to have been assembled in Shechem. It has been inferred from *v.* 1, "they presented themselves before God," and *v.* 26, "the sanctuary of the Lord," that the Tabernacle must have been transferred from Shiloh to Shechem. (The LXX. felt the difficulty, and evaded it by substituting Σηλώ for Shechem). But the expression, "to present oneself before God," does not necessarily relate to a visible sanctuary, but denotes only the religious character of the action spoken of: Hengstenberg, *Pentat.* 2. 43. And the *שִׁימָה* was in fact no other than the space around that famous oak in Shechem, Gen. xii. 6, 7; xxxv. 4. The spot was chosen by Joshua, with a particular reference to the act of Jacob described in the latter passage. As "Jacob said to all his household, Put away from you the strange gods which are in the midst of you, and cleanse yourselves and change your clothes: and they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods, and Jacob buried them under the oak which is in Shechem;" so Joshua said, "Now, therefore, put away the strange gods which are among you . . . so Joshua made a covenant with the people that day . . . and Joshua took a great stone and set it up there under the oak which was by the sanctuary of the Lord."—(Hengstenberg, *ib.* 14 ff).

§ 267. Although the book of Judges opens with the words, "after the death of Joshua," it is certain that most of the contents of the first chapter belong to the period contained in the book of Joshua. For we have ascertained that

Caleb's expedition belongs to the seventh year of the Eisode, 1540 B.C.; and this is here placed (v. 10—15. 20) *after* the consultation, v. 1, which was followed by the victory in Bezek, and this by the capture of Jerusalem (for there is no reason why *וַיִּלָּחֶם* should be rendered as in E. V. "they *had* fought"), "and *afterwards* the children of Judah went down to fight against the Canaanites that dwelt in the highlands," &c. especially against the Anakim in Hebron. All this being obviously continuous, the whole series belongs to the time above mentioned. Hence, the opening words *וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי מוֹת יְהוֹשֻׁעַ* "And it was after the death of Joshua," must be understood as belonging to the ensuing history as a whole; as an intimation that the history about to be delivered lies after the time of Joshua's death. Now the object of the history is, to shew how Israel again and again apostatized, was chastised, repented, and was restored. It is premised that these apostasies sprung all from one source,—the Canaanites and their idolatries were not exterminated, as the Lord had commanded by Moses. The book of Joshua contained, as we have seen, the history of Joshua's wars, but it gave very little information concerning the actual occupation of the land by the several tribes. Accordingly, the writer of the Book of Judges, before he enters upon the direct subject of his history, supplies this information, for the purpose of shewing how among the several tribes there still remained some of the original inhabitants of the land; on which account the whole nation was awfully rebuked and threatened by the Angel of the Lord. This is the subject of *chap.* i. and ii. 1—5, which form the *Introduction* to the history. At ii. 6, the narrator takes up the thread of the story where it was dropped at Joshua xxiv. 28—31. And first he gives in ii. 6—iii. 6, a general outline of the period which is about to be related in detail.

Having explained the relation in which the one history stands to the other, we may now arrange the chronology in a tabular form.

§ 268.

- B.C. 1546. 10 Nisan, 13-14 April, passage of the Jordan: circumcision at Gilgal, passover 14 Nisan, 17-18 Apr. siege of Jericho, 7 days: war with Ai: convocation on Mount Ebal, perhaps at Pen-

tecost. Peace with Gibeon: confederacy of the five kings of the south; their defeat: after which, in one campaign, Mak-kedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, Debir, are taken and destroyed: thus the south is conquered.

1545. Jabin of Hazor and the other kings of the north are defeated
| in a battle at Merom. The north is conquered. This war
to lasted a long time.
1540. In 1540, after the return to Gilgal, the separate wars begin,
viz. those in which the tribes were to take possession and
exterminate the remainder of the Canaanites, especially the
Anakim. "They consulted the LORD, saying, Who shall go
up for us first against the Canaanites, to fight against them?
And the LORD said, Judah shall go up first." Judg. i. 1, 2. Caleb
claims Hebron, Josh. xiv. 13. The battle in Bezek, Judg. i. 4-7.
Jerusalem is taken and burnt, v. 8: thence the army, com-
manded by Caleb, goes to the highlands; Hebron and Debir
are taken, *ib.* 9 ff. Josh. xv. 14 ff.—Meanwhile Joshua is ex-
terminating the Anakim and other Canaanites from the high-
lands of Israel, Josh. xi. 23 ff.—Thus the subjugation of the
land is complete, with the exception of the parts noted xiii.
2-6.
1539. The convocation at Shiloh; the Tabernacle erected: the land
divided among the seven tribes, the boundaries of Judah and
Joseph having been first defined, xviii. xix. The cities of
refuge and of the Levites are assigned: the transjordanic tribes
dismissed, xx—xxii.
- cir.* 1516. Joshua, 110 years old, holds a convocation of the whole nation
[at Shiloh, xxiii.] in which he delivers his parting charge:
the convocation assembles again at Shechem, and renews the
covenant. Joshua dies.
- The Angel of the LORD rebukes the people at Bochim, Judg. ii.
1-5.
- A period
of The people served the LORD all the days of the elders who out-
about lived Joshua, who had seen all the great works of the LORD
30 years. that He did for Israel, ii. 7. "All that generation died, and
there arose another generation after them, which knew not
the LORD, nor yet the works which He had done for Israel,"
ib. 10. "The children of Israel did evil," &c. iii. 7.
1486. THE FIRST SERVITUDE; Chushan Rishathaim of Mesopotamia,
8 years, *ib.* 8.
1478. THE FIRST JUDGE; Othniel s. of Kenaz, v. 9. The land had
rest 40 years¹, v. 11.

¹ Othniel was a warrior in 1540, and was therefore now an old man. It is not necessary, however, nor indeed right, to suppose that he lived to the end of the

40 years, for between the death of the judge and the next servitude, a period of provocation intervened, ii. 19.

1438. THE SECOND SERVITUDE; Eglon of Moab, 18 years, c. 14.
 1420. THE SECOND JUDGE; Ehud, c. 16. Rest, 80 years: during which time, after the death of Ehud, THE THIRD JUDGE was Shamgar.
 1340. THE THIRD SERVITUDE, Jabin of Canaan, 20 years, iv. 3.
 1320. THE FOURTH JUDGE, Barak, 40 years, v. 21.
 1280. THE FOURTH SERVITUDE, the Midianites, 7 years, vi. 1. ~
 1273. THE FIFTH JUDGE, Gideon, 40 years, viii. 28.
 1233. Abimelech reigns 3 years, ix. 22.
 1230. THE SIXTH JUDGE, Tola, 23 years, x. 1.
 1207. THE SEVENTH JUDGE, Jair, 22 years, c. 3.
 1185. THE FIFTH SERVITUDE, Philistines and Ammonites, 18y. c. 7.
 1167². THE EIGHTH JUDGE, Jephthah, 6 years, xii. 7.
 1161. THE NINTH JUDGE, Ibzan, 7 years, c. 9.
 [1157. Eli, high-priest, 40 years.]
 1154. THE TENTH JUDGE, Elon, 10 years, c. 11.
 1144. THE ELEVENTH JUDGE, Abdon, 8 years, c. 14.
 1136. THE SIXTH SERVITUDE, Philistines, 40 years, xiii. 1.
 THE TWELFTH JUDGE, Samson, 20 years, xv. 20. The birth of Samson was announced during a time of Philistine oppression, xiii. 5, that is, while the Philistines were oppressing the south and west, and the Ammonites the east, x. 7. At the beginning of the sixth servitude he might be between 20 and 30 years old.
 1117. Autumn. The ark is taken, Eli dies. Somewhat earlier, Samson is taken: the ark is in captivity 7 months, restored in the days of wheat-harvest, 1 Sam. vi. 1, 13 (hence the *time* of capture is defined). The return of the ark must have preceded Samson's death and the great overthrow of the lords of the Philistines. Perhaps the great sacrifice to Dagon, in Gaza, besides its connexion with the rejoicing on account of the capture of Samson, Judg. xvi. 23, may have been intended as a celebration of the deliverance from the plagues, 1 Sam. v, vi.

§ 269. Samuel was an old man at the time of Saul's election, 1 Sam. viii. 1, and died during the persecution of David, about 1060 B. C. If we suppose him 40 years old at the day of Mizpeh, he was 76 in 1060, and was born at the beginning of the Philistine servitude. Certain it is that he was born after, and not soon after, the commencement of the 40 years of Eli's high-priesthood.

* The statement in xi. 26, "While Israel dwelt in Heshbon, &c. 300 years, why did ye not recover them in that

time?" contains merely a round enumeration of centuries: the term of occupation, dated from 1639, was 372 years.

The remaining chapters of the Judges, after the death of Samson, form an appendix to the proper history of the Judges. The story of Micah and the Danites must be referred to a very early time, since the migration of the Danites is related, anticipatively, in Joshua xix. 47; and besides must belong, in the nature of the case, to the time when the tribes were not yet fully settled in their allotments. Besides, the Levite in question is described at the end of the story as a son of Gershom, son of Moses¹. Hence it must certainly be placed soon after the death of Joshua; see Studer, *das B. der Richter*, p. 360. The other incident, relating to the crime at Gibeah and the war of extermination against Benjamin, xix—xxii., is expressly referred to the time of Phinehas, xx. 28.

THE STORY OF RUTH.

§ 270. THE incidents contained in this book fall in the time of the judges, i. 1. And, since Boaz is the grandfather of Jesse, the time of Ruth's marriage, upon an extreme supposition, cannot lie earlier than 1230 B.C., *i. e.* the time of Tola; and probably lies a good deal later; for David was born in 1086, at earliest, and the time of two descents, Obed to Jesse, Jesse to David, can scarcely be supposed to have occupied 144 years. Jesse was "an old man in the days of Saul;" suppose him 60 years old at the birth of David, and allow 40 years for the

¹ Jonathan, son of Gershom בן-גִּרְשֹׁם, with *Nun suspensum*: the true reading is מֹשֶׁה, Moses, which appears in six MSS. of the LXX. and the Catena of Nicéphorus, and in the Lat. Vulgate. See Kennicott. *Dissert. in V. T.* § 21. The insertion of the *Nun* is thus explained by the rabbins; *propter honorem Mosi scripta fuit* (litera Nun), *ut nomen mutaretur, et quidem scripta fuit suspensa ad indicandum quod non fuerit Menassis sed Mosi filius*, Jarchi, in l.: *i. e.* "the man was in truth descended from Moses, but an *N* is written suspended over the name to denote that he deserved rather to be called a descendant of Manasseh the idolatrous king, than of Moses." *Bava Bathra*, f. 109, 2. ap.

Buxtorf, *Tiberias*, p. 171: *propterea quod fecit opera Menassis appendit eum scriptura familie Menassis*. With regard to the chronology, Gershom was born during Moses's sojourn in Midian, 40 years, Acts vii. and apparently towards the close of it, comp. Ex. iv. 25, where Eliezer, at least, seems to be an infant, and xviii. 2, 3, where both sons in the year of the Exode were still under the care of their mother and uncle. Hence we may very well suppose that Gershom's son was yet "a young man" at the time of Joshua's death, to which time we refer this incident. There is this further congruity to be noticed, that the one of these histories lies in the time of the grandson of Moses, the other in the time of the grandson of Aaron.

former descent: this leads up to about 1186 B.C. I should rather suppose, however, that the famine, Ruth i. 1, occurred in the time of the 5th servitude, and Naomi's return and Ruth's marriage in the time of Jephthah. The question may be of no great importance in itself; but there is a chronological difficulty connected with the genealogy in iv. 18, which calls for explanation.

According to this genealogy, which occurs again in 1 Chron. ii. and S. Matt. i., the descents from Abraham to David are as follows:

| | | | |
|------------|--------------|------------|-----------|
| 1 Abraham, | 5 Pharez, | 9 Nahshon, | 13 Jesse. |
| 2 Isaac, | 6 Hezron, | 10 Salmon, | 14 David. |
| 3 Jacob, | 7 Ram, | 11 Boaz. | |
| 4 Judah, | 8 Amminadab, | 12 Obed. | |

In the first place, since Abraham was born 2093 B.C., and David not earlier than 1086, these 14 descents amount to 1007 years, which give an average of 72 years to each descent. This is, of course, not incredible: it may be that it pleased Providence throughout this succession, from Abraham to David, to defer the birth of the progenitor of Messiah, so that not only Isaac (as indeed Abraham himself), but many others of this line, were born to their parents, as it were, past hope.

But the great difficulty arises from the mention of Rahab in S. Matthew's genealogy, as the mother of Boaz: *Σαλμών ἐγέννησεν τὸν Βοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ῥαχάβ*. It is generally taken for granted that S. Matthew speaks of Rahab the harlot of Jericho. Now if Salmon married this woman, Boaz must have been born at least 360 years before David, which gives to each of the three last descents an average of 120 years: *i. e.* Boaz, Obed, Jesse, were each 120 years old, some less and some more, at the birth of their sons. This, as it is not revealed, is incredible. Therefore, if Rahab be the person intended, we must needs suppose an omission somewhere: either between Salmon and Boaz, so that the sense will be, Salmon by Rahab was the ancestor of Boaz, or between Obed and Jesse.

It is the more natural to suppose such an omission, as we see that the genealogy in S. Matthew was so framed as to distribute the descents from Abraham to Christ into three periods of 14 generations. It is certain from history that in the second decatessaris some descents are omitted: whence it is likely that the others have been also adjusted to the same mystical measure.

Samuel, whose genealogy is given in duplicate 1 Chron. vi. is 20th from Levi inclusive (about 37 years to each descent), therefore 23rd from Abraham; yet here David is 14th from Abraham. The sacerdotal genealogy 1 Chron. vi. 1 ff. seems to be framed upon the same plan as that of David, viz. Zadok is 14th from Levi inclusive, and another list of 14 descents leads to Joshua son of Josadak the high priest at the return from Babylon. In like manner, Asaph and Ethan, ib. 39, 44, each stand 14th from Levi.—The omission in our genealogy probably lies between Salmon and Boaz, for it is scarce likely that the pedigree from Boaz and Ruth to David would be curtailed.

§ 271. The identity of the 'Paχάβ of St. Matthew with the פַּחַבִּי of Josh. ii. is so generally taken for granted, that it may seem idle to call it in question. There are circumstances, however, which, in my opinion, render the point somewhat doubtful. I will simply state the facts, leaving the decision to the learned.—It may be observed, that the name of Rahab the harlot, פַּחַבִּי, both in the LXX, and in the N. T. is constantly written 'Paάβ. Josephus, however, renders her name 'Paχάβη. It is of more moment that the Jews have no tradition of Rahab having been married to Salmon. The rabbins represent her as the ancestress of eight prophets, but David is not of the number: and she is said to have been married to Joshua himself. In the next place, in the genealogies of the First Book of Chronicles, Salmon or Salma is in various ways connected with a certain 'Pηχάβ, פַּחַבִּי. In 1 Chron. ii. we have the genealogy of the house of Judah described with especial reference to the lineage of David. Namely,

| | | |
|------------|---|--|
| | Judah, Pharez, Hezron. | |
| Jerahmeel. | Ram, Aminadab, Nahshon, SALMA, Boaz, Obed, Jesse, David. | Caleb, <i>marr.</i> Ephratah. Hur: Caleb. SALMA. House of <i>Bethlehem</i> , &c. "these are the Kenites that came of Hemath the father of the house of RECHAB," פַּחַבִּי, 'Pηχάβ. |

Surely, the Salma or Salmon in both these lines is one individual. Salma, son of Nahshon, is the father (or ancestor) of Boaz), who was "a mighty man of wealth of *Bethlehem, an Ephrathite*." Salma, son of Caleb, is the father, *i. e.* progenitor of *Bethlehem*, viz. of the principal family of Bethlehem, the Ephrathites. Now, of these Bethlehemites, in common with the other descendants of Salma, it is said they are Kenites, sprung from the house of *Rechab*. May not this, then, be the meaning of the statement, that Salmon (son of Nahshon in one respect and of Caleb in some other, which we need not attempt to define) was the ancestor of Boaz, ἐκ τῆς Παχάβ or Πηχάβ? (Thus, by the way, it would appear that David was descended from the two most illustrious representatives of the tribe of Judah after the Exode, Nahshon, the Prince of Judah, Num. i. and Caleb, the noble warrior). In this view of the case, the chronological difficulty disappears. Salmon and Rachab were the ancestors of Boaz, inasmuch as they were the ancestors or founders of Bethlehem; and between Salmon and Boaz we may insert as many generations as the necessity of the case requires. Nor is this the only intimation of a connexion between the celebrated warrior Caleb and *Rechab*. In the LXX. of 1 Chr. iv. 11 (for the Hebrew differs) we read: "And Caleb father of Achsa begat Machir father of Eshton, and Eshton begat Beth-rapha and Tehinnah father of the city of Nahash, *brother of Eslom the Kenezite*" (these words are not in the Hebrew). Then, οἱ ἀνδρες Πηχάβ (Heb. Rechab): "these" descendants of Caleb "are the men of *Rechab*."—Again, in Judges i. 16, immediately after the history of Achsa, Caleb's daughter, it is added: "And the children of the *Kenite*, Moses' father-in-law, went up out of the city of palm-trees with the children of Judah into the wilderness of Judah, and they went and dwelt among the people." The parenthetical mention of the Kenites on this occasion is explained by 1 Chron. ii. 55: viz. there was a particular connexion between these Kenites and the house of Caleb, and the connecting link was the house of *Rechab*. Two verses further on it is added, "And the Lord was with Judah, and he drave out the mountaineers, but the inhabitants of the valley he could not drive out, לָחֶם בְּרִיָּה לָהֶם *because they had chariots of iron*:" but in the LXX, ὅτι Πηχάβ διεστείλατο αὐτοῖς, "because *Rechab* forbade them." And this, be it ob-

served, still belongs to the history of Caleb; as it is added in the next verse, "And they gave Hebron unto Caleb," &c. Doubtless, the translators had before their eyes the identical letters which compare our present Hebrew text of the passage (comp. Josh. xvii. 16, 18), only the *scriptio continua* רַכָּבִי/לֵדָם misled them; but how came the notion of a proper name, Rechab, to suggest itself, except from the notoriety of the fact that Caleb, whose history is under consideration, was connected with one Rechab? The mistranslation is the more curious, as they felt no difficulty as to the sense of the same words in iv. 3, although the translators of the passage in Joshua do seem to have been puzzled by the expression רַכָּב בְּרָקָל which they render ἵππος ἐπίλεκτος καὶ σιδηρός in v. 16, and drop בְּרָקָל in v. 18.

Now, supposing the Παχάβ of S. Matthew to be this Rechab the Kenite,—what may be the import of the mention of the name in the genealogy of our Saviour? May it not relate to that promise made by Moses to Hobab the *Kenite* (Numb. x. 32), "And it shall be if thou go with us, yea, it shall be, that what goodness the Lord shall do unto us, the same will we do unto thee:" which was eminently fulfilled in that his posterity was drawn into the lineage of the Messiah? We may also remember the blessing pronounced upon the Rechabites by Jeremiah, "Jonadab the son of Rechab shall not want a man to stand before me for ever." Besides, as the mention of Ruth the *Moabitess*, and the wife of Uriah the *Hittite*, so may this of Rechab the *Kenite*, point to the mystery of the calling of the Gentiles'.

¹ Theophylact among the ancients, and several of the modern commentators, were induced by the chronological difficulty and by the difference of orthography, to

question the identity of Παχάβ and Παῖβ the harlot. I am not aware that any have suggested the explanation proposed in the text.

SECTION IV.

ON SABBATICAL AND JUBILEAN YEARS.

§ 272. THE chronological construction left it doubtful whether the year of David's accession is 1056 or 1057 B.C., and consequently the year of the Exode, 1586 or 1587 B.C. Unquestionably, the economical symmetry described in the Introduction is sufficient to countervail this slight amount of ambiguity; and the facts of the like kind which yet remain to be described will leave no doubt remaining. But antecedently to any consideration of this nature, there is a fact of chronology which decisively points to the same conclusion; I mean the order of years sabbatical and jubilean. For if we know in what year from the Exode the cycle of these years began, and what rule it followed; and lastly, if any years in the *era* B.C. and A.D. are historically known to have been such, then we obtain a numerical character of the year of the Exode, in virtue of which that event must be assigned only to one or other of a certain series of years. Thus, if the cycle be supposed sabbatical only, *i. e.* a septenary order as uninterrupted as the cycle of the week-days, and if a given year, B.C. m , be known to have been sabbatical, then the numeral of the first year of the cycle must be of the form $(m + 7n)$ B.C.: and if the epoch be known to lie p years after the Exode, the numeral of the year of the Exode must be of the form $(m + 7n + p)$ B.C. For example, it is on record that a sabbatical year began in the autumn of B.C. 163: then, on this supposition (which is Mr. Greswell's), the first year of the sabbatical cycle, if it lie between 1600 and 1500 B.C. may be the year $163 + 191 \times 7 = 1500$ B.C., or some one of the years 1507, 14, 21, 28, 35, 42, 49, 56, 63, 70, 77, 84, 91, 1598. And if we suppose the cycle to have begun (say) 40 years after the Exode, the year of the Exode must be either 1540, or 1547, 54, 61, &c. In itself, therefore, the criterion thus afforded is of a limiting nature; it will not give the precise year, but it will determine between any two consecutive years between which, on other grounds, the choice is given.

§ 273. The ordinance of the sabbatical year was delivered to Moses in Sinai, and is related Levit. xxv. "When ye come into the land . . . it shall keep a sabbath unto the Lord. Six years thou shalt sow thy fields, &c. . . . but the seventh shall be a year of rest for the land, a sabbath to the Lord: thy field thou shalt not sow, &c. . . . seven such sabbaths of years shalt thou count, seven years seven times told, and there shall be to thee of these year-sabbaths forty and nine. Then on the 10th day of the 7th month, on the Day of Atonement, thou shalt blow the trumpet through all the land, shalt hallow the year of the 50 years (*i. e.* the 50th year), and proclaim to all inhabitants of the land, 'This is the year of jubilee (or trumpets), wherein ye shall all be restored each to his own possessions and to his own family,' And this jubilee shall be to you the year of the 50 years. In this year ye shall not sow, &c."

The numerical definition of the jubilee is plain: it is the 50th or $7 \times 7 + 1$ st year, just as the day of Pentecost is the $7 \times 7 + 1$ st day from the 2nd day of unleavened bread. The jubilean period, each and every such period, contains just 50 years reckoned from a fixed epoch, the 10th day of the 7th month.

§ 274. It is surprising that any careful reader should have misunderstood these very plain expressions; yet such is the fact. It appears from the Talmud *Erichin*, fol. 12, 2. 13, 1. 32, 2. 33, 1. (cited by Ideler, 1. 503), that a certain rabbi Jehuda was the first to maintain, contrary to the established opinion and the plain sense of the words, that the jubilean period consists of 49 years, the jubilee-year being (as he said) itself the 49th, and identical with the 7th sabbatical year. His opinion, Ideler informs us, was subsequently adopted by the Gaonim, certain learned Rabbins, who lived after the completion of the Talmud, and expounded it in the academies over which they presided. Maimonides, however, rejects this view as a novelty: "The 49th year," says he, "is the sh'mittah (or sabbatical year), the 50th is the jubilee, the 51st is the 1st of the new sh'mittah." Equally express is Josephus: "Every seven years a remission (*ἀνεσις*) is granted to the land, as is to man every seven days. The same is the case after the seventh week of years, and this makes 50 years in all, ταῦτα πεντήκοντα μὲν ἐστὶν ἔτη τὰ πάντα. The 50th year is by the Hebrews called 'Ιωβηλος." *Ant.* iii. 12. 3. In modern

times the hypothesis of the Gaonim has been revived by Frank and Gatterer, who, as I learn from Ideler, have endeavoured to shew that the jubilean period of 49 years forms a very exact luni-solar cycle, and is the key to the entire Scripture Chronology.

§ 275. The epoch from which the sabbatical cycle is reckoned, though not expressed in Scripture, may be inferred with so high a degree of probability as scarcely to admit of a doubt. The law in question was to take effect from the time that they were come into the land, *i.e.* either from the year in which they entered the land, namely, from the 10th Tisri preceding the passage over Jordan, or from the year in which they entered upon possession of the land: if the former, then from 10 Tisri, 1547: if the latter, the chronology of Joshua will give us the time. It was in 1540 that Caleb and Judah first took possession of their inheritance (§ 264), "and the land rested from war:" just seven years, be it observed, from the other epoch. So far, then, as six out of every seven *sabbatical* years are concerned, it will make no difference which of the two epochs we assume; the only difference will be in the place of the 7th sh'mittah and the jubilee.

| | Epoch 10 Tisri 1547. | | 10 Tisri 1540: | |
|----------|----------------------|------|----------------|------|
| Sabb. 1 | 1541 | 1491 | 1534 | 1484 |
| 2 | 34 | 84 | 27 | 77 |
| 3 | 27 | 77 | 20 | 70 |
| 4 | 20 | 70 | 13 | 63 |
| 5 | 13 | 63 | 06 | 56 |
| 6 | 06 | 56 | 1499 | 49 |
| 7 | 1499 | 49 | 92 | 42 |
| Jubilee. | 98 | 48 | 91 | 41 |

And since each century contains two complete jubilees, the sabbatic and jubilean years will in each century be the same that is in each century

| | (Epoch 1547.) | | (Epoch 1540.) | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|----|---------------|----|
| these years will be sabbatical. | 06 | 56 | 06 | 56 |
| | 13 | 63 | 13 | 63 |
| | 20 | 70 | 20 | 70 |
| | 27 | 77 | 27 | 77 |
| | 34 | 84 | 34 | 84 |
| | 41 | 91 | 42 | 92 |
| | 49 | 99 | 40 | 99 |
| Jubilees. | 48 | 98 | 41 | 91 |

In the nature of the case, the latter hypothesis, *i. e.* the epoch 1540, is the more probable, inasmuch as the ordinance would take effect rather from the conquest of the land than from the year of Moses' death.

§ 276. There is no reason to suppose that the sabbatical and jubilean reckoning, however the due observance of the ordinance may have been neglected, was ever lost, any more than that of the weekly sabbath. When a sabbatical or jubilean year *was* kept, it was doubtless kept in its proper place.

Before the destruction of the Temple, the history contains no direct and indubitable notice of sabbatical years; but under the second Temple, in the Maccabean times and later, several instances occur of the observance of the sabbatical year, not, however, of the jubilee; and, indeed, according to the tradition of the Gaonim, preserved by Maimonides, "only Sh'mittahs were kept, and no Jubel, after the return from Babylon."—The epoch of this new cycle, if we were right in assigning the epoch of the jubilean cycle to the year 1540 (or 1547), will be the year 541; and the sabbatical years thence to A. D. 70 will be as follows:

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|------|----|
| B.C. | 541 | 457 | 373 | 289 | 205 | 121 | 37 | A.D. | 6 |
| | 34 | 50 | 66 | 82 | 198 | 14 | 30 | | 13 |
| | 27 | 43 | 59 | 75 | 91 | 07 | 23 | | 20 |
| | 20 | 36 | 52 | 68 | 84 | 00 | 16 | | 27 |
| | 13 | 29 | 45 | 61 | 77 | 93 | 9 | | 34 |
| | 06 | 22 | 38 | 54 | 70 | 86 | 2 | | 41 |
| | 499 | 15 | 31 | 47 | 63 | 79 | | | 48 |
| | 92 | 08 | 24 | 40 | 56 | 72 | | | 55 |
| | 85 | 01 | 17 | 33 | 49 | 65 | | | 62 |
| | 78 | 394 | 10 | 26 | 42 | 58 | | | 69 |
| | 71 | 87 | 03 | 19 | 35 | 51 | | | |
| | 64 | 80 | 296 | 12 | 28 | 44 | | | |

§ 277. And now we will test this deduction by comparing the several years which are said, in the history, to have been sabbatical.

1. 1 Macc. vi. 20, 49, 53. The 150th year of the era of the Seleucidæ, which began Tisri 163. B. C., *was* sabbatical. And so it was by our Table.

2. Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 8. 1. A sabbatical year occurred soon after the accession of John Hyrcanus. Simon, the father

and predecessor of John Hyrcanus, was assassinated in the month Adar of *Ær. Sel.* 177 = Spring of 135 B.C. 1 Mac. xvi. 14. In the Autumn of that year, according to our Table, a sabbath year began. With this compare the words of Josephus; *ἐλκομένης δὲ οὕτως εἰς χρόνον τῆς παλιαρίας* (viz. just after the accession of John) *ἐνίσταται τὸ ἔτος ἐκείνη καθ' ὃ συμβαίνει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀργεῖν.*

3. The calamities attendant on the capture of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius, which took place on the very day of atonement, *Ant.* xiv. fin., were aggravated by the circumstance that the year then ensuing was sabbatical: *Ant.* xv. 1, 2. i. e. a sabbatical year began on the very day of the capture. The year was 37 B.C.—and by the Table a sabbath year began 37 B.C.

4. There is a well attested tradition that the year in which Jerusalem was taken by the Romans was a sabbatical year. And so it was by our Table, in which a sabbath year begins A.D. 69¹.

§ 278. Hence our year of the Exode accords with the conditions prescribed by the historical fact that certain years were sabbatical (163, 135, 37 B.C. and 69 A.D.), coupled with the fact that the jubilee ceased to be kept after the return from Babylon. In other words, since these years were sabbatical,

¹ It has been inferred from St. Luke iv. 19. that the year in which our Saviour began to preach was sabbatical. And in fact our Table shews that a sabbath-year began Tisri A.D. 27, and was therefore still current in the Spring of A.D. 28. Hence, however, it may be objected to our definition of the commencement and duration of our Saviour's ministry, that it either could not begin in A.D. 28, or must have lasted more than one year: for in Joh. iv. 35. we find an allusion to the harvest as then near, and in the three first Gospels mention of a walk *διὰ τῶν σπορίμων*, and of the disciples plucking ears of corn. Now, I fully admit that the Jews at this time observed the sabbatic years, and consequently that the fields were not sown in the Autumn of A.D. 27. But in *Samarina*, the scene of the allusion in Joh. iv., there

might be corn-fields. The other incident, also, as it occurred on a journey to Jerusalem, may have happened in Samaria. That the Samaritans strictly, if at all, observed the law of sabbatism, there is no proof beyond their own interested assertion, *Joseph. Ant.* xi. 6. 8. Suppose they observed it ever so strictly, there is no proof that their cycle tallied with that of the Jews. And independently of this consideration; it is not necessary to suppose that our Lord's expression, 'Behold the fields, for they are ripe already to harvest,' was suggested by the actual spectacle of fields waving with corn; nor that the *σπόρια* through which the disciples walked, contained more than the self-sown produce of the former year (which was public property. *Levit.* xxv. 5. *Mishna*, tr. Shebiith, l. 5.)

therefore 541 B. C. = $163 + 54 \times 7$ was either sabbatical, or a jubilee: consequently the whole term from the epoch of the jubilean cycle to 541 B. C. is $m \times 50 + n \times 7$ years, or the epoch of the jubilean cycle is the year B. C. $541 + m \times 50 + n \times 7$. But this epoch lies either 39 or $39 + 7$ years after the Exode; therefore, in either case, the numeral of the year of the Exode must be of the form $541 + m \times 50 + n \times 7 + 39$. Such is the year 1586 B. C. = $541 + 19 \times 50 + 8 \times 7 + 39$, but *not* the year 1587 B. C.

§ 279. It has been remarked that the history before the Babylonian exile contains no express mention of sabbatical or jubilean years as such. There are two passages, however, which have been not unreasonably supposed to refer to such years. One is Jer. xxxiv. 8. "The word that came unto Jeremiah from the Lord after that the king Zedekiah had made a covenant with all the people that were at Jerusalem to proclaim liberty unto them; that every man should let his man-servant, and every man his maid-servant, being an Hebrew or a Hebrewess, go free. . . . All the princes, &c. did let them go free, but afterwards they turned and caused the servants and the handmaids, whom they had let go free, to return, and brought them into subjection for servants and handmaids. . . . Thus saith the Lord, I made a covenant with your fathers. . . . At the end of seven years let ye go every man his brother, when he hath served thee six years . . . *but your fathers hearkened not unto me* . . . and ye were now turned and had done right in my sight . . . but ye turned and polluted my name . . . therefore behold I proclaim a liberty for you, to the sword, and to the pestilence, and to the famine." The time of the prophecy lies after Dec. 590 B. C. Now on the supposition that the epoch of the jubilean period was 1547 B. C., the year Tisri 591–590 was sabbatical, the first of a cycle; on the other supposition, it was a jubilee, and the preceding year a sabbath¹. But the year in question must have been a *jubilee*;—for this reason. It is a mistake to suppose that the manumission of Hebrew servants

¹ If indeed the jubilees ceased altogether after B. C. 606 and 536, the year beginning Tisri 590 would be sabbatical, being = B. C. $163 + 427 = 163 + 61 \times 7$; and this was the view which I took in

speaking of this passage, § 182, p. 184. But the jubilees ceased *after the return from Babylon*; therefore after 536, not after 606.

was appointed to take place in the *sabbatical* year. "Moses specifies two periods at which the Hebrew servant was to regain his freedom; the 7th year, Exod. xxi. and Deut. xv., and the 50th or year of jubilee, Lev. xxv. How these periods are reconcilable with each other, considering that the year of jubilee must always have immediately followed a sabbatical year, and that of course the servants must have been already free, deserves inquiry. All depends upon the sense in which Moses understands 'the seventh year;' whether as the sabbatical year in which the land lay fallow, or as the 7th year from the time when the servant was bought? *Maimonides was of the latter opinion, and to me also it appears the more probable. For Moses uniformly terms it the seventh year, without using the term sabbatical year.* What then is more natural than to understand the seventh year of servitude? *And besides, when he describes the sabbatical year in Levit. xxv. 1—7, we find not a word of the manumission of servants.* The apparent inconsistency of the two laws thus ceases. The servant was regularly restored to freedom after *six* years' service; but supposing him bought (*e. g.*) in the 46th year of the Jewish calculation, *i. e.* 4 years before the jubilee, he did not in that case wait seven years, but received his freedom in the year of jubilee." Michaelis, *Mosäisches Recht*. § 127 (Engl. transl. ii. 176), and so Hengstenberg, *Pentateuch*, 2. 440. This is decisive. The Jews had long neglected the manumission of their Hebrew servants; the Lord gave them a last opportunity of making amends by liberating their servants all at once in the year of jubilee, 591–590 B.C. In the course of that year, perhaps towards the close of it, when Nebuchadnezzar was threatening to approach Jerusalem, they covenanted to liberate their servants, which also they did; but within a few months, when the danger seemed withdrawn, they recalled them into servitude. If the year 591–590 were simply a *sh'mittah*, it had no connexion with manumission of slaves; being a *jubilee*, it had.

§ 280. The other passage occurs in 2 Kings xix. 29. Isa. xxxvii. 30. "And this shall be a sign unto thee: Ye shall eat *this year* such as groweth of itself, and *in the second year* that which springeth of the same, and *in the third year* sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof." So said Isaiah to Hezekiah at the time of Sennacherib's threatened invasion in the 14th year of Hezekiah = 713 B.C. Now I do not

mean to contend that the words suggest, *per se*, the proximity of a sabbatical year: but, given any reason to believe that such a year was then instant, I think no one can fail to recognise the congruity of the terms to the facts of the case. Our Table shews a sabbatical year beginning in the Autumn of 713 B.C. And in connexion with this fact, the prophet may well be supposed to speak on this wise: "the invaders have destroyed the fruits of this year's harvest (April, May, 713), a harvest which should have sufficed for two years (Levit. xxv. 20): yet fear not: this present year the land shall yet bring forth spontaneously for your sustenance; and though ye may not sow the following Autumn (713), and will reap no harvest in the ensuing Spring (712), yet "that which springeth of the same" shall suffice: and in the third year (712-711), when the sabbath-year is ended, sow ye and reap, &c."

CHAPTER VI.

THE PERIOD FROM THE CALL OF ABRAHAM TO THE EXODE.

§ 281. "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was 430 years: and it came to pass, at the end of the 430 years, even the self-same day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt. It is a night to be much observed unto the Lord, for bringing them out from the land of Egypt: this is that night of the Lord to be observed of all the children of Israel in their generations. . . . And it came to pass, the self-same day that the Lord did bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt by their armies." Exodus xii. 40—42, 51. That these 430 years are reckoned, not from the descent into Egypt, but from the beginning of the sojourning in Canaan, has always, as far back as we have any information, been the belief of the Jews themselves. Josephus *Ant.* ii. 15. 2. κατέλιπον δὲ τὴν Αἴγυπτον μὲν Ἐσθρικῶ πέμπτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ κατὰ σελήνην μετὰ ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακοσία ἢ τὸν πρόγονον ἡμῶν Ἀβραμὸν εἰς τὴν Χαναανίαν ἐλθεῖν, τῆς δὲ Ἰακώβου μεταναστάσεως εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον γενομένης διακοσίας πρὸς τοῖς δεκαπέντε ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον¹. That is, the descent of Jacob into Egypt lies at the bisection of the period; which, if it be reckoned from the *Call*, is quite true, for the history notes the following terms, viz. 25 years to the birth of Isaac, 60 years to the birth of Jacob, 130 years to the descent into Egypt, the sum of which is 215 years. The Targum (pseudo-Jon.) on Gen. xv. 10, reckons the 430 years from the *Call*, and assigns to the sojourn in Egypt, 30 weeks of years, or 210 years. The LXX. Ex. xii. 40, introduce this interpretation unto the text itself: ἡ δὲ κατοίκησις τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἦν κατῴκησαν ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐν γῇ Χαναάν αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἔτη υλ'. The

¹ Yet *Ant.* ii. 9. 1. and *B. J.* v. 9. 4. he inconsistently assigns 400 years to the oppression in Egypt.

Samaritan text in like manner enlarges upon the original :

ומושב בני-ישראל [ואבותם] אשר ישבו
ב[ארץ כנען ובארץ] מצרים :

“ the sojourning of the children of Israel, [and of their fathers] which they sojourned in [the land of Canaan and in the land of] Egypt.” It is well understood now, that the Samaritan text possesses no authority independent of the Septuagint, from which in fact it was constructed. It serves, however, to shew that the text of the LXX. was not interpolated here by a later hand. Thus much then is clear, that the Jews, however the fact is to be explained, understood the passage two thousand years ago as they have understood it ever since. Christian writers, almost universally, have followed this interpretation: not because it is Jewish, nor on the authority of the LXX., but because S. Paul has expressly stated the same thing—Gal. iii. 17. Modern critics, however, have abandoned the old interpretation. Perizonius, *Orig. Aeg.* 20. Schöttgen, *Hor. Heb.* p. 736, allege that the 430 years are reckoned from the close of the period during which the Promises were given: Bengel, *Ordo Temp.* p. 162, makes the *terminus a quo* the birth of Jacob. J. D. Michaelis (*Programma quo Isr. 430 annos in Ae. commor. efficitur*, Göttingen, 1777. reprinted in Pott and Ruperti's *Sylloge Comment.* t. ii.) assigns the whole 430 years to the residence in Egypt; and this view is taken by all the modern German critics with whose writings I am acquainted, even by those of the orthodox school, as Hengstenberg, Hävernick and Ranke, as also, I believe, by the generality of writers on Egyptian Chronology. It is alleged, that the statement of S. Paul avails only to shew how the matter was understood in his time, and that it can possess no authority in a question of this nature: that the words of the Hebrew text are clear and express against this interpretation: and lastly, that a period of little more than 200 years is not sufficient for the increase of some seventy souls into a population which numbered more than 600,000 males above the age of 20 years. For the first of these arguments—the assumption that S. Paul erred in common with the rabbins of his age in his interpretation of the words of Moses—I shall simply remark, that the present Work will have failed of its object if it does not deliver clear

proof that this and the like statements are none of them unmeaning or erroneous. The second argument, which relates to the words of the text, is sufficiently met by the rendering of our E. V. "the children of Israel *who* sojourned in Egypt:" οἱ κατέκνησαν not ἣν κατέκνησαν. The Hebrew relative אשר may of course be understood in either way. I admit, however, that the words of the Hebrew text, *prout sonant*, do suggest the notion that the מִצְרַיִם in *Egypt* lasted 430 years: but then it is to be remembered that the sense of Scripture often lies below the surface: the true sense in this instance is given by a comparison of other particulars, presently to be noticed. Besides, it is not certain that the LXX. and Samaritan text do not contain the true reading of the passage, as Kennicott and many other critics contend that it does.

§ 282. The argument derived from population requires a more detailed consideration. It is assumed that the increase from a population of 70 males to one of some 1,200,000, in a term of little more than 200 years, is impossible in the nature of things. It happens however that facts of statistical science not only disprove the assumption, but under the given circumstances constitute an argument just the other way, that is, *against* the assumption of so long a period as 400 years. It is known that a given population may go on doubling its numbers in periods of 15 years, nay, under favourable circumstances, in periods of about 12½ years; and this, *even on the present scale of human life*. Now of the Israelites in Egypt it is expressly remarked that "they grew and multiplied exceedingly," Gen. xlvii. 27; "were fruitful and increased abundantly, and multiplied and waxed exceedingly mighty (numerous), and the land was filled with them," Ex. i. 7; this down to eighty years before the Exode. (See also Deut. x. 22.) The oppression which then ensued may be supposed to have given a check to population, yet not in a considerable degree, for the abundant supply of the means of subsistence still continued (Num. xi. 5), and the decree for the destruction of the male children was manifestly not long enforced. The circumstances, therefore, in the main, were decidedly favourable, though regarded only under a human point of view and independently of a special Promise. Besides, it is to be considered that in times when the average duration of man's life extended to 120 or 130 years,

and the term of *παίδωγία* began as early as it does now, and lasted to the age of 80 or 90 at least, population must have increased far more rapidly than it does in the present state of mankind. Moreover, it is certain that polygamy prevailed to a very great extent (see the genealogies in 1 Chron.) To come to particulars:—in the census held at Mount Sinai a year after the departure from Egypt, there were found 603,550 males of the age of 20 and upwards, exclusive of the tribe of Levi. Now, under the existing conditions of human life, the number of males above 20 is to the number under that age about as 238 : 243 ; but it is hard to say what the proportion may have been in those times. On the one hand, the adult population would be more numerous than now, in proportion to the more extended term of human life ; and on the other hand, the number of children and minors would be greater in the same proportion, in virtue of the more extended term of *παίδωγία*. But the prevalence of polygamy would increase the number of children, to an amount which we have no means of calculating. That polygamy did prevail to a great extent is implied not only in the genealogies, but in this way. The Levites were ordained to be representatives of the first-born of the other tribes. Num. iii. 11. The latter, of all ages, were found to be 22,273, v. 43, and these were to be represented, man by man, by the Levites. Now the sum of the Levites is given as follows: v. 21 ff.

| | |
|--------------|--------|
| Gershom..... | 7,500 |
| Kohath | 8,600 |
| Merari | 6,200 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 22,300 |

more than enough, in point of number, for the specified purpose. Yet the sum is given as only 22,000 v. 39, short of the number of first-born in the other tribes by 273, and these 273 were to be redeemed by a sum of money, v. 46. Hence it seems a necessary inference that the odd 300 Levites were themselves first-born, and as such not available as substitutes for others. Now certainly the number 22,300 is not exact ; the census proceeded by hundreds (or fifties), omitting the tens and units, which, for the three families of the tribe of Levi, may have amounted to something like a hundred more. Suppose the sum was

near 22,400, then the proportion gives one first-born in 56; if it was 22,300, the proportion would be one in 74. The latter is perhaps too enormous to be accounted for in any way; the other is within bounds, if polygamy prevailed to a great extent, but not otherwise. If we take the latter proportion, it gives a population of $22,273 \times 22,300 \div 300$, or 1,655,626 males, which is certainly excessive, for since 603,550 of these were adults, there would be 1,052,076 minors: now 39 years later, when all those adults had died off, there were found in a new census but 601,730 adult males, Num. xxvii. 51: so that even if there were no births in all those years, there must have been an immense mortality among the juniors of the Exode. Whereas if we take the other proportion, it gives $22,273 \times 22,400 \div 400$, or 1,244,780, which is not at all improbable. It seems then, that the adult male population being 603,550, the whole male population, on an extreme supposition, may have been 1,400,000, or, including the Levites, 1,422,300; but we will suppose it for argument's sake, 1,500,000. Now the patriarchs, with the exception of Benjamin, were born between 46 and 39 years before the descent into Egypt (§ 291): say 255 years before the first census. Suppose the term of doubling to be 15 years, the population would be 17 times doubled in 255 years: $2^{17} = 131,008$, and $1,500,000 \div 2^{17}$ gives about $11\frac{1}{2}$ as the basis of the population. Again: on the same supposition, since 210 years = 15×14 , we have $1,500,000 \div 2^{14}$ (or 16,376) which gives about $91\frac{1}{2}$ as the basis: even this is not excessive, for it is to be considered that the population was derived in part from the circumcised male servants belonging to the households of the patriarchs. If, however, the term of doubling be supposed 14 years, then, there being 15 such terms in 210 years, the basis of 1,500,000 would be that number divided by 2^{15} , or about 46. Now the patriarchs with their sons at the descent into Egypt may have been between 50 and 60 in number, for it is certain that of the 70 enumerated in Gen. xlv. several, at least 14, were born in Egypt¹. Taking therefore

¹ The following circumstances shew that Moses did not intend to enumerate such only as were born before the migration: 1. Reuben, at the time of the

second visit, had only *two* sons, xlii. 37, here he has *four*.—2. Benjamin was “a lad,” “a little one,” when he stood before Joseph; Joseph calls him “my son;”

the extreme supposition, that the population in the first census numbered 1,500,000 males, and that the families of the twelve patriarchs at the descent into Egypt numbered but 50 males, it appears that the term of doubling lies between 14 and 15 years. Certainly then, the ancient chronology labours under no difficulty whatever in respect of the increase of population. On the contrary, the modern statement does. For if the Israelites were 430 years in Egypt, their numbers must in so long a time, have grown to an amount perhaps twice as great as we find recorded; at least, if we are to believe what the Scriptures affirm, both in promise and in history, concerning the great and steady increase of the population in Egypt. I will only remark further, lest this discussion should have seemed unnecessarily minute, that it is always important, and in these days more than ever, to vindicate the historical verity of the Scriptures. There is more at stake here than the determination of a point of chronology: the modern criticism, by denying the authority of the apostolic statement in Gal. iii. 17. impeaches the ancient Catholic doctrine of inspiration. The truth of that statement is now vindicated: and in a manner which serves at the same time to attest the strict consistency of the Pentateuch. Tradition, mythus, and arbitrary fiction, are sure to betray themselves as soon as they meddle with matters of arithmetic. But the statistical arithmetic of Moses has now been proved to be thoroughly consistent with itself and with the order of nature.

son;" the catalogue gives him ten sons! —3. Pharez and Zarah were but just born at this time (*infra* § 287.); their two sons are inserted on the list as substitutes for Er and Onan, who "died in the land of Canaan."—4. Immediately before the catalogue we read, "the children of Israel took their father and their little ones דָּוָד, xlv. 5. also xliii. 8; the catalogue mentions grandsons of Jacob who have children.—In Numb. xxvi. not one son is assigned to the sons of Jacob, except those mentioned in Gen. xlv. Is it credible that no sons were born to them in Egypt?—When, therefore, it is said, "all the sons of the house

of Jacob which came into Egypt are 70," v. 27, the meaning cannot be that all these were then born. The fact that Joseph's two sons, who were born in Egypt, are reckoned among the 70, proves that the statement is not to be taken literally. (We may remark that the loose expression here is parallel with that in Exod. xii. 40.) He means that Jacob after the descent into Egypt, multiplied, through the twelve patriarchs, into seventy families. The number was not accidental; it is the sacred number, the signature of the covenant.—These remarks are taken from Hengstenberg, *Pentat.* 2, 354—359.

§ 283. But further: we shall make the Scripture contradict itself if we date these 430 years from the descent into Egypt. The promise to Abraham was, that his seed should come out (*i.e.* of Egypt) *in the fourth generation*. And that this was fulfilled, we see by the genealogies. Moses was the *fourth* from Levi; Levi—Kohath—Amram—Moses. Now in this genealogy the years of the lives are given (which circumstance is proof that no descents are omitted). Levi lived 137^y: Koath 133^y: Amram 137^y: Ex. vi. 16 ff. Levi was born when Jacob was about 87 years old, for he was Leah's third son, Gen. xxix. 34 (§291). Levi then was, at most, 43 years old at the descent into Egypt, and lived 94 years in Egypt. Hence the sum of the years of *the whole lives* of those patriarchs in Egypt, is 94+133+137; to which add 80, the age of Moses at the Exode, and the sum is 444, only 14 years more than the 430 of the supposed stay in Egypt: so that either Kohath and Amram, or Amram and Moses, on this supposition, must have been born within seven years, each, of his father's death. Of course this is incredible. And the difficulty is increased by the further statement in Exod. vi. 20, "Amram took unto him Jochebed *his father's sister* to wife:" for, that Jochebed is not here called Kohath's sister, in a wider sense of the term, is evident from Numb. xxvi. 59, "The name of Amram's wife was Jochebed the daughter of Levi, whom (her mother) bare unto Levi in Egypt." Thus, by the mother's side, Moses was but third from Levi.

- 1 Levi
- 2 Kohath
- 3 Amram m. Jochebed
- 4 Moses.

§ 284. The evidence furnished by this genealogy is abundantly confirmed by others: *everywhere, in the fourth, fifth, or sixth descent from the twelve patriarchs, we arrive at contemporaries of Moses.*

Thus 1 Chron. ii.:

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| 1 Judah | From the birth of Pharez to the birth of |
| 2 Pharez | Caleb II. are 190 years, about 47 years to |
| 3 Hezron | each descent. On the other scheme, the |
| 4 Caleb I. | interval is 404 years, or 100 to each de- |
| 5 Hur | scend. |
| 6 Uri and Caleb II. | |
| 7 Bezaleel | |

Again, 1 Chron. ii. 21, vii. 14; Numb. xxvi. 30—33.

| | | | |
|---|--------|------------|--|
| 1 | Judah | Joseph | Hezron, at the age of 60, married Machir's |
| 2 | Pharez | Manasseh | daughter. Hence from Pharez to Jair are |
| 3 | Hezron | Machir | three descents, from Manasseh four. Now |
| 4 | Segub | a daughter | Jair was less than 20 at the Exode, Dent. |
| 5 | Jair | Segub | iii. 14. The three descents, therefore, give |
| 6 | | Jair | an average of 65—70 years, but on the |
| | | | other scheme twice as much. Manasseh |
| | | | was born about eight years before the de- |
| | | | scend into Egypt, 223 before the Exode, |
| | | | therefore the four descents give an average |
| | | | of 50—55 years. |

In the same line we have,

- 3 Machir
- 4 Gilead
- 5 Hephher
- 6 Zelophehad
- 7 Daughters of Zelophehad

And

- 3 Hezron
- 4 Ram
- 5 Amminadab
- 6 Nahshon.....Elisheba, married to Aaron
- 7 Salma, &c.

And in the line of Levi (1 Chron. vi. 37, 38; Exod. vi. 21, 54; Lev. x. 4.)

- 1 Levi
- 2 Kohath
- 3 Izhar.....UzzielAmram
- 4 Korah Mishael.....Elzaphan Aaron.....Moses.

§ 285. We may further notice, that the genealogies in 1 Chron. generally place the final settlement in the promised land, at the sixth to the eighth descent from the patriarchs. The settlement is indicated by the transition from names of persons to names of places, or families. Thus, in the genealogy of Caleb, 1 Chr. ii. 50 ff. :—

- 1 Judah
- 2 Pharez
- 3 Hezron
- 4 Caleb, m. Ephrath
- 5 Hur

- 6 Caleb II¹. (wife not named)
 7 Shobal..... Salma..... Hareph
 father of father of father of
 8 *Kirjath-jearim* *Beth-lehem* *Beth-gader*
 = Ithrites, Puhites, Netophathites,
 &c. &c.

Ib. 48.

- 6 Caleb II. conc. Maachah
 7 ~~Shaph~~..... Sheva
 father of father of
 8 *Madmannah* *Machbenah*
 and *Gibeah*.

Now we have seen that from 1 to 6 the average is 45 years : at the same rate, the settlement should be about 90 years later, i. e. about 50 years after the Exode : *a close agreement with the Book of Joshua*, in which the settlement is placed after the 47th year from the Exode.

And here I may notice one among the many fine marks of consistency which appear in these genealogies.

- | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 1 Chron. ii. 42. | ib. 50. | iv. 21. |
| 1 Judah | <i>id.</i> | Judah |
| 2 Pharez | <i>id.</i> | Shelah |
| 3 Hezron | <i>id.</i> | Leadah |
| 4 Caleb I. | <i>id.</i> m. Ephrath | <i>Mareebah</i> |
| 5 <i>Sons of Mureebah</i> | Hur | |
| 6 HEBRON | Caleb II. | |

¹ This Caleb is constantly called "son of Jephunneh the Kenesite." The identity is proved by 1 Chron. ii. 49, where Achsa (Joshua, xv. 15; Judges i. 12.) is daughter of Caleb son of Hur. It is also implied in ii. 55, compared with iv. 9 &c. In the former passage we find "the families of the scribes which dwelt at Jabez," descended from Caleb, son of Hur, through Salma; in the latter Jabez is abruptly introduced in a genealogy of "Ashur, father of Tekoah," son of Hezron. At v. 9, therefore, or v. 8, there is a transition to the line of the Calebs. Then at v. 11, a Caleb is mentioned by name, and described as "the brother of Shuah," but in the LXX.

"father of Achsa." At v. 13, "Kenaz" is introduced abruptly with this genealogy; Kenaz, Othniel, and Seraiah, and from Seraiah, Joab, father of the valley of Charashim. But ii. 54, Joab is reckoned to the sons of Salma, son of Caleb, son of Hur. In the LXX. the introduction of Kenaz is not so abrupt: "And Caleb, father of Achsa, begat Bethrapha, and Tehinna, father of the city of Naash, brother of Esdom, the Kenesite. These are the men of Rechab." In what respect Caleb, son of Hur, is called son of Jephunneh the Kenesite, we must, I suppose, be content to be ignorant.

i. e. Caleb I., in marrying *Ephrath*, intermarried with the family of *Mareshah*, the representative of the elder line of Judah¹: the "sons of Mareshah" include Hur, the father of Caleb II., the founder of *HEBRON*.

§ 286. Here, however, it is to be remarked that, while in all the other genealogies the contemporaries of Moses occupy the 4th, 5th, or 6th grade from the patriarchs, Joshua, whose pedigree occurs at 1 Chr. vii. 22—27, seems to be full *nine* generations removed from Ephraim, son of Joseph. Now this is indeed just possible, on a general view; for, supposing him 40 years old at the Exode, there will be, according to our chronology, about 220 years from the birth of Ephraim to the birth of Joshua, which will give 20 years as the average of each descent. And it might also be added, that this remarkable multiplication of the seed of Ephraim, accords with, and attests the fulfilment of, the benediction pronounced upon him by Jacob, Gen. xlviii. 19. A little consideration, however, will show that the fact is not as it seems to be. "And the sons of Ephraim; *Shuthelah*, and Bered his son, and Tahath his son, and Eladah his son, and Tahath his son, and Zabad his son, and *Shuthelah* his son, and Ezer and Elead, whom the men of Gath that were born in that land slew, because they came down to take their cattle. And Ephraim their father mourned many days, and his brethren came to comfort him. And when he went in unto his wife, she conceived and bare a son, and called his name Beriah, because it went ill with his house. And his daughter's name was Sherah, who built Bethhoron the Nether and the Upper, and Uzen-Sherah. And Rephah was his son, also Resheph, and Telah his son, and Tahan his son, Laadan his son, Ammihud his son, Elishama his son, Nun his son, Joshua his son." Now, at first sight, it would seem as though the writers placed the birth of Beriah after the slaying of six or seven successive descendants of Ephraim, son, grandson, great-

¹ The reading of the LXX. at iv. 21, curiously falls in with this view. "The sons of Selah, son of Judah; Er, and Laadah, father of Maresha, καὶ γενέσθαι οικίαν Ἐφραθαβὰκ τῶ οἴκῳ Ἑσθὰ. The Hebrew is מְשִׁפָּחֹת בֵּית עֲבֵרָת דָּבָר,

where the LXX. must have read אפרתה for עבדת ד', being misled by their knowledge of the fact, that Mareshah and Ephrath were closely connected.—This is very like what was noticed above, p. 285 f. concerning *Rechab*.

grandson, &c., which slaughter Ephraim outlived, and, after it, still begat a son! But this is so absurd, that we must needs look out for some other way of stating the facts. And the truth seems to be, that the genealogy sets out with naming the first-born Shuthelah; then adds the line of his descendants, five in all; then goes back to name the other sons of Ephraim, and, accordingly, repeats the name of Shuthelah, the first-born, as a sufficient intimation to the reader that the two following names are of Ephraim's sons, not of Zabad's: so that the connexion is, "The sons of Ephraim were Shuthelah (of whom came five descendants, namely, Bered, &c.) Shuthelah, *I say*, and Ezer, and Elead." These two last are the persons whom the men of Gath slew, &c.: i. e. they are Ephraim's own sons, who were slain in the life of their father, *namely, in Egypt*¹.

Ephraim

1 Shuthelah.....2, 3. Ezer, Elead

Bered

Tahath

Eladah

Tahath

Zabad

4 Beriah

Rephah and Resheph

Telah

Tahan

Laadan

Ammihud

Elishama

Nun

Joshua.

Now, in the census held just before the Eisode, Numb. xxvi.,

¹ Movers, *über die Chronik*, p. 239, gives up the difficulty as past remedy. Hävernick, *Einleitung*, ii. 1, 181, explains it thus: "the Ephraimites went down (יָדְדוּ) to plunder the herds of the Gathites; the incident therefore falls in the time of the residence of Ephraim [the tribe] in Palestine; and the words הַגִּתִּימִים בְּנֵי אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם must be understood accordingly. To refer them to the Gathites is incongruous. *Nemo ignorabat Gathi incolae eo avo natos fuisse in Palestina*, Clericus in l. They belong then to the descendants of Ephraim, and contain a limitation of what precedes: the Gathites slew those descendants of Ephraim who

were born in Palestine. Then all is beautifully consistent." How so? when it is added, "And Ephraim their father mourned them many days;" this must mean the Patriarch, not the tribe. I suppose the words "born in the land" to refer to Egypt, i. e. to Goshen: the Philistines came from Caphtor, in the immediate vicinity of Goshen, and what the writer says is this: "The Philistines, who now inhabit Gath, but at that time were natives of the land (Caphtor), came down to seize the cattle of the sons of Ephraim, and slew Ezer and Elead in the foray."—Besides, on Hävernick's view, Joshua is 20th from Ephraim!

we find four families of the tribe of Ephraim: "of *Shuthelah*, the family of the Shuthalhites; of *Becher*, the family of the Bachrites; of *Tahan*, the family of the Tahanites: these are the sons of Shuthelah. Of *Eran*, the family of the Eranites," v. 36. But the LXX. and Samaritan, in the last of these names, have ט where the Hebrew has ע: לעדן, "of Edan, the family of the Edanites." With this compare our passage of the Chronicles:

Ephraim

Beriah

Rephah

Telah

Tahan

Laadan, לעדן, LXX. τῶ Λααδάν, evidently a confusion of two readings, τῶ Ἀδάν, which I take to have been the original reading, and Λααδάν a marginal gloss.

Ammihud

Elishama

Nun

Joshua.

Hence, I conceive that at לעדן there begins a fresh line of the genealogy, intimated by the preposition ל, the line of Edan, another son of Ephraim¹, founder of the house of the Edanites, to which Joshua belonged. Thus, Joshua is *sixth* from the patriarch of his tribe.

1 Joseph

2 Ephraim

3 Edan

4 Ammihud

5 Elishama: captain of the host of Ephraim, Numb. ii. 18.

6 Nun

7 Joshua.

And each line of the genealogy terminates at the sixth or seventh descent.

1 Joseph

2 Ephraim

3 Shuthelah..... Beriah..... Edan

4 Bered Rephah Ammihud

5 Tahath Telah Elishama

6 Eladah Tahan Nun

7 Tahath Joshua.

8 Zabad.

¹ Nay, possibly not another; for this לעדן may be the same as the לעדן whom the men of Gath slew.

The LXX. in Numb. xxvi., omits all mention of Becher and the Bachrites, who, perhaps, are represented by the name Bered in the Chronicles, as בכר might easily be corrupted into ברר. The Tahanites of Numbers might be the house of Tahan, son of Beriah, but that the following clause clearly refers all three families to *Shuthelah*. By the transition from "These (before-mentioned) are sons of Shuthelah," to "and of Edan, the father of the Edanites," Edan is put on the same line with Shuthelah, and thus intimated to be a son of Ephraim.

§ 287. Lastly: the Edomite genealogy in Gen. xxxvi. 1 Chron. i., is entirely in agreement with the shorter computation. Moses in v. 1—8, gives a summary of the history of Esau in Canaan down to the settlement in Seir: v. 9—14. A sketch of Esau's family-history in Seir: v. 15—19, the names of the tribes of the Edomites, each of which took its name from a son of Esau, and had its אֱלֹפִי *Alluph*, or chieftain, e. g. chieftain of the tribe of Teman, &c. At v. 20—30. we have the genealogy of Seir the Horite, with the tribes descended from him, and their *Alluphim*: then 31—39, the Edomite kings: lastly, v. 40—43, the abodes of the Edomite chieftains are given. The genealogy does not imply that Edom was governed first by dukes, then by kings, then again by dukes, but only that the nation, divided into tribes, each having its chieftain, was from Esau to Moses governed by kings in an elective monarchy. Their succession was as follows:—

Bela, s. of Beor, name of his city, Dinhabah.

Jobab, s. of Zerah of Bosrah.

Husham of the land of Temani.

Hadad, s. of Bedad, who smote Midian in the field of Moab, name of his city, Avith.

Samlah, of Masrekah.

Saul of Rehoboth by the river.

Baal-hanan, s. of Achbor.

Hadar, name of his city, Pau; wife, Mehetabel, d. Matred, d. Mezahab.

The last, who is described more fully than the rest, and without any mention of his death or successor, is doubtless that king of Edom who was reigning at the close of the 40 years in the Wilderness; of whom Israel requested a passage

through his border, Numb. xx. Thus, between the death of Esau and the accession of Hadar, there are seven reigns. We will suppose that Esau died about the same time as his brother Jacob, *i. e.* about 200 years before the Exode: then from the death of Esau to the time when Moses sent his embassy to the reigning king, we have about 240 years, *i. e.* full 30 years to each reign, which for an elective monarchy is an ample allowance.

§ 288. I have been the more anxious to vindicate the ancient Catholic and Scriptural Chronology on this point, because so many modern critics and commentators, believers as well as rationalists, have agreed to abandon it. The question, I think it may be said, is now set at rest.

Since, then, the 430 years are not dated from the descent into Egypt, but from some other event, which Moses evidently supposes would be present to the thoughts of his readers, there can hardly be a question *what* event he contemplates. The Exode was the fulfilment of a *promise*, and this we find in the xvth chapter of Genesis. The day in which Abraham, being justified by faith, fell into a trance, and heard the voice of God saying to him, "*Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall humble them four hundred years, and also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge; and afterward shall they come out with great substance,*" and saw, in his vision, the smoking furnace, and burning lamp passing between the victims,—the type of the Pillar of Cloud and Fire—surely, this alone can be the day to which Moses looks back in that emphatic statement, "*That selfsame day* the children of Israel came out by their armies'."

In the Introduction we assumed, as a corollary from the scheme there described, that the time of this momentous incident, the epoch of the sojourning of the Patriarchs in the land of Promise, lies two years after Abraham's entrance into Canaan, that is to say, when Abraham was 77 years

¹ Compare Gen. xv. 12, "When the sun was going down..." 17. "When the sun went down, and it was dark," with Ex. xii. 41, 42; "It came to pass at the end of the 430 years, even the self-same

day it came to pass...It is a *night* to be much observed to the Lord," &c. Also, Gen. v. 18: "*In that same day* the Lord made a covenant with Abraham."

old, and therefore 23 years before the birth of Isaac. Then, since Jacob, born when Isaac was 60 years old, was himself 130 years old when he stood before Pharaoh, it follows that the day of the Promise lies $23+60+130=213$ years before the descent into Egypt, and this 217 years before the Exode. This adjustment, however, depends upon the assumption that the term of "two years after the Flood," at the end of which Arphaxad was born, Gen. xi. 10, is to be understood of complete time, reckoned from the end of the Flood (or rather, from its consummation, as will be explained in the sequel): for, if they are reckoned from the beginning of the Flood, the symmetry of the scheme will require the assumption of an interval of three years, perhaps even four, between Genesis xii. and xv: in which case the 1st year of the 430 will begin with the 79th or 80th year of Abraham, and the descent into Egypt will lie at the end of 212 or 211 years. But I abide by the original assumption, the truth of which will hereafter be attested by a remarkable "economy."

§ 289.

B. C. 2093. Abraham born.

2018. Abraham, 75 years old, departs from Haran, to which place he had previously gone from Ur of the Chaldees, Gen. xi. 31—xii. 5: comes to Sichem, thence to a place between Bethel and Ai: thence advances southward, and, in consequence of

2017. a famine, descends into Egypt, where he makes no long stay, xii. Returns to Beth-el. Lot separates from Abraham, xiii. At this time the cities of the plain were revolted from Chedorlaomer, to whom they had been subject 12 years, xiv.

2016. 1. Chedorlaomer's invasion, and battle with the kings of these cities. Abraham rescues Lot. Melchizedek blesses him, xiv: THE WORD OF THE LORD COMES TO ABRAHAM: THE PROMISE, xv.

2007. Abraham 86 y. Ishmael is born, xvi.

1994. Abraham 99 y. The covenant renewed: circumcision ordained, xvii. The visit of the Three Angels, xviii. Destruction of Sodom, xix. Abraham journeys southward: second denial of Sarah, xx. (in Gerar).

1993. Isaac is born (in Beer-sheba), xxi. Long sojourn in the land of the Philistines, v. 34. Abraham offers up Isaac, xxii. The time is not specified: the next event is the death of

1956. Sarah, 127 y. (Abraham 137 y.) xxiii.

- 1954 Isaac marries Rebekah, xxv. 20. Abraham marries Keturah.
 1934 Esau and Jacob born, xxv. Isaac removes to Gerar in consequence of a famine: denies his wife, xxvi.
 1918. Abraham dies, 175 y., xxv. 7.
 1894. Esau 40 y. marries, xxvi. 34.
 1870. Ishmael dies, 137 y., xxv. 17.

§ 290. At this point, the chronological thread is dropt, for Isaac's age, at the time of xxvii. 1, is not mentioned. This information, however, is casually supplied a long way further on in the history. When Jacob came into Egypt, he was 130 years old, xlvii. 9—28: at that time, 7 years of plenty and 2 of famine were elapsed, xlv. 6: at the beginning of the 7 years of plenty Joseph was 30 years old, xli. 46. Hence when Jacob was 130, Joseph was 39 years old; *i. e.* Jacob was 91 years old when Joseph was born. Still, unless we know the exact point of Jacob's history belonging to this latter event, we cannot adjust the chronology precisely. It happens that it is known: for "it came to pass when Rachel had born Joseph, that Jacob said unto Laban, send me away that I may go unto mine own place," &c. xxx. 25, *i. e.* Joseph was born just at the end of the second servitude of seven years, xxxi. 41. Jacob therefore was 91 years old when he had been with Laban 14 years, therefore was 77 years old at the time of his departure from his father Isaac, who was consequently at that time 137 years old. And here an interesting mark of the truth of the narrative offers itself to our notice. Isaac lived to the age of 180 years, xxxv. 28. Yet, at the age of 137, he thought himself old and likely to die soon: "Behold," said he, "I am old, I know not the day of my death:" xxvii. 1. The foreboding of the patriarch—which was shared by Esau, *v.* 41, and Rebekah *v.* 45—is explained by the fact noticed at xxv. 17: *Isaac had now arrived at that age at which his brother Ishmael died.*

§ 291.

- B. C. 1856. Isaac, 137 y., blesses Jacob and Esau, 77 y. Jacob flees to Padan-Aram, xxvii. xxviii. Esau goes to Ishmael [to his family] and marries his daughter, xxviii. 6.
 1849. Jacob having served 7 y., marries Leah and Rachel, xxix. 20-30. Leah bears Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah. Bilhah

bears Dan and Naphtali, to Rachel. Zilpah bears Gad and Asher, to Leah. Leah bears Issachar, Zebulun, and Dinah.

1842 Rachel bears Joseph, xxx. 25¹. Jacob serves 6 y. for his cattle; 20 y. in all, xxxi. 41.

1836 The departure from Padan-Aram, xxxi. Jacob 97 y. wrestles with the Angel. xxxii. Interview with Esau, xxxiii. Comes to Succoth, and there builds an house, v. 17. Hence to Shalem, a city of Shechem, "*When he came from Padan-Aram, and pitched his tent before the city, and he bought a parcel of a field where he had spread his tent, of the children of Hamor...and he erected there an altar.*" xxxiii. 17—20.

§ 292. Before we proceed, it is necessary to look forward a little. In the next chapter we find Dinah, who was born just before the end of the 14th year in Padan, grown up to marriageable age. Did then the residence in Succoth and Shalem occupy a period of at least 8 years? Suppose it: then since the incidents of xxxiv.—xxxv. are manifestly continuous,—the departure from Shechem, a residence at Bethel, a journey from Bethel to Ephrath, Rachel's death there, and the arrival at Hebron where Isaac was still living—are we then to suppose that Jacob suffered so long a time

¹ Leah's first four conceptions evidently followed in the shortest possible time (See Levit. xii. 1—4), so that the birth of Judah took place at the end of 4×9 months + 3×40 days, or 1,200 days after her marriage. The three last, in like manner, occupied a period of 3×9 months + 2×40 , or 890 days. Seven years contain 2,556 days, so that the interval between the birth of Judah and the conception of Issachar may be 466 days; suppose it, however, to be 420 days. Of course this is not sufficient for four births, two by Bilhah, two by Zilpah, which the narrative relates consecutively, as if they all intervened between the birth of Judah and the conception of Issachar. But, in truth, the text implies nothing of the kind: in all likelihood it was when Leah became pregnant for the fourth time, that Rachel had recourse to the expedient of a substitutive birth, so that Bilhah's first child was born soon

after Judah. Leah, who, when she perceived (about 60 or 70 days after the birth of Judah) that she was not about to become a mother again, might naturally suppose that she was to have no more children, would presently resort to the same expedient; thus Zilpah's first child would be born at the end of not more than 340 days from the birth of Judah; and a second conception might follow some weeks before the expiration of the remaining 80 out of the 420 days, so that Zilpah's second was parallel in part with Leah's fifth pregnancy. Bilhah's second child was perhaps born about the same time as Zilpah's first. The whole story, therefore, is perfectly compatible with the order of nature: this was shewn long ago, by Ussher and Petavius, but all the old cavils are reproduced by the modern German infidels. See Hengstenberg, *Auth. des Pentat.* 2, 361.

to elapse ere he visited his father, after an absence in Padan of twenty years? Proceed a little further: in the history of Joseph it comes out incidentally, xxxvii. 14, that Jacob was with his father at a time when, Joseph being 17 years old v. 2, Jacob was 108, and Isaac therefore 168, that is, *twelve years before the death of Isaac*. Now since, from the arrival in Canaan to Joseph's 17th year are 11 years, it is so far possible that the residence in Succoth and Shalem, down to the time of the slaughter at Shechem, may have occupied 8 years, and the other incidents, to the arrival at Hebron, not more than three years; and in this view, only the notice of Isaac's death will be anticipative, xxxv. 29, as was that of Abraham's death, xxv. 7. We may also suppose that Jacob, soon after his arrival in Canaan, and at other times, did the duty of a son by his aged father, although no visit is expressly mentioned before xxxv. 27. But, in truth, this view of this matter is attended with considerable difficulties. For the unprejudiced reader cannot but feel, in reading the history of Joseph in the xxxviith chapter, that Joseph is there represented as being at that time Jacob's youngest son: "Jacob loved Joseph, because he was the son of his old age." The description is much more applicable to Benjamin, who was born full 14 years later than Joseph. Nor is this all; but Rachel herself, who died in giving birth to Benjamin, is spoken of as still living in Joseph's 17th year. "Shall I and thy mother, and thy brethren, indeed, come to bow ourselves down unto thee?" v. 10. There is yet another circumstance which is consistent with these. Throughout the story of Joseph's interviews with his brethren in Egypt, Benjamin is spoken of as a "lad" נָעַר, nay, once he is expressly termed a "little one," קָטָן. At the time of these interviews, Joseph was 39 years old, so that if the birth of Benjamin occurred ever so short a time before Joseph's 17th year, this "little one" was a full-grown man, 22 years old.

§ 293. It cannot be doubted then, that the story of Joseph is beautifully consistent in this respect. We begin it, with the feeling (obscured, however, by the previous mention of the birth of Benjamin and death of Rachel) that Joseph was his father's youngest son, and his mother still

alive: and in the end it appears that our feeling was correct: Joseph at 17 years old, *must* have been the youngest son, in virtue of the fact that 22 years later his brother Benjamin was still "a little one." It follows then that at *chap. xxxvii.* the history goes back to an earlier point—earlier, that is, than *xxxv. 16.* Consequently it precedes the whole of *chap. xxxv.,* for the incidents of *v. 1—15.* are continuous. Therefore it precedes *chap. xxxiv.* for the departure to Bethel took place *from* Shechem, and in consequence, as it seems, of the occurrences related in that chapter. But the concluding incidents of *chap. xxxiii.* are continuous, and the last of them is expressly referred to the time of Jacob's return from Padan. *Consequently, chap. xxxvii. lies between the arrival at Shechem and the slaughter of the Shechemites.* In this view of the facts, it comes out that Jacob really did what as a good son he must have done: he suffered no long time to elapse after his return ere he visited his aged sire: nay, he took up his abode at Hebron. The story is consistent too, in respect to Dinah. It now appears that it was after the report of Joseph's death that Jacob removed to Shechem (from Hebron); Dinah, born in the same year with Joseph, was then 17 years old; in the prime of maidenhood.—Besides: after the slaughter of the Shechemites, which caused Jacob to say, "Ye have made me to stink among the inhabitants of the land, and I being few in number, they shall gather themselves together against me, and slay me, and I shall be destroyed, I and my house," and, for fear of this, to depart thence—surely he was not likely to send his sons and their flocks into that part of the country very soon. Yet, this he did, if the events of the 37th chapter are posterior to those of the 34th. For *xxxvii. 12.* "Joseph's brethren went to feed their father's flock in Shechem, and Israel said unto Joseph, Do not thy brethren feed the flock in Shechem? Come, and I will send thee unto them." And this, *at most three years* after his retreat from Shechem, for we cannot suppose Dinah (and Joseph) less than 14 years old at the time of *chap. xxxiv.* Let any one read again the expression of the old man's alarm in the 30th verse of that chapter, and say whether it is at all probable that he would send not only his other sons,

but his beloved Joseph, into a neighbourhood which he had reason to think so dangerous? On the other hand, if *chap.* xxxvii. lies between xxxiii. and xxxiv., the circumstance of the flocks being at *Shechem* is accounted for. Jacob had bought a place of residence there, and had entered into friendly relations with the inhabitants. Perhaps he left the flocks there with his sons, as their usual or frequent place of residence, when he himself went to reside, with Joseph, at Hebron, in attendance upon his father. And lastly, I cannot forbear remarking that in the departure from Hebron to Shechem, after the tidings of Joseph's death, we seem to discern a beautiful trait of the history. Shechem, as the scene of Joseph's death, had a strong attraction for the fond old man, who said, "I will go down to the grave to my son mourning."

§ 294. But, it will be asked, if the fact be so that the whole of *chap.* xxxvii. is continuous with *chap.* xxxiii., how is it to be accounted for? The answer is obvious. At the death of Isaac, or rather, 12 years later, a new and most important scene of the history begins. The sojourn of Israel in Canaan is now at an end, the sojourn in Egypt is henceforth the subject of the history. The former, Moses traces down to the death of Isaac, and adds, (as before in the case of Ishmael, after the death of Abraham, xxv. 12—18.) an account of the descendants of Esau and their prosperous destiny; which he concludes with this emphatic remark, xxxvi. 31, xxxvii. 1: "These are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom *before there reigned any king over the children of Israel*: and Jacob dwelt in the land wherein his father was a stranger, in the land of Canaan." That is, "while Esau was multiplying into a mighty nation, Jacob was still a stranger and a sojourner as his fathers were. Nay, even at this day, here in the Wilderness, while as yet Israel has no king, and is not numbered among the nations, the dukes and kings of Esau reign in Mount Seir. Nevertheless the promise stands sure; the elder shall yet serve the younger." Then begins the new section of the history: *אלה תלדות יעקב*, "These are the generations of Jacob:" as if he had said, "Here follows the history of the descent of your fathers into Egypt, and how the foundations of the chosen nation

were there laid." For the origins of this great crisis, the first link in the chain of providential causes, he goes back to the circumstances which carried Joseph into Egypt. And because it was fit that these should be related in this connexion, therefore he reserved them for this place when he arrived at that point of the story (between xxxiii. and xxxiv.) to which they belong in the sequence of time. This, which is manifestly the plan of the history, is not interrupted by the insertion of *chap.* xxxviii., the story of Judah; for that also belongs to the *toldoth* of Jacob: it was necessary to relate somewhere the memorable circumstances belonging to the birth of Jacob's grandsons in the line of Judah, who were born just before the migration into Egypt; and this was the only fit place. It could not be put before *chap.* xxxvii., for its importance consists in its reference to the descent into Egypt, the history of which ought, of course, to begin with Joseph's dreams: nor could it be inserted anywhere after *chap.* xxxix. without giving a painful check to the intense interest of the story of Joseph. It is placed therefore where a full and ominous pause ensues, and at a point where no more of the incidents of the sojourn in Canaan are to be related, except those which hang upon the thread of the destinies of Joseph.—"At that time," it is said, "Judah went down from his brethren, &c." The time here intended may very well coincide with the time of Joseph's deportation. For Judah who was born 1846 B.C., more than 4 years before Joseph, was now past the age of 21 years: and we have 22 years remaining, which are sufficient for the birth of Judah's three sons, the marriage of the two elder to Tamar, and after a while (*v.* 12—14.) the birth of the twins Pharez and Zarah to Judah: but not more than sufficient, for Judah's departure from his brethren *v.* 1. evidently lies after the time of *chap.* xxxvii. 26. Hence the birth of Pharez and Zarah must be placed just before the descent into Egypt.

§ 295.

B. C. 1836 Between this year and 1825, Jacob is settled at Hebron.

1825 Joseph's dreams, xxxvii. He is sold into Egypt. Judah separates from his brethren, and marries Shuah, xxxviii. Birth of Er, Onan, and Shelah, 1825—1822. Jacob removes

- from Hebron to Shechem: the slaughter of the Shechemites by Simeon and Levi, xxxiv. Jacob departs from Shechem, and is commanded to remove to Bethel, xxxv. 1.
- Cir.* 1815 Departure from Bethel, to Ephrath: Rachel dies in giving birth to Benjamin, v. 16—20. Jacob removes to Edar; thence to Hebron.
- 1814 Joseph has been some time in prison, xxxix; interprets the dreams of the butler and baker, xl. (two years before Pharaoh's dream, xli. 1.)
- 1813 Isaac dies, xxxv. 28.
- 1812 Pharaoh's dream: Joseph advanced: seven years of plenty begin, xli.
- Cir.* 1807 "Judah took a wife for Er his first-born," xxxviii. 6. Death of Er and Onan. Joseph's two sons born.
- 1805 Seven years of famine begin.
- 1804 First descent of the Patriarchs into Egypt, xlii.
- 1803 Second visit: Joseph discovers himself: Jacob and his household descend into Egypt, xliii—xlv.
- 1786 Jacob dies, 147 y. xlvii. 28.
- 1732 Joseph dies, 110 y. l. 26.
- 1666 Moses born.
- 1626 Moses 40 y. flees to Midian, Acts vii. 30.
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CHAPTER VII.

THE PERIOD FROM THE CREATION OF ADAM TO THE CALL OF ABRAHAM.

§ 296. OF the tract of time which reaches from the creation of the First Man to the epoch of the Abrahamic Covenant, a period of equal extent with that which has engaged our enquiry in the six preceding chapters, the only record which has come down to us is the brief narrative contained in the first eleven chapters of Genesis. Compendious as this is, it comprises an exact outline of Chronology. The measures of the period from Adam to the Deluge, and thence to the 75th year of the life of Abraham, are furnished by two connected genealogical tables, Gen. v. and xi: and a page or two would suffice for all that is to be said on this part of our subject, but for the circumstance—remarkable in itself and calling for explanation—that these tables exist in no less than three conflicting forms, involving a difference of many centuries in the computation. We have therefore to determine, on critical grounds, which of these forms, whether the Masoretic Hebrew, the Alexandrine Greek, or the Samaritan Hebrew, contains the true enumeration: and further, we must endeavour to account for the existence of the conflicting estimates. The reader is already aware that the Hebrew text alone is adopted in this work: we will first draw out its contents in a tabular form; and in a separate section state and discuss the question as it relates to the Alexandrine and Samaritan Chronologies.

SECTION I.

THE GENUINE HEBREW CHRONOLOGY OF THIS PERIOD.

IN the first place it is requisite for the exactness which is contemplated in this enquiry, to ascertain the precise place of the juncture between the two series of times, that is to say, the exact *terminus ad quem* of the antediluvian period, and *terminus a quo* of the post-diluvian genealogies. Upon a cursory inspection of the text, we get the following items: from Adam to the birth of Noah, 1056 years; thence to the beginning of the Flood 600 years (as it seems); for the duration of the Flood, 1 year; then, "two years after the Flood," Shem begets Arphaxad;—but whether the year of the Flood is included in the two, is open to conjecture; lastly, from the birth of Arphaxad to the time when "Terah, 70 years old, begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran," the text of Gen. xi. numbers 290 years. Taking each item in years complete, we get a sum of 1949 years. Then, if Abraham was really born when Terah was 70, a further term of 75 years, or 2024 years in all, will bring us to the time of Abraham's entrance into the Promised Land.

§ 297. But in truth the birth of Abraham lies 60 years later. Moses himself intimates as much by interposing the mention of Terah's death, and age at death, between the departure into Haran, and the departure thence into Canaan: Gen. xi. 31. "And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot &c. . . and they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees to go into the land of Canaan, and they came unto Haran and dwelt there. And the days of Terah were 205 years, and Terah died in Haran. And the Lord said unto Abram, &c." It is said, This mention of Terah's death is but a prolepsis, he must have died sixty years after the Call. But the point is (to me, at least) decided by the express statement of St. Stephen, Acts vii. 1—4. "The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before that he dwelt in Charran. And God said unto him, Depart from thy country and from thy father's house, and come hither into a land which

I shall shew thee. Then he departed from the land of the Chaldeans, and dwelt in Charran. And thence *after his father's death* He caused him to remove into this land in which ye now dwell." For need I remark that this statement, like those of St. Paul which we have previously considered is, to me, no mere echo of a rabbinical or Alexandrine exegesis, but an utterance of His Spirit Who "hath marked out the appointed times?"—If then, Terah's death at the age of 205 years, immediately preceded Abraham's departure into Canaan at the age of 75 years, it follows that Abraham was born when Terah was—not 70, but—130 years old.

The conclusion does not contradict the statement in the 26th verse: only, we must now understand Moses there to say that Terah at the age of 70 years began to have sons, and that three sons were born to him, of whom Abraham, as pre-eminent and the subject of the ensuing history, is named first¹—It is

¹ Down to the time of Ussher, chronologists and commentators in general were strangely blind to the true construction of this part of the history. S. Jerom. *Trad. Hebr. in Genes.* states the difficulty (i. e. Abraham was born when Terah was 70, but Abraham at the age of 75 entered Canaan after the death of Terah at the age of 205) and calls it *indissolubilis questio*; and Joseph Scaliger said of it, *Eliam expectandum esse qui nodum solvat*. Yet certainly the truth was not unknown to some of the ancients. The authors of the Samaritan text saw that the sojourning in Canaan began at the death of Terah, but they cut the knot by an audacious corruption of the text, substituting the number 145 for 205. In one text (for there are more than one) of the LXX chronology, the Call was certainly placed at the end of Terah's 205th year, i. e. at his decease, *infra* § 307. Josephus too, in one of two outlines of the chronology which occur in his writings, must necessarily be supposed to have proceeded upon the same view, § 319. Philo Judæus (de Migrat.) says explicitly, οὐδένα τῶν ἐντετυχηκότων τοῖς νόμοις ἀγνοεῖν εἰκόες, ὅτι πρό-

τερον μὲν ἐκ τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς ἀναστὰς γῆς Ἰαβραάμ ᾤκησεν εἰς Χαρράν, τελευταῖον δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκεῖθι καὶ ταύτης μετανίσταται. So Chrysost. *Hom. in Genes.* 31 and 36, and Procopius Gazæus in *Genes.* who writes thus on the passage: "How is it to be understood that Terah is said to have begotten Abraham at the age of 70, and died aged 205; since at that time Abraham was not 135 but only 75 years old? It is evident that Terah begat Haran (*ita legendum*) at the age of 70 complete, and Abraham not immediately after, but at the age of 130. Moses does not mean to represent Abraham as the first-born, but puts him foremost as first and chief, and the main object of the ensuing history." S. Augustine also, although he seems to have held that Abraham was born when Terah was 70, states, as worthy of consideration, the same solution of the difficulty: *Potest et sic solvi, quoniam scriptura quæ dicit: Cum esset Thare annorum LXX genuit Abram et Nachor et Aran, non utique hoc intelligi voluit, quia eodem anno etatis suæ omnes tres genuit; sed ex quo anno generare cepit eum annum*

remarkable that from Shem to Terah Moses has said nothing of the death of the preceding patriarchs; when therefore we find him mentioning Terah's decease and his age at death, one naturally thinks his design was to let us know that this patriarch died before Abraham left Haran¹.

§ 298. In the Introduction to this work it was assumed, that the period from the Flood to the Promise, Gen. xv, is one

commemoravit scriptura. Fieri autem potest, ut posterior generatus sit Abraham, sed merito excellentiæ prior fuerit nominatus. Quest. in Genes. These passages are cited by Ussher, *Chronol. Sacr.*, cap. vii. On the other hand, one text of the LXX, one outline of chronology in Josephus, and that of Demetrius, § 315, evidently place the birth of Abraham at Terah's 70th year. So do the Christian writers, Theophilus of Antioch, Africanus, Eusebius, Prosper Aquitan, Syncellus, and perhaps Clement of Alexandria (*infra* § 316 ff.). Origen advances a curious solution of the difficulty: he makes Terah 70 years old at the birth of Abraham, but affirms that the 75 years of Abraham are dated, not from his natural birth, but from his *θεογνωσία*. *Sel. in Genes.* xi. 26, comp. *ib.* vi. 9, 10. οὐκ ἐλογίσθη εἰς ζῶντα τὰ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη τὰ πρὸ τῆς θεογνωσίας αὐτοῦ: in other words, Abraham was truly 135 years old at the Call. (Mr. Greswell, iii. 439, mistakes the meaning of the passage.) This solution is tacitly adopted by Jerome, *Trad. Hebr. in Genes.* u. s. *Ex illo tempore ei dies vitæ et tempus reputatur ætatis, ex quo confessus est Dominum, spernens idola Chaldeorum.* The rabbins acknowledge that the death of Terah (in some sense) preceded the Call; but, say they, it was spiritual death, in respect of idolatry, not natural. Syncellus adopts the same explanation: Abraham, he says, attained to the knowledge of God when he was 60 years old; then he broke the idols of his father, and convinced him of the folly of idolatry. Terah then accompanied him into Haran,

but relapsing into idolatry, remained there to the day of his death, sixty years after Abraham's departure into Canaan. In the *Apocryphum Thare* (Cod. Pseudepsigr. V. T. i. 336) the story is related (in substance) thus; "When A. was 14 years old, ἐτῶν ἰδ', θεογνωσίας ἀξιώθεῖς, he reproves Terah's idolatry, breaks his idols, and departs with him out of Chaldæa: on their arrival at Haran, Terah dies." We must evidently read οἷδ', 74; else there is an interval of 60 years between the departure from Ur and arrival at Haran. (This passage, therefore, is unsuitable to Mr. Greswell's purpose, *Diss.* iii. 439.) I may add, that in the vulgar Jewish chronology, this fabulous incident of the idols is referred to Abraham's 49th year. (Some curious solutions, by modern writers, of the supposed difficulty in respect of Acts vii. are stated and discussed by Ussher, *u. s.*)

¹ A further argument to the same effect would result from the fact that Sarah was but ten years younger than Abraham, were it certain, (as indeed it seems highly probable) that Sarah is identical with Ischah, daughter of Haran, see Gen. xi. 28, 29. So Josephus, *Ant.* i. 7, and the rabbins understand it, and most of the Christian Fathers, S. August. *de Civ. D.* xvi. 12. 19. The authors of the *Seder Olam Rabba* meet this objection to their scheme with this monstrous absurdity: *Quum ad annorum sex ætatem Haran excrevisset, accepit uxorem: quæ peperit ei annorum octo existenti, uno anno Lotum, altero Jescham quæ et Sarah est!*

of 430 years, symmetrical with the 430 years from thence to the Exode: *i.e.* since we have made out 427 or 428 years, that the events related in Gen. xii.—xiv. occupy a period of 2 years, or 3 at most: consequently, that Abraham's 78th year and the first year of the 430 begin together: whence it followed that the time of sojourning in Canaan after the Promise was 213 years (or 215 after the Call), and the time of sojourning in Egypt 217 years. I see no reason to depart from this arrangement; but the reader may be apprised that, if he thinks a term of 2 years not enough for the occurrences of Gen. xii. and xiv., the cyclical symmetry may still hold good upon either of the following views of the facts: 1. The Promise, Gen. xv., may be placed as much later than the time of Gen. xii. as may seem necessary:—in this case the time of sojourning will be divided between Canaan and Egypt in a different proportion, *e.g.* if the Promise be assigned to the beginning of Abraham's 81st year, the portions will be 210 and 220, and then the dates *B.C.* of the several events will have to be placed 3 years earlier; the birth of Isaac, 1996 *B.C.*; of Jacob, 1936; of the descent into Egypt, 1806. Or, 2. It may be assumed that the 430 years are reckoned *from the Call*, and that the departure from Haran occurred 2 or 3 years after the death of Terah, thus making 430 years from the Flood to the Call, Gen. xii. But I have stated my opinion, and by that I abide.

§ 299. The 430 years of sojourning were complete to a day, "that self-same day" on which Abraham received the Promise, and saw the great Vision of the Exodus of his seed, even on that day the Vision was accomplished¹." If this period was the counterpart of another of the same length preceding it, had

¹ The following note was accidentally omitted in its proper place, at c. vi. § 288. The Rabbins assign this covenant to the night of 15 Nisan (afterwards passover-night). Pirke R. Elieser, c. 28. *R. Jehuda dixit: Illa nox qua Deus S. B. Abrahamo apparuit fuit nox Paschalis, qua eduxit eum foras, dicens, an numerare potes omnem exercitum caelorum?* Seder Olam Rabba, c. 5. *Die xv. men-*

sis Nisan locutus est Deus cum Abrahamo inter frusta. Tanchuma, fol. 23-4. *Die xv. mensis Nisan fœdus inter Deum et Abrahamum sancitum est inter sectiones animantium, q. d. Ex. xii. 41. Et factum est (מקץ) in fine. קץ אחד לכרן terminus unus fuit omnibus his rebus.—Schöttgen. de Messia, vi. 4. § 3. t. ii. p. 560.*

this earlier one also its point of departure on "the self-same day?" *It had.* For let us observe the notes of time, so minute and doubtless significant, with which Moses accompanies the history of that awful year. "On the 17th day of the 2nd month, the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened." "The rain was upon the earth 40 days and 40 nights." "The waters increased upon the earth 150 days." "And God remembered Noah and all that were with him in the ark, and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters assuaged; the fountains also of the deep, and the windows of heaven were stopped, and the rain from heaven was restrained; and the waters returned from off the earth continually, and after the end of the 150 days the waters were abated; *and the ark rested in the 7th month, on the 17th day of the month, on the mountains of Ararat.*" That the form of year intended in these dates was lunar, does not admit of a doubt. The Jews, and Semitic nations generally, knew no other; certainly their year was of this form at the time when the book of Genesis was written and delivered to them, and of course they would refer these day-names to their own calendar. But not the *month-numbers*; for a new enumeration in that respect was established at the Exode. Abib, or passover-month, was thenceforth to be the first month of the year. It follows that it was not till then accounted the first month; and if so, the *first* month, as reckoned till then, can have been no other than the corresponding month of the other half of the year, the month of the autumnal equinox, of the early rain and seed-time, as Abib or Nisan is that of the vernal equinox, the latter rain and barley-harvest. That is, the ancient Hebrew year began before the Exode, with the month afterwards numbered 7th, and called Ethanim and Tisri, agreeably with the usage of the other nations of Western Asia from time immemorial, which continued among the Jews themselves in civil matters, and in the regulation of the sabbatical and jubilean cycle. Hence the seventh month in the year of the Flood was the month Abib. Its 17th day was *the self-same day on which, in the fulness of time, God led His people safe through the waters of the sea.* The Israelites assuredly would mark the coincidence: and one can scarce doubt that Moses points to

this in the words above cited, viii. 1—4, where we are told how on this day, the last of the 150, God remembered Noah, caused His wind to blow and the waters to abate, and the ark to rest on Mount Ararat. This day, then, seems to be marked in the narrative itself as the partition of the two cycles; the boundary between the times of the Old and New World. The judgment was consummated, the chosen seed of the New World rested in safety.

§ 300. But the period contained in the genealogies of the Old World reaches to the 600th year *current*, not complete, of the life of Noah (*supra*, p. 10 and note). We have, therefore, a period of 1655 years, ending at the 1st day of the year of the Flood: and the entire period is 1655 years 6 months and 16 days. That is to say, the series of the mundane æra bears date from the 1st day of Tisri, 1655 years before the 1st Tisri of the year of the Flood. I do not mean to say that the very day of the creation of Adam is hereby determined, but only that the years of Adam and of our race are dated from that point of time.

We have now the equation between the two æras, A. M. and B. C. The Exode is dated 15 Nisan, 1586 B. C., consequently the date of the ark's resting on Mount Ararat is 17 Nisan, $1586 + 860 = 2446$ B. C. And since the years B. C. bear date from 1 January, the 1 Tisri of the year of the Flood lies in 2447 B. C., and the 1 Tisri of the first year of Adam in 4102 B. C.; *i. e.* 1 A. M. begins 1 Tisri 4102 B. C., and reaches to 1 Tisri 4101 B. C., whence 1 Tisri B. C. 1 is the beginning of 4102 A. M., and 1 A. D. begins 1 January 4102 A. M. Any date therefore between 1 Nisan and 1 Tisri of a given year B. C., will be referred to the æra A. M., by *deducting* the year B. C. from 4102; but if the date lie between 1 Tisri and 1 January, we must *add* 1 to the remainder. In like manner, any date between 1 Tisri and 1 January of a given year A. D., will be referred to the æra A. M., by *adding* the year A. D. to 4102; but if the date lie between 1 Jan. and 1 Tisri, *deduct* 1 from the sum. Thus the day of the Exode, 10 April 1586, lies in A. M. 2516, and the dedication of Solomon's Temple, 15 Tisri 1006, in A. M. 3097; so the day of the Crucifixion, 18 March A. D. 29, lies in A. M. 4130, and the 1st Tisri A. D. 32, in A. M. 4134.

§ 301. Hence we have the following dates for the period before the Flood.

A. M. B. C.

1. 4102-1. The first year of the Mundane *Æra*, and of the life of Adam. Whether the years of Adam are reckoned from his creation, or from the expulsion from Paradise, is left undecided.
Cain and Abel.
131. 3972-1. Birth of Seth.
236. 3867-6. Birth of Enos. "Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord."
326. 3777-6. Birth of Cainan.
396. 3707-6. Birth of Mahalaleel.
461. 3642-1. Birth of Jared.
623. 3480-79. Birth of Enoch.
688. 3415-4. Birth of Methuselah.
875. 3228-7. Birth of Lamech.
931. 3172-1. Death of Adam, 930 y.
988. 3115-4. Translation of Enoch, 365 y.
1043. 3060-59. Death of Seth, 912 y. [Bisection of the period from Adam to the Promise.]
1057. 3046-5. Birth of Noah.
1141. 2962-1. Death of Enos, 905 y.
1236. 2867-6. Death of Cainan, 910 y.
1291. 2812-1. Death of Mahalaleel, 895 y.
1423. 2680-79. Death of Jared, 962 y.
1536. 2567-6. The ark begins to be prepared (120 y.)
1557. 2546-5. Noah's eldest son is born (500 y.)
1558. 2545-4. Shem is born.
1652. 2451-0. Lamech dies, 777 y.
1656. 2447. Methuselah dies, in his 969th year.
The Flood, in the 600th year of Noah, 99th of Shem.

§ 302. The death of Abel must be supposed to have not long preceded the birth of Seth, since Eve regarded Seth as the substitute "for Abel, whom Cain slew." In that case there will be no difficulty in explaining Cain's exclamation, "every one who findeth me shall slay me." In 120 years after the Creation, the earth may have had a considerable population. It agrees with this view, that Cain after the birth of his son builds a *city*. The Cainite genealogy need not be supposed to extend to the Flood; perhaps it was intended only to trace the descent down to the time when the arts and modes of civilized life (so called) were invented and established in the line of Cain, *i.e.* to the time described in Gen. vi. 1-6, when "the earth was filled with violence." It seems that the song of Lamech,

that heaven-defying expression of a Titanian arrogance, is left on record as a token of the insolent confidence which was inspired by the invention of the arts of deadly warfare.

Adah and Zillah hear my voice,
Give ear unto my speech ye wives of Lamech.
I will slay the man because of my wound,
The child because of my hurt.

“Man and child, old and young, will I strike dead for the slightest hurt done unto me.” Therefore,

If Cain shall be avenged seven-fold,
Surely Lamech seven and seventy-fold.

“I am safer with my weapons of war than Cain with the terror of God’s curse.” But we may well suppose that there lies some deeper mystery in this brief record of Cain and his seed. This, and that other dark history concerning the sons of God, I must leave untouched, and proceed with the proper subject of this chapter.

§ 303. In the year of the Flood we have the following dates and numbers.

- vii. 3—10. A pause of 7 days.
- 12, 17. Rain 40 days.
- 24. The waters prevailed 150 days; “at the end of the 150 days the waters were abated.” viii. 3.

The sum is 197 days. Now it was on the 17th day of the 2nd month, that is, on the 47th day of the year, that Noah entered the ark, and the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened, *v.* 11; and on the 17th day of the 7th month the ark rested, viii. 4. The interval reckoned in months of 30 days is 150 days. Hence it might seem that the pause of 7 days began on the 1st day of the year, that the 40 days’ rain followed, and after these, on the 17th of the 2nd month, Noah entered the ark, and the windows of heaven were opened, &c. But this would contradict the narrative, for the 40 days’ rain evidently began on the day that Noah entered the ark.

We must, therefore, arrange the times in this way :

40 days, to the 10th of the 2nd month (A. M. 1656. B. C. 2447)

7 days suspense to the 17th day. The Flood begins. Noah enters the ark.

40 days rain.

110 days the waters prevail.

150 days, ending at the 17th of the 7th month. (17 Nisan, A. M. 1656, B. C. 2446.)

The year being lunar, the interval is in fact but 148 days, or it was on the 149th day current, that the ark rested: but this discrepancy is of no moment.

viii. 5. The waters decreased till the 10th month, 1st day; 100 days from the ark's resting.

v. 6. At the end of 40 days (10th day of 11th month, *i. e.*, of the month afterwards called *Ab*, the 5th month,) Noah opened the window and sent forth the raven and dove.

v. 10. Seven days later, the dove was sent forth the second time; and at the end of another week, the third and last time: 24th of 11th month.

v. 13. On the 1st day of the new year, (a week after the departure of the dove,) the face of the ground was dry.

v. 14. On the 27th of the 2nd month Noah issues from the ark, after a sojourn of a lunar year and 10 days, or a *complete solar year*.

§ 304. "Shem was 100 years old and begat Arphaxad 2 years after the Flood," xi. 10. If these two years are measured from the beginning of the Flood, so that the birth of Arphaxad lies in the year 1658, one year after the egress from the ark, the Table then proceeds as follows:

| A. M. | B. C. | |
|-------|----------|---|
| 1657. | 2446-5. | Noah issues from the Ark, 27th of 2nd month. (Oct. or Nov.) |
| 1658. | 2445-4. | Birth of Arphaxad. |
| 1693. | 2410-09. | Birth of Salah. |
| 1723. | 2380-79. | Birth of Eber. |
| 1757. | 2346-5. | Birth of Peleg. The earth divided in his days (239 y.). |
| 1787. | 2316-5. | Birth of Reu. |
| 1819. | 2284-3. | Birth of Serug. |
| 1849. | 2254-3. | Birth of Nahor. |
| 1878. | 2225-4. | Birth of Terah. |
| 1948. | 2155-4. | (Terah's eldest son is born.) |
| 1996. | 2107-6. | Death of Peleg (239 y.) |
| 1997. | 2106-5. | Death of Nahor (148 y.) |

2006. 2697-6. Death of Noah (950 y.)
 2008. 2095-4. *Birth of Abraham.*
 2026. 2077-6. Death of Reu (239 y.)
 2049. 2054-3. Death of Serug (230 y.)
 2083. 2020-19. Death of Terah: *Abraham departs to Canaan.*
 2084. 2019-8. Abraham in Canaan—after, in Egypt.
 2085. 2018-7. Separation of Lot.
 2086. 2017-6. The war at Sodom. Lot rescued. *The Promise, 15 Nisan,*
 2016, B. C.

§ 305. The brief notice concerning Peleg, "in his days was the earth divided," is interesting in several points of view. That division can be no other than the one which is related in Gen. xi. I am aware that some have taken a different view, supposing the confederacy and dispersion of the Babel-builders to have concerned only the godless posterity of Ham. This is a novelty which I only notice to object to it the ancient and universal consent of interpreters, Jews and Christians, who have taught, agreeably with the obvious import of the story, that all mankind were of one speech and language, and as yet formed one community, until the time of that impious attempt; in which, however, it by no means follows that the godly seed of Noah and Shem took part. The earth was not divided until that time, and it *was* divided in the days of Peleg. The time, then, of the dispersion of nations lies somewhere in the 239 years of that Patriarch, or between 2346 and 2107 B. C. Within this period, therefore, we are to seek the origin of nations and empires. In a future stage of our inquiry it will be an interesting question how far the genuine records of ancient nations accord with this determination. But with respect to Peleg we may now remark a manifold significance of the name of this Patriarch. It means "division," with an express reference to the division of the earth: but it seems to have a further significance in these respects:—

1. Peleg is central between Noah and Abraham;

| | | |
|----------|-------|---------|
| Noah | Peleg | Abraham |
| Shem | Reu | |
| Arphaxad | Serug | |
| Salah | Nahor | |
| Heber | Terah | |

2. At Peleg the term of human life is abruptly diminished the second time. Arphaxad, the first-born after the Flood, lived

not half the term of the antediluvian lives: at Peleg it is reduced from an average of about 450 years to 239. Hence Peleg, the 4th from Aphaxad, dies before all his ancestors, and even 10 years before Noah: and the middle year of his life is also that of Arphaxad: also, if the life of Eber be divided into 3 equal parts, the first ends at the central year of Peleg, the second at the death of Reu, and the whole life 4 years after the death of Abraham. The Rabbins and old commentators suppose, not unreasonably, that the name of Peleg's brother, *Joktan* (יֶזְקָן), relates to this diminution of the term of man's life.

We will suppose then, that the great event in reference to which Peleg has his name occurred about the middle of his life, *i. e.* about 220 years after the flood. Hereafter we shall have occasion to point out an interesting fact connected with this hypothesis: at present I have but to remark that the interval here supposed between the dispersion of nations and the Call of Abraham is amply sufficient for the growth of populous nations and the foundation of considerable empires. For in 100 years from the Flood, the population would have grown from 3 males to 400, if it doubled its numbers but once in 14 years. In the second century, since all the males who lived in the first century were still in the vigour of life, the term of doubling cannot have been more than half what it was in the former century. Hence at the end of this century the population might number 400×2^{14} or about 205,000 males; and at the 220th year, it would number, at the same rate, more than 7 times as much, or a million and a half of males. These dispersed over the world, and still living on an average 200 years each, are abundantly sufficient to have overspread the territory of the most ancient nations with a numerous and civilized population in the course of about 200 years from that time. For it is to be remembered that the antediluvian arts of civilization were of course preserved among the descendants of Noah.

§ 306. The annexed Table exhibits at one view the contents of the genealogies in Gen. v. xi., so as to shew at the same time the relative ages of the Patriarchs and the contemporary durations of their lives.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|------|
| B. C. | 4102 | 3972 | 3867 | 3777 | 3707 | 3642 | 3480 | 3415 | 3228 | 3172 | 3115 | 3060 | 3046 | 2962 | 2867 | 2812 | 2680 | 2545 | 2451 | 2447 | 2446 |
| A. M. | 1 | 131 | 236 | 326 | 396 | 461 | 623 | 698 | 875 | 931 | 988 | 1043 | 1057 | 1141 | 1236 | 1291 | 1423 | 1558 | 1752 | 1656 | 1657 |
| Adam | 1 | 131 | 236 | 326 | 396 | 461 | 623 | 698 | 875 | (<i>ob. 930^v.</i>) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Seth..... | | 1 | 106 | 196 | 266 | 331 | 493 | 558 | 745 | 801 | 858 | (<i>ob. 912^r.</i>) | | | | | | | | | |
| Enos | | | 1 | 91 | 161 | 226 | 388 | 453 | 640 | 696 | 753 | 908 | 822 | (<i>ob. 906^v.</i>) | | | | | | | |
| Cainan..... | | | | 1 | 71 | 136 | 298 | 363 | 550 | 606 | 663 | 718 | 732 | 816 | (<i>ob. 910^r.</i>) | | | | | | |
| Mahaleel..... | | | | | 1 | 66 | 223 | 293 | 480 | 536 | 593 | 648 | 692 | 746 | 841 | (<i>ob. 895^v.</i>) | | | | | |
| Jared | | | | | | 1 | 163 | 228 | 415 | 471 | 528 | 573 | 587 | 671 | 766 | 821 | (<i>ob. 962^v.</i>) | | | | |
| Enoch | | | | | | | 1 | 66 | 253 | 309 | (<i>br. 365^v.</i>) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Methuselah..... | | | | | | | | 1 | 188 | 244 | 301 | 356 | 370 | 454 | 549 | 604 | 736 | 871 | 965 | (<i>ob. 909^{ab}.</i>) | |
| Lamech | | | | | | | | | 1 | 57 | 114 | 169 | 183 | 267 | 362 | 417 | 549 | 684 | (<i>ob. 777^r.</i>) | | |
| Noah | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 85 | 180 | 235 | 367 | 502 | 596 | 600 | 601 |
| Shem | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 95 | 99 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 100 |
| -B. C. | 2445 | 2410 | 2380 | 2346 | 2316 | 2234 | 2254 | 2225 | 2155 | 2107 | 2106 | 2097 | 2095 | 2077 | 2054 | 2020 | 2007 | 1995 | 1977 | 1945 | 1935 |
| A. M. | 1658 | 1693 | 1723 | 1757 | 1787 | 1819 | 1849 | 1878 | 1948 | 1996 | 1997 | 2006 | 2008 | 2026 | 2049 | 2083 | 2096 | 2108 | 2126 | 2153 | 2163 |
| Noah..... | 602 | 637 | 667 | 701 | 731 | 763 | 793 | 822 | 892 | 940 | 941 | (<i>ob. 950^r.</i>) | | | | | | | | | |
| Shem | 101 | 136 | 166 | 200 | 230 | 262 | 292 | 321 | 391 | 439 | 440 | 449 | 451 | 469 | 492 | 526 | 559 | 551 | 569 | (<i>ob. 600^r.</i>) | |
| Arphaxad | 1 | 36 | 66 | 100 | 130 | 162 | 192 | 221 | 291 | 339 | 340 | 349 | 351 | 369 | 392 | 426 | (<i>ob. 438^r.</i>) | | | | |
| Salah | | 1 | 31 | 65 | 95 | 127 | 157 | 186 | 256 | 304 | 305 | 314 | 316 | 334 | 357 | 391 | 404 | 416 | (<i>ob. 433^r.</i>) | | |
| Eber..... | | | 1 | 35 | 65 | 97 | 127 | 156 | 226 | 274 | 275 | 284 | 286 | 304 | 327 | 361 | 374 | 386 | 404 | 436 | 446 |
| Peleg | | | | 1 | 31 | 63 | 93 | 122 | 192 | (<i>ob. 239^r.</i>) | | | | | | | | | | | 461 |
| Reu | | | | | 1 | 33 | 63 | 92 | 162 | 210 | 211 | 220 | 222 | (<i>ob. 239^r.</i>) | | | | | | | |
| Serug | | | | | | 1 | 31 | 60 | 130 | 178 | 179 | 188 | 190 | 206 | (<i>ob. 230^r.</i>) | | | | | | |
| Nahor | | | | | | | 1 | 30 | 100 | 148 | (<i>ob. 148^r.</i>) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Terah | | | | | | | | 1 | 71 | 119 | 120 | 129 | 131 | 149 | 172 | (<i>ob. 205^v.</i>) | | | | | |

SECTION II.

EXAMINATION OF THE ALEXANDRINE AND SAMARITAN CHRONOLOGIES.

§ 307. THE following Table exhibits the discrepancies of the Masoretic-Hebrew, Alexandrine-Greek, and Samaritan-Hebrew texts of the genealogies. Besides the numerical differences, it should be observed that in the post-diluvian period the notice *καὶ ἀπέθανε* is added to the mention of each *residue*; thus “Shem lived after he had begotten Arphaxad 500 years, and begat sons and daughters, *and he died.*” The Samaritan, here as on other occasions, out-vies the Greek, by expressing the whole sum of life of each Patriarch, in the form of words used in the antediluvian genealogies: thus “Shem lived after he had begotten Arphaxad 500 years, and begat sons and daughters, *and all the days of Shem were 600 years, and he died.*” and so each term of the genealogy ends with the formula, *וידיו כל ימי* (.) *שנה וימת*.

| | HEBREW. | | | LXX. | | | SAMARITAN. | | |
|------------------|---------|------|------|-----------|-------|------|------------|------|------|
| | GEN. | RES. | SUM. | GEN. | RES. | SUM. | GEN. | RES. | SUM. |
| Adam..... | 130 | 800 | 930 | 230 | 700 | 930 | 130 | 800 | 930 |
| Seth | 105 | 807 | 912 | 205 | 707 | 912 | 105 | 807 | 912 |
| Enos | 90 | 815 | 905 | 190 | 715 | 905 | 90 | 815 | 905 |
| Cainan | 70 | 840 | 910 | 170 | 740 | 910 | 70 | 840 | 910 |
| Mahalaleel | 65 | 830 | 895 | 165 | 730 | 895 | 65 | 830 | 895 |
| Jared | 162 | 800 | 962 | 162 | 800 | 962 | 62 | 785 | 847 |
| Enoch | 65 | 300 | 365 | 165 | 200 | 365 | 65 | 300 | 365 |
| Methuselah | 187 | 782 | 969 | {167 802} | } 969 | } | 67 | 653 | 720 |
| | | | | {187 782} | | | | | |
| Lamech | 182 | 595 | 777 | 188 | 565 | 753 | 53 | 600 | 653 |
| Noah | 600 | | | 600 | | | 600 | | |
| Sum..... | 1656 | | | {2242 | } | } | 1307 | | |
| | | | | 2262 | | | | | |

| | HMBREW. | | | | LXX. | | | | SAMARITAN. | | |
|----------------------|---------|------|------|---|-------|---------------|------|---|------------|------|------|
| | GEN. | RES. | SUM. | | GEN. | RES. | SUM. | | GEN. | RES. | SUM. |
| Shem after the flood | 2 | 500 | 600 | | 2 | 500 | 600 | | 2 | 500 | 600 |
| Arphaxad | 35 | 403 | 438 | | 135 | 400 | 535 | | 135 | 303 | 438 |
| [Cainan] | — | | | | [130 | 330 | 460] | | | | |
| Salah | 30 | 403 | 433 | | 130 | 330 | 460 | | 130 | 303 | 433 |
| Eber | 34 | 430 | 464 | | 134 | 270 | 104 | | 134 | 270 | 404 |
| Peleg | 30 | 209 | 239 | | 130 | 209 | 339 | | 130 | 109 | 239 |
| Reu | 32 | 207 | 239 | | 132 | 207 | 339 | | 132 | 107 | 239 |
| Serug | 30 | 200 | 230 | | 130 | 200 | 330 | | 130 | 100 | 230 |
| Nahor | 29 | 119 | 148 | { | 79 | 125 | 304 | { | 79 | 69 | 148 |
| | | | | | [179] | | | | | | |
| Terah..... | 70 | 135 | 205 | | 70 | 135 | 205 | | 70 | 75 | 145 |
| Sum..... | 292 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | { | 942 (or 1042) | | | 942 | | |
| | | | | | { | [1172] | | | | | |

In the Hebrew and Samaritan texts of these genealogies, there are no various readings of any importance: in the LXX, it will be seen, are *three*, by which the chronology is seriously affected. For these may give rise to no less than eight constructions: viz. the period from Adam to the 70th year of Terah may be,

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----|-------|
| 2242 | or, | 2242 | or, | 2242 | or, | 2242 |
| 942 | | 1042 | | 1072 | | 1172 |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> | | <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| 3184 | | 3284 | | 3314 | | 3414 |
| or, | | | | | | |
| 2262 | or, | 2262 | or, | 2262 | or, | 2262 |
| 942 | | 1042 | | 1072 | | 1172 |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> | | <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| 3204 | | 3304 | | 3334 | | 3434 |

So that, if we determine in favour of the LXX on the whole, it will be necessary to ascertain which of these eight constructions is agreeable to the mind of Moses.

It seems that in the majority of existing MSS. the generation of Methuselah is given as 167 years. Syncellus says that the number 187 existed in his day in a few unimportant MSS., *σπάνια οἷς οὐ δέι πείθεσθαι*. This is by no means true; it appears still in some fifteen extant MSS., especially in the most ancient codex of all (C. Cottonian., of the 4th or 5th century), in the Coislinian (7th century), in the MS. of the Catena of Nicephorus, and twelve others: also in the Edd. Aldin. and Alexandr. and in the Slavonic and Armenian versions of the LXX. Moreover, the number 187 appeared in St. Augustine's time (*in Genes. Qu. 2.*) in *Codd. latinis paucioribus sed veracioribus*: it is cited by Chrysostom; given by Africanus without remark; appears in the text of Theophilus of Antioch (§ 316) and of Josephus; and, lastly, is traced up to the second century B. C. in the summary of Chronology given by Demetrius, which reckons 2264 years from Adam to the Flood (§ 315).

The post-diluvian Cainan appears in most of the existing MSS. at Gen. x. 24; xi. 13. 1 Chron. i. 24. The interpolation is certainly ancient, being implied in the scheme of Demetrius, and perhaps in that of Clement of Alexandria. Yet there must have been an equally ancient text of the LXX in which it was omitted: the existence of this Cainan is ignored by the Samaritan text (based on the LXX), by the Alexandrine Philo, Josephus, Theophilus of Antioch, Africanus, Origen¹, Eusebius, the author of the Hypomnesticon, Hilarion, Epiphanius², Julius Pollux (*Chron.*) and other later writers. Moreover, S. Jerom, speaking of the discrepancies between the LXX and Hebrew, takes no notice of this very considerable one. Several extant MSS. and versions omit the clauses relating to Cainan in Gen. x. and xi., and Holmes cites about a score of authorities for the omission in 1 Chron. i. 24³.

¹ Origen makes Noah the tenth, and Abraham the twentieth from Adam; of course, therefore, he omitted Cainan. It is remarkable that Berossus makes the same statement; and his information was probably derived from the text of the LXX.

² *Har.* 55, § 6. (Melchisedecit.) in a list of the Patriarchs. Yet, in other places, Epiphanius mentions this Cainan: *Har.* 66. § 84, and 1. § 4.

³ The name appears in all MSS. and versions of S. Luke iii. 36; with the sole

Lastly, the century prefixed to the 79 years of Nahor, is wanting in the scheme of Demetrius, in the Samaritan text and in the lists of Theophilus, Africanus and others, in the Catena of Nicephorus, one uncial and about thirty other MSS., in edd. Aldin. and Alexand. and the Slavon. Arab. Copt. Armen. and

exception of the *Codex Beza*, which in this place possesses no authority. (Its author evidently intended to rid our Saviour's genealogy of all its difficulties; accordingly, he has substituted all the names, from David to Joseph, as given by S. Matthew, for those given by S. Luke, thus cutting the knot he could not untie. With the like intent, he strikes out the name Cainan, and so gets rid of that difficulty.) In what manner those earlier Fathers, who rejected or ignored the Cainan of the LXX, solved the difficulty in respect of S. Luke (supposing the name to have existed in their copies of the Gospel), I cannot say: on a somewhat similar occasion (Acts vii. 14, concerning the 75 souls of Jacob's family), we find S. Jerom alleging that S. Luke gave what he found in the LXX, because that was the only text of SS. known to the Gentiles for whom he wrote. *Facilis excusatio est: non enim debuit S. Lucas, qui ipsius historię scriptor est, in gentes...volumen emittens, contrarium aliquid scribere adversus eam scripturam quę jam fuerat gentibus divulgata. Et utique majoris opinionis illo duntaxat tempore LXX Interpretum habebatur auctoritas quam Luca, qui ignotus et vilis, et non magnę fidei in nationibus ducebatur. Hoc autem generaliter observandum, quod ubicunque sancti Apostoli aut Apostoliciviri loquuntur ad populos, his plerumque testimoniis abutuntur, quę jam fuerant in gentibus divulgata.* Quęst. Heb. in Gen. Perhaps he found the same excuse for S. Luke here: but as Pearson reminds us, it is not enough to *excuse* the Inspired Writers; they must be defended and cleared from imputation of error. Venerable Bede felt this, and declares himself unequal to a solution of the difficulty.

Lucas testimoniis Gręcis utitur potius quam Hebręis. Ex quo accidit quod maxime miror et propter ingenii tarditatem vehementissimo stupore perculsus nescio perscrutari, quę ratione cum in Hebręica veritate a diluvio usque ad Abraham decem tantum generationes inveniantur, ipse Lucas, qui Spiritu Sancto calamus regente nullatenus falsum scribere potuit, undecim generationes, juxta LXX Interpretes adjecto Cainan in Evangelio ponere maluit. Comment. in Act. Apost. Quid horum sit verius aut utrumque verum esse possit, Deus noverit. Some attempts at a reconciliation of S. Luke with the Hebrew may be seen in Spanheim. *Dub.* 23. § 7. Lightfoot *Hor. Hebr. in Luc.* iii. Ussher. *Chron. Sacr.* 27. The Romanists, it seems, are sorely perplexed here by that pitiable decree of the Council of Trent which declares the whole text of their Sixtine Vulgate canonical and infallible. For this text, of course, has Cainan in Luke iii., and has him *not* in Genesis. They usually reconcile the two passages, by saying that Arphaxad begat Cainan at the age of 18, and he Salah at the age of 17, and that Moses, for some reason, omitted the name of Cainan. Harduin says, "in order to avoid the scandal which the early marriage of him and his father might have given at that day: it was, however, reinstated in the genealogy of S. Luke, who thought that at his distance of time there was not occasion for delicacy!"—That the name Cainan was extant in some copies of the LXX before S. Luke's time, seems unquestionable: and I am inclined to agree with those who think that S. Luke's text was interpolated here from those copies. Certainly there is reason to believe that the seventy-seven names which compose the extant list, (though

Sahidic versions. (One Arab. and Copt. and Theophilus Ant. have 75.) The (interpolated) text of Josephus has the century (the number is 120), Clem. Alex. also seems to have read 179 (§ 317.)

§ 308. It is scarcely necessary to remark that during the first centuries of the Church, the Alexandrine chronology was implicitly followed by the generality of Christian writers. It could not be otherwise, for not only was the original text unknown to all but the Hebrew Christians, but the LXX version was held to possess Divine authority. Origen stands alone, in the first three centuries, as a Hebrew scholar, and he alone departed from the LXX. He seems to have received the Hebrew enumeration in the antediluvian period, and the Greek or Samaritan after the Flood. (He wished to make out a period of 4900 years from the Creation to the destruction of Jerusalem.) After Origen, S. Jerom, *Trad. Heb. in Genes.* declared for the Hebrew verity (he too was a learned Hebraist), affirming that the Greek text erred in its enumeration of the years of the Patriarchs. S. Augustin. *de Civ. Dei* xv. 14, speaks on the same side: *Illā numerorum varietas quæ inter Codices Hebræos invenitur et nostros, si quid habet ita diversum ut utrumque verum esse non possit, rerumgestarum fides ab ea lingua repetenda est ex qua interpretatum est quod habemus.* Yet the Eusebian Chronology seems to have prevailed even in the Western Church several centuries after S. Jerom, insomuch that our own Venerable Bede, for following the Hebrew, was accused of heresy: *a lascivientibus rusticis inter pocula hæreticus denotaretur, quod renegaret in sexta ætate sæculi Dominum Salvatorem in carne venisse.* He appealed to the Hebrew verity, *per Origenem prodita, per Hieronymum edita, per Augustinum laudata, et per Josephum confirmata: quibus ego in rebus talibus nullos invenio doctiores.* (Usserii *Chronolog. Sacra*, cap. ii. p. 12.)

(though they existed in S. Augustine's time, for he notices the mystical number 11×7) did not all exist at an earlier period: for Africanus omits at least two, Matthat and Levi, *Rel. Sac.* iii. 114 ff., and Irenæus counted but 72: *Propter hoc Lucas genealogiam septuaginta duas generationes habere ostendit*: which he

connects with the received tradition about the 72 nations of the dispersion, *Hæ.* iii. 33. The statement is repeated by Prudentius, *Septenos decies conscendit Christus in ortus Et duo, nam totidem doctores misit in orbem.* Apotheosis, 1004. (Greswell, *Diss.* ii. 93 ff.)

The Council of Trent by decreeing, under anathema, the infallibility of the Latin Vulgate (based on S. Jerom's version) has virtually perpetuated this chronology in the churches of the Roman obedience. In our own church, and in the Protestant communities, the Hebrew chronology is embodied in the several versions of Scripture. From time to time, however, learned voices have been raised in favour of the Alexandrine scheme. Vossius, who contended for the Divine authority of the LXX, imputed the discrepancies of the Hebrew text to wilful corruption on the part of the Jews. Among ourselves, the learned and laborious Jackson maintained the cause of the Greek text, and laid it as the foundation of his scheme of chronology. At the close of the last century, Dr. Hales followed in the same track, pretending however to reconstruct the genuine Alexandrine text from that of Josephus. And within these few years, a much more learned and judicious writer, Dr. Russell, in his *Connection of Sacred and Profane History*, has put forth an elaborate defence of the Alexandrine against the Masoretic text. In a review of this work, which appeared fifteen years since, one of our critics wrote thus: "That the chronology of the Septuagint is the true, and that of the Masorete Jews a late and a corrupt one, *there can be no reasonable doubt*. It is now the received opinion of *all learned men*, by none of whom has the absurdity of the Hebrew chronology been more evidently demonstrated than by our author (Dr. Russell) in the work now before us." *British Critic*, Vol. III. p. 399. (1828). To claim all the reasonableness and learning of the age on behalf of the Greek text was somewhat rash: within a year or two, Mr. Greswell in his *Dissertations* declared for the Hebrew verity as the sole rule and measure of Bible chronology, and Mr. Clinton in an Appendix to his *Fasti Hellenici*, ably argued the question, and delivered a full and satisfactory answer to all the objections usually adduced against the Hebrew chronology. I shall here notice only the chief of these objections, which shall be stated, for the most part, in the words of Dr. Russell and his reviewer.

§ 309. 1. "One of the most decisive reasons for rejecting the Hebrew chronology, is the difficulty of supposing the world to have been in the advanced state of political civilization

which it appears to have attained in the days of Abraham, supposing no longer period to have elapsed from the deluge than 292 years." (*British Critic*, ib. 403). The writer surely does not mean to place the birth of Abraham at the 71st year of Terah? Abraham was born 352 years after the Flood; which makes a material difference. This argument, however, I have sufficiently answered already (§ 298).

2. It is assumed that the framers of the present Hebrew text set out with the deliberate intention of shortening the antediluvian period to the amount of six complete centuries. For this purpose "it was only necessary to subtract 100 years from the generation of six of the antediluvian Patriarchs, and to add the same to the residue of their lives. But to accomplish this object without falling into the monstrous absurdity of extending the lives of Noah's father and grandfather beyond the Flood, it was found indispensable to allow *their* generations to remain unaltered; and thus, while Enos is represented as becoming a father at 90, Cainan at 70, and Malaleel at 65, Methuselah does not behold his progeny until he has attained the maturer age of 187, nor Lamech until he has reached his 182nd year. The management which had become necessary to adjust the application of the scheme to the peculiar circumstances of every case betrays the vitiating hand of the Rabbi. The exceptions, in fact, expose the corrupt intention of the general principle on which the innovation proceeded; for as Enos lived to the age of 905, Cainan to 910, and Malaleel to 895, *we can see no cause why they should have married 100 years earlier than Methuselah*, whose sum of life was not much greater, and more especially than Lamech, who died at the age of 777. *We can discover no intelligible ground for these singularities*; but we can perceive at the first glance a powerful reason why the generations of Methuselah and Lamech should not be shortened and the residue of their lives lengthened; and we conclude that the hundred years were not taken from the former and added to the latter, merely because such a change would have extended the duration of their lives considerably beyond the limits of the antediluvian world." (Russell, i. 86.) "*We can see no cause*," and "*we can discover no intelligible ground*"—surely, this is a kind of argument which it were better to discard from our con-

sideration of Scripture: and the cases to which it is here applied are in fact mere assumptions. We have no warrant for saying that the generations of the Patriarchs are calculated from the age of their first-born sons: on the contrary, as Seth was not Adam's first-born, so neither, it may be, was Enoch the eldest-born of Jared, nor Lamech of Methuselah, nor Noah of Lamech. After rejecting these assumptions, there remains only the fact, that the Masoretic genealogies differ from the Alexandrine in a certain way, and the writer's *opinion* concerning that fact, namely, that the artifice by which the discrepancy was produced is chargeable on the *rabbins*. It is not a conclusion, but a *primâ facie* view of the facts: it says only, Assume the LXX text to be the original, then the Masoretic variations may be explained thus and thus. In just the same manner we might say, Assume the Hebrew to be the true text, then the discrepancies of the LXX are referable to this and this intention: for argument, the question remains where it was.

3. Equally inconclusive is the argument in respect of the post-diluvian genealogies; *viz.* that according to the Hebrew text, the first four Patriarchs outlived all the five following ones: as if "the vitiating hand of the rabbi" were betrayed by this gross improbability, the result of his tampering with the genuine numbers. The whole "improbability" disappears as soon as we perceive that at Peleg a new æra of human existence began. How is it improbable that the Almighty, at the time when He dispersed the nations, should suddenly reduce the duration of human life by accelerating the mortality of the generations which were thenceforth to be born? This done, and the law which regulated the age of fertility being supposed to remain, the fact of that long survival of the earlier Patriarchs was a necessary consequence of that interference of Divine Providence. That the life of Noah reached almost to the year of Abraham's birth, and that Shem outlived the Call of Abraham 75 years, so that he was contemporary with Isaac 50 years, these results of the Hebrew chronology are interesting in a high degree; if they were openly recorded in the narrative they would not be called in question; why then should they be disputed because they are only involved, not expressed? It is easy to conceive that some purpose of Divine Providence was designed in an arrangement in virtue of which the father of Jacob may

have conversed many years with Shem, the contemporary for near a century of Methuselah, who conversed with Adam more than 240 years. Adam to Methuselah, Methuselah to Shem, Shem to Abraham and Isaac: these would be the three links of the chain by which the tradition of God's wondrous works descended to the fathers of Israel.

§ 310. The question of motive and inducement is next to be considered. With what design did the rabbins vitiate the text? What was to be gained by the curtailment of the chronology? We are told that it was done in a spirit of controversy, with intent to defraud Christians of an argument of our Lord's Messiahship. But really one is at a loss to understand what this so formidable argument may have been. Of course, it is perfectly true that the generality of early Christians held the world to be designed for a duration of 7000 years, of which the 7th, or *the* millennium, was to be the time of Christ's kingdom and the great Sabbath on earth¹. Messiah was to come at the expiration of the sixth millennium: so the Jews as well as the Christians of that age believed. Now the early Christians generally held, in virtue of the Septuagint chronology, that the birth of Christ occurred at the middle of the sixth millennium. What then? was it an argument of the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth, that He was born when the world was 5500 years old? No doubt it was a matter of deep

¹ This notion was regarded with favour by many of the early Christians. The earliest allusion occurs in the Epistle of S. Barnabas, c. xv. ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι συντελεῖ ὁ Θεὸς Κύριος ἐν ἑξακισχίλοις ἔτεσι τὰ πάντα· ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη. Where the reader may consult the note of Cotelierius, who refers to S. Irenæus, v. 28, 29, S. Hippolyt. in *Cod.* 202. Phot. *Bibl.* Eustath. *Hexæm.* p. 55. *Quæst. et Respons.* ap. S. Justin M. c. 71. Cedreni *Hist. init.* Lactant. *Inst.* vii. 14, 25. *Epitom.* 10. Hilarion. *Mall.* 18, 20. S. Hieronym. *Ep.* 139 *ad Cyprian.* and *Comm. in Micha.* c. iv. *Quæst. Vet. et N. T.* ap. S. Augustin. f. iv. qu. 106. fin.

Gaudent. Brix. *Tract.* 10. Cassiodor. *Variarum*, l. i. Ep. 10. Isidor. in *Genes.* *Ab his omnibus, necnon ab aliis pluribus, et ab indocto vulgo creditum est, mundo post annum a creatione sextum millesimum, sive post sextam ætatem, finem ac in melius instaurationem venturam.* Others, it seems, extended the period to 6500 years. S. Cyprian. *Esch. Martyr.* c. 11, thought the world would come to an end at the close of 7000 years.—The notion met with the greater acceptance, from its being believed that the advent of Christ occurred in the latter part of the sixth millennium: Africanus, S. Hippolytus, and many more, having assigned the nativity to A.M. 5500; S. Clemens Alex. *Str.* i. 21. § 144, to about A.M. 5600.

interest to Christians in the fourth or fifth century of our æra, to have their faith in the near approach of the great Sabbath confirmed by the chronology², but it cannot have been therefore an object of paramount importance to the Jews to establish, by an audacious and impious fraud, a chronology by which the hope of Messiah's advent would be deferred more than two thousand years. Nay, the Jews, in their way, as anxiously desired the coming of the day of the Lord as the Christians themselves; and any clear proof from Scripture that the seventh millennium was near at hand must have been as welcome to them as to their adversaries.

The Critic, to whom I have before referred, though he "makes no doubt that the Masoretic Jews, or whoever they may have been who substituted the present Hebrew chronology for that which was formerly received, were wrong," very justly discards this presumption of a controversial motive, and adds this sensible remark. "Nothing will be gained to the cause of Christianity by charging them (the Masoretes) with wilful corruption. It is one of the strong points of Christianity that the guardianship of the sacred volumes of the Old Testament has been committed to the hands of those who are its enemies; but if we suppose these guardians to be unfaithful to their trust, we shall lose more in the argument against infidelity than we can possibly gain on the other hand in any controversy with the Jews. It is quite certain that they have not tampered with the sacred text in those places where the temptation to it was greatest; and they ought not, therefore, to be accused of this sacrilege in instances of smaller importance, except upon the evidence of a much more direct proof than Vossius first, and

² It is not denied that it was occasionally used as an argument in controversy with Jews: but it was wholly powerless, because the Jews had no tradition of a first advent of Messiah to take place in the middle of the sixth millennium: they were therefore under no temptation to evade it by a procedure so entirely at variance with their well-known reverence for every jot and tittle of God's word. S. Ephrem Syrus (Hales, i. 78.) seems to have been the first who brought this

charge against them: "The Jews subtract 600^y from the generations of Adam, Seth, &c., in order that their own books might not convict them concerning the coming of Christ, *he having been predicted to appear for the deliverance of mankind after 5500 years.*" What was a venial error in the Syrian Bishop of the fourth century, is not to be repeated, but in ignorance or defiance of the whole history of the Biblical text, by scholars in the nineteenth century.

now our author (Dr. Russell) can pretend to bring against them." It is most true that the Jews of the rabbinical schools, those of Palestine, were guarded against all temptation of tampering with the sacred text, by the strict and even superstitious reverence with which they regarded the letter of the Divine Word. Of them it is true, to the fullest extent, as Josephus remarks, *πεφυλακέναι αὐτοὺς (τὰ ἁγ. γρ.) μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας*, insomuch that *οὔτε προσθεῖναι τις οὐδέν, οὔτε ἀφελεῖν αὐτῶν, οὔτε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκεν.* (*c. Apion. i. 8*).

§ 311. But the Alexandrine Jews, living under the influence of Grecian literature and in a syncretizing age, began very early to relax this rigorous restraint of the written letter. Of this tendency, so alien from the character of the rabbinical or Palestinian judaism, the Septuagint version exhibits manifest traces. Repeatedly, it "adds to, diminishes from, or transposes" the contents of the sacred record with intent to obviate some supposed matter of offence, to explain some difficulty, and in short, to present the Jewish religion and history as little as might be at a disadvantage. Now in respect of its chronology, this history (on the supposition of the Masoretic text being the original) was exposed at the very outset to the sneers of the learned Egyptians. A chronology which placed the origin of nations at most some seven or eight hundred years before the exode of Israel, would be ridiculous in their eyes. In this consideration we find a very intelligible inducement tending to a lengthening of the genealogies; for that of course was the only part of the chronology which could be meddled with. The question therefore lies at an easy issue, if we exclude from it the extrinsic considerations which have biassed some minds against the claims of the Hebrew text. The chief among these are, the supposed improbability of so rapid a growth of civilized societies as the shorter chronology implies, and the impossibility of reconciling this same chronology with the most ancient records of profane history. On the first of these points I have already said enough; on the other, I shall have somewhat to say in a subsequent portion of this work: at present I will only remark, that the fact is not as supposed.

§ 312. The general procedure of the contrivance by which it was sought to enlarge the chronology, will be seen by inspection of the comparative Table. We find two schemes of

Alexandrine chronology, of which it is perhaps not easy to say which is the earlier. In the antediluvian period, the enlargement is effected by adding a complete century to each of the first five generations, and to the seventh: thus the numbers were reduced into somewhat of a regular gradation, 230, 205, 190, 165, 162, 165, &c. The addition was balanced in the sum by a centenary deduction from each residue, thus $230 + 700 = 930$ as $130 + 800$. Hence the sum of years to the Flood became 2256; but for some reason, which requires to be explained, it was thought fit to add 6 years to the generation of Lamech, 188 instead of 182¹. Thus the sum became 2262 years, and this is the larger scheme. In another scheme, the period was reduced to 2242 years by withdrawing 20 years from the generation of Methuselah, so making it 167 instead of 187:—it was not perceived, perhaps, that the effect of this subtraction was to extend the life of that Patriarch 14 years beyond the Flood, for $167 + 188 + 600$ make but 955 years, and Methuselah lived 969.

In the post-diluvian period, the generations down to Serug were in like manner enlarged by centenary additions: thus the period was amplified to an amount of six centuries. To Nahor only half a century was added, for this is unquestionably the intent of the shorter scheme, agreeing with the Samaritan: the centenary addition to the 79 years belongs, as I shall be able to prove in the sequel, to the larger scheme. Thus the sum of years from the Flood to the 71st of Terah became 942: and this I conjecture to have been the scheme which was first invented. At a somewhat later period, it became an object to extend this period still further, and it was accordingly interpolated with 230 years, of which 100 were prefixed to the generation of Nahor, and 130 assigned to a new generation, that of Cainan.—In the residues, the computists allowed themselves greater liberties than they could well take in the antediluvian period, where the sum of life was in each instance expressed, which is not the case here. The design of *these* deviations may have been this: that the term of human life should be gradually and successively diminished from father to son, and also that no

¹ It was also thought fit to reduce | and consequently his residue to 565
the life of Lamech from 777 to 753 years, | years.

father should outlive his son : (for if the same procedure had been adopted in the latter as in the earlier series, Shem would have prolonged his life beyond Arphaxad, and Eber beyond Peleg). The residues being altered, the result is as here shown :

| | Lived | Born (after b. Arph.) | Died | Born | Died |
|---------------|----------|--------------------------|--------------------|------|------|
| Shem | 600 | — | 500 | — | 500 |
| Arphaxad..... | 535 | | 535 | | 535 |
| [Cainan..... | 460 | | | 135 | 595 |
| Salah | 460 | 135 | 595 | 265 | 725 |
| Eber | 404 | 265 | 669 | 395 | 799 |
| Peleg | 339 | 399 | 738 | 529 | 868 |
| Reu | 339 | 529 | 868 | 659 | 998 |
| Serug | 330 | 661 | 991 | 791 | 1221 |
| Nahor..... | 304 | 791 | 1095 } or 995 } | 921 | 1225 |
| Terah..... | 205 | 870 | 1075 | 1100 | 1305 |
| Abraham..... | (T. 70) | 940 | | 1170 | |
| | (T. 130) | 1000 | | 1230 | |

The very regularity of the scheme, in the points which have been mentioned, is sufficient to bring it under strong suspicion of contrivance. Nor is it perhaps accidental, in respect of the shorter scheme, that it places the birth of Abraham just 1000 years after the birth of Arphaxad.

§ 313. I have now to call the reader's attention to a series of very remarkable facts—whether pointed out by any preceding writer I know not—which are of manifest importance to the determination of the matter in hand.

I must premise, that in the course of an investigation of the ancient profane systems of chronology, I was enabled to detect most manifest traces of an artificial and contrived structure, the basis of which is the compound $6 \times 6 \times 6 = 216$. The proofs will be found in the Chapter on Chaldean and Egyptian Chronology: here it may suffice to mention, as most to the present purpose, that the Egyptian system is laid out in a period formed upon this basis, and that it begins with this item, *Nine demigods reigned 217 years*. The nearness of this number (1) to the term of the Israelites' sojourn in Egypt (217 years,) (2) to the interval between the Flood and the central year of Peleg, to which I have assigned the dispersion of nations;

(3) to the number 215, the basis of the 430 years from the Promise to the Exode, and of the same from the Flood to the Promise, can scarcely, I think, be accidental. That is to say, it would seem that the framers of the old systems were led to *this* particular form of *sozzus*, by their traditional knowledge of one or more of the facts to which I have adverted. Be that as it may: certain it is that the Alexandrine translators stood in contact with a system of chronology based upon the number 216 (sometimes alternating with 217), a number which they would find in several ways closely connected with their own sacred chronology. Hence it is not unlikely that in the construction of a rival scheme they would be influenced by the consideration of this same number. Now on turning to the preceding Table it will be seen, that in the shorter scheme the death of *Reu*, in the longer of *Peleg*, lies just $868 = 4 \times 217$ after the birth of Arphaxad. Again, in the longer scheme, the period from the Flood (1 year before the birth of Arphaxad) to the Exode, stands thus, on the supposition of its placing the birth of Abraham 130 years after the birth of Terah:

| | |
|----------------------------|------|
| Flood to b. Arphaxad..... | 17. |
| To the b. of Abraham | 1230 |
| To the Call | 75 |
| To the Exode..... | 430 |
| <hr/> | |
| The sum of which is..... | 1736 |

that is, *precisely 8 periods of 217 years, with the death of Peleg (the man of division) at the central year.* And now look at the shorter scheme. Here, on the same supposition in respect of the time of Abraham's birth, we find the death of Terah and Call of Abraham lying 1075, that is to say just 5×215 years after the birth of Arphaxad, so that the whole period to the Exode, is 7×215 . If, however, the authors of this scheme assigned the birth of Abraham to the 71st of Terah, we have

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|
| From Adam to the Flood..... | 2242 |
| The Flood to b. Abraham | 942 |
| To the Call | 75 |
| To the Exode..... | 430 |
| <hr/> | |
| Sum... .. | 3689 years, |

or precisely 17 periods of 217 years.

And now, to notice a fact of a different kind: the larger scheme is manifestly contrived to adjust the whole period from Adam to the Exode, *to the millenary system*: in it, *the Exode is made to lie just four thousand years after the Creation*:—thus,

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| From Adam to the Flood..... | 2262 ¹ . |
| The Flood lasted..... | 1 |
| To b. Arphaxad..... | 2 |
| To b. Abraham | 1230 |
| To the Call..... | 75 |
| To the Exode | 430 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 4000 |

This cannot be accidental. It is either a fact of Divine Providence, or the result of contrivance. Now it should be observed that this fact is not *latent* like those noticed in the Introduction and hereafter to be described: it lies upon the surface, as soon as one is apprised that Abraham was born when Terah was 130, not 70 years old. If we have here the actual, veritable account designed by Moses, it is very unlikely that a fact so impressive, so remarkably in unison with the preconceived notion of the six millennia, should have been unknown to the Jews; and if known, it is inconceivable that they should wish it obliterated¹.

Similar to this, is the fact that the scheme of Africanus, composed of the larger antediluvian and the shorter post-diluvian reckoning, has the effect of placing the death of *Peleg* just at the bisection of the six millennia of the world's duration, viz.:

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| To the Flood | 2262 ¹ . |
| Arphaxad | 135 |
| Salah | 130 |
| Eber | 134 |
| Peleg..... | 339 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 738 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 3000 ² |

¹ I am aware that a similar and still more remarkable fact connected with the Usanian Chronology may be retorted upon me: on that point I shall have somewhat to say in a subsequent chapter.

² Africanus directs our attention to this

fact in these words:—Ἐβερ . . . γεννᾷ τὸν Φαλὲκ οὕτως ἐπικλήθηεντα διὰ τὸ ἐν ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ μερισθῆναι τὴν γῆν. Φαλὲκ ἐτῶν ρλ' ἐγέννησε τὸν Ῥαγαῦ, καὶ ἐπίζῃσας ἔτη σθ' ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἐπὶ τελευτὴν Φαλὲκ ἐτῶν γ'. Suidas also, s. v. Φαλὲκ, mentions this pe-

§ 314. These facts clearly indicate design. And I suppose that the original intention was to get a period of $m \times 215$ from Adam to the Exode: *e.g.*, 10×215 to the Flood, and 7×215 thence to the Exode. A vestige of such a scheme remains in the computation of Clement of Alexandria, who reckons from the Creation to the Flood 2148 years and 4 days, therefore to the birth of Arphaxad would be 2150 years exactly³. It appears also in the numbers given in the (interpolated) text of Josephus:

| | |
|--------------------|------|
| To the Flood..... | 2156 |
| To b. Abraham..... | 992 |
| To the Call..... | 75 |
| Sum..... | 3223 |

which wants only 2 years of being exactly 15×215 , so that if *this* computist dated the 430 years two years later than the Call, the whole period would be, to the Promise 15×215 , to the Call 17×215 . Suppose then that such was the original intention: then to carry it into effect it was necessary to add 5 entire centuries to the first five generations, and to deduct, somewhere, 6 years; after the Flood, there were 650 years to be added, six centuries to the first six generations, and 50 years to Nahor.

§ 315. We will now consider the scheme in which it was proposed to get 17×217 years from Adam to the Exode, the birth of Abraham, however, being assigned to the 71st of Terah. Now since the true text exhibited the following items, viz.

riod of 3000^r, but erroneously constructs it of 2242^r before, and 758 after the Flood. Eustathius, *Hexaëm.* notices it thus:—
καὶ ὁ ὑπονοούμενος τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς τοῦ κόσμου διαμονῆς ἀριθμὸς εἰς δύο διηρέθη ἰσαίτατα· τρισχίλια γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ αὐτοῦ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ὑπάρξεως ἔτη ἐπε-
ρατώθη· γίνεταί οὖν ἀπὸ 'Αδάμ ἐπὶ τὴν τελευτὴν Φαλὲκ ἔτη τρισχίλια· ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου παρουσίαν καὶ ἀνάστασιν ἔτη πεντακισχίλια καὶ πενήτηκοσια τριά-
κοντα ἕν. (Routh, nott. in L.) See also Hesych. ap. Anastas. *Script. Quæst.* 93. Cedreni *Chron.* Malalæ *Chron.* in l.

³ The same writer quotes a summary

of chronology from *Eupolemus, Strom.* i. 21, § 141. He reckoned from Adam to the 5th of Demetrius = 12 Ptolemy (meaning, of course, Pt. Lagi, whose 12th year is the epoch of the æra of the Seleucidæ,) a period of 5149 years, and from the Exode to the same goal, 2580^r. The latter number is of course corrupt, for it would give for the date of the Exode 312 + 2580 = 2892 B.C. The true reading is doubtless 1280, which gives the date 1592 B.C., only 6 years too early. Now 5149 - 1280 = 3869, which is (wanting 1^r) just 18×215 . (It is curious that the corrupted number 2580 is just 12×215 .)

| | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|-------|
| To the Flood | 1656 ⁷ . | |
| The Flood | 1 | } 293 |
| To b. Abraham | 292 | |
| To the Call | 75 | |
| To the Exode..... | 430 | |
| <hr/> | | |
| The sum being | 2454, | |
| To enlarge this into..... | 3689 years | |
| <hr/> | | |
| It was necessary to add | 1235 ⁷ . | |

How was this number disposed of? Not capriciously, but by adding to the first of the *true* items a period of $586 = 2 \times 293$ years, or just twice the second item: $1656 + 586 = 2242$: whereby the interval from the *true* year of the Flood to the birth of Abraham was just *trebled*. These 586 years were inserted by means of six centenary additions, and a deduction of 14 years from the generations of Methuselah and Lamech. There remained 649 years, which, overlooking the year of the Flood, gave six centuries to the six first Patriarchs after the Flood, and half a century to Nahor. And so this scheme was complete.

§ 316. But the larger scheme was designed to give a period of 4000 years complete, from Adam to the Exode. On deducting 1656 years from 4000 there appears the remainder 2344, *which is just twice 1172, which is just four times 293*. And observe, that 1172 is the number which this scheme substitutes for the 293, or rather 292 years of the Hebrew! So that, as the shorter scheme began by *trebling* the interval from the *true* year of the Flood to the birth of Abraham, this began by *quadrupling* the interval from its year of the Flood to the same event. Surely it will not be pretended that this is accidental! In order to enlarge the 292 into 1172 years there were 880 years to be added, *i. e.* 230 more than in the shorter scheme: hence the additional century given to Nahor, and the new patriarch Cainan with his generation of 130 years. The other portion of 1172 years, after deducting $135 + 430 = 565$ which were not to be meddled with, left 607 years to be added to the antediluvian genealogies, or 606, the other being the year of the Flood itself: six centuries to six Patriarchs, and 6 years added to Lamech's generation made this scheme complete.

| <i>Hebrew.</i> | | <i>LXX.</i> | |
|-------------------|------------|-------------|----------------|
| To the Flood..... | 1656 | + 606 | 2262 |
| The Flood..... | 1 | | 1 |
| To Terah 71..... | 292 | + 880 | 1172 = 4 × 293 |
| To the Call | 135 | | 135 |
| To the Exode..... | 430 | | 430 |
| | <hr/> 2514 | | <hr/> 4000 |

§ 317. But it has been already shewn, that the period from the birth of Arphaxad to the Exode is based upon the number 217. This is not absolutely true, but it is so within a single year: for the period in question is $1737 = 8 \times 217$ plus 1. That the two lines of design so nearly tally must be regarded in the light of a fortunate accident: that there *was* design in respect of the period 217 years, as well as in the other respect, is evident, from the pains taken to have the death of Peleg exactly at the bisection of the 8×217 years. It is likely that the framers of the scheme originally contemplated no more than this, and got a period of 1736 years from the Flood to the Exode, with the birth of Arphaxad just 868 years from either: and that the other design, in relation to the 4000 years, and the term of 1172 or 4×293 years, supervening upon this, occasioned this slight derangement of the former, that from the birth of Arphaxad to the death of Peleg should be 868 years, and thence to the Exode the same period *minus* 1 year. The scheme, however, serves to explain the structure of the genealogies. In itself, it mattered not where the new generation (Cainan) was placed; but in order to expand the given period $35 + 30 + 34 + 239$, or 338 years into 868, it was necessary to add 530 years; accordingly, 3 centuries being already added to the 3 generations, and the life of Peleg lengthened by a century, there remained 130 for the generation of Cainan.

§ 318. Now since the numbers in both texts of the LXX and in the Masoretic Hebrew are so intimately related, there must be artifice on one side or the other. Suppose the Hebrew numbers 1656 and 292 to be the originals, then the process by which the numbers of the LXX were generated out of these can be traced step by step. On the other hypothesis, *i. e.* if the original numbers were 2242, or 2262, and 942, or 1172, the rabbi must be supposed to have used an arithmetical operation

just the converse of what has been described; but why it could be necessary to take such pains, what object was to be gained by it, one is wholly at a loss to understand. This plain fact lies before us, that the Masoretic numbers stand to those of the LXX in the curious relations which have been described; if they were fabricated by artifice, the artifice is as complex as it is purposeless. And the difficulty is aggravated by the fact that there are *two* texts of the LXX, and that the Hebrew is similarly related to both.

§ 319. In adverting now, to the text of the genealogies, which appears in Josephus, it is necessary to premise this remark: that the writings of Josephus come to us not from the rabbinical Jews, who have handed down the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Scriptures, but from the hellenists. It is therefore antecedently improbable that any alteration would be introduced into the genuine text of Josephus, having the intention of reconciling his chronology with the Hebrew, where it differed from this: but not at all improbable that alterations would be introduced for the purpose of bringing him into agreement, in case of any difference, with the Septuagint. Now it is remarkable, that while his existing text of the genealogies is a curious medley of the LXX and the Hebrew, Josephus, on two occasions, shews that he followed the Hebrew chronology.

1. In the 8th book of *Antiquities*, chap. 3. 1, he places the foundation of Solomon's Temple 592 years after the Exode; 1020 after the Call of Abraham; 1440 after the Flood, and 3102 after the Creation. This gives the following scheme:

- (1) From the Call to the Exode, $1020 - 592 = 428'$, agreeing within 2 years, with *Ant.* ii. 15. 2. where he makes this period $430'$.
- (2) From the Flood to the Call, $1440 - 1020 = 420'$.
- (3) From the Creation to the Flood, $3102 - 1440 = 1662$, only 6 years more than the Hebrew enumeration. Perhaps he read $188'$ for the generation of Lamech.
- (4) From the Creation to the Call, $3102 - 1020 = 2082$, almost exactly agreeing with the Hebrew text.

Hence this summary clearly involves the Hebrew text of the genealogies; and, besides, is derived from a scheme of chronology in which the Call of Abraham was (rightly) placed at the death of Terah, *i. e.* $1656 + 292 + 135 = 2083$ years after

the Creation. The only discrepancy is this, that the Flood is placed 6 years too late.

2. In the other passage, *Ant.* x. 8. 5, he places the destruction of Solomon's Temple 1062 years after the Exode, 1957 after the Flood, 3513 after the Creation¹. Here we have :

- (1) From the Creation to the Flood, 3513 – 1957 = 1556 years, agreeing with the Hebrew in all but the hundreds, and these differing by one century. In fact, his computation was formed by including the 100 years of Shem in the post-diluvian genealogy, and dropping them from the antediluvian list.
- (2) From the Flood therefore to the Exode, we have 1857 – 1062 = 795 years : which is manifestly composed from the Hebrew : viz.
 290 from b. Arphaxad to Terah 70'.
 75' of Abraham at the Call.
 430 to the Exode.

795

Here he follows a computation in which the birth of Abraham was placed, as in the vulgar Jewish and Samaritan chronology, at the 70th year of Terah. If then, Josephus held the Alexandrine scheme, either these two passages have been corruptly accommodated to the Hebrew by some later hand, (by whom? is not easily answered,) or he grossly contradicts himself. And now we will see what he says, or is made to say, on this matter.

§ 320. We are told *Ant.* i. 1, 3. in the received text, that from Adam to the Deluge, was a period of 2656 years². On reading this announcement, we of necessity either suspect a corruption, i. e. an interpolation of *δισ* before *χιλίων*, or else suppose that Josephus meant to enlarge the antediluvian period by a thousand years, 400 years more than the LXX. But then follow the particulars, in which the generations and lives are reported as follows, the residues being omitted :

¹ In *Ant.* viii. 3. 1. all the MSS. give the same numbers without variation. In the second passage, the number 1957 appears in all the MSS. Gr. and Lat. and in Zonaras : but for the number 3513 two of Hudson's MSS. have 4513, and Bigot

notes from his collations the number 4015.

² *Ita in Codd. omnibus tam Gr. quam Lat. tam MSS. quam editis. Nonnulli legunt ὑπῆρχε δὲ χιλίων ἑξακοσίων καὶ πεντήκοντα ἕξ.* Hudson in l.

| | Generation. | Life. |
|------------------|-----------------|-------|
| Adam | 230 | 930 |
| Seth..... | 205 | 912 |
| Enos..... | 190 | 905 |
| Cainan..... | 170 | 910 |
| Mahalaleel..... | 165 | 895 |
| Jared..... | 162 | 962 |
| Enoch..... | 65 ¹ | 365 |
| Methuselah | 187 | 969 |
| Lamech..... | 182 | 777 |
| Noah..... | 600 | (950) |

He does not repeat the sum of these years, but says only, "these years added up make the above-mentioned sum." In truth, however, their sum is 2156. But the numbers here set down differ from the Hebrew only in 5 centenary additions, viz., in the 5 first generations. Reject these, and the sum is 1656. Surely this strongly confirms the surmise that the *διο* is a corrupt interpolation. This is far more likely than that the *ἐξακοσίων* should be an error or corruption in the place of *ἐκατόν*. And since our author on two other occasions has followed the Hebrew reckoning, I do not see how one can doubt that he followed the same reckoning here, where his original text is vitiated by an interpolation of five centuries in the details, and of a thousand years in the sum. The corrector, or rather corruptor, of the text, did his work by halves, or possibly he mistook the bearing of the period announced as 1656 years; that the thousands ought to be *two*, he did not doubt, the *six* in the hundreds place he left standing, perhaps fancying that his author included the 500 years of them after the Flood. So in the details, he began by adding the centuries which seemed wanting. All this he might do in perfect good faith, as being ignorant of the very existence of a reckoning so widely discrepant from the text of the Septuagint. Coming to the number 1656, he would think, Surely, here is a mistake, an error of transcription, for all the world knows that there was more than *two* thousand years before the Flood. And in the details, he would in like manner fancy that he was but restoring his author's text by replacing

¹ *Ἐκατόστον* is absent from all the MSS. Greek and Latin. Bernard thought necessary to replace it from the LXX, and is followed by the editors.

an additional century in each of the first five generations. That he neither replaced the century in the generation of Enoch, nor conformed the generation and life of Lamech to the Alexandrine text, is accounted for by the same supposition: had he done either, the 2656 years would have been inexplicable.

§ 321. In the period after the Flood, Josephus begins by announcing, in agreement with the Hebrew text, and with his own reckoning on one of the two occasions before noticed, that "Abraham was born in the 292nd year² after the Flood." Then follow the details in proof of the announcement.

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| From the Flood to b. Arphaxad..... | 12' (or 11) |
| Arphaxad..... | (1)35 |
| Salah..... | (1)30 |
| Eber..... | (1)34 |
| Peleg..... | (1)30 |
| Reu..... | (1)30 |
| Serug..... | (1)32 |
| Nahor..... | (1)20 |
| Terah..... | 70 |
| [Sum..... | 700 + 293 or 292] |

Strike out the centenary additions, and the sum (which is not expressed on this occasion either) is just what was announced. The explanation is obvious: the hellenist scribe did not meddle with the hundreds in the sum 292, possibly because he was misled by a resemblance between the numeral signs in the centuries place; but he thought he was discharging a duty by his author in replacing the hundreds in the seven generations. The error of placing the birth of Arphaxad in the twelfth, instead of the second year after the Flood, however it originated, is balanced by a subtraction of 9 years from the generation of Arphaxad. Perhaps, as the enumeration begins at the latter end, viz., "Abraham was born in the 292nd year, &c., for Terah begat Abraham in his 70th year, and Terah was born in his 20th of Nahor, and Nahor, &c.," an accidental omission of the number 9 in the generation of Nahor rendered it necessary, the sum

² Δευτέρῳ ἔτει καὶ ἐνενηκοστῷ | MSS. tam Græcis quam Latinis. Hudson. τὸς διακοσίους. Ita in editis et | son.

being premised as 292, to replace the nine somewhere else, and this might be done by a later hand.

The reader is probably aware that a scheme of chronology which did, and still does, enjoy a considerable degree of credit among ourselves, is based upon the chronology of the LXX as rectified by the help of Josephus. It was therefore worth while to shew on what precarious grounds the testimony of Josephus is enlisted in defence of the Alexandrine Chronology. Is it any longer a question whether the chronology of this Palestinian Jew exhibits any other than a forced and corrupt conformity with that of the Alexandrines?

One more remark: the number placed in the heading of the book, περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν γαλγ' (3833) may possibly be derived from the sum of the following numbers:—

| | |
|------------------------------|-------|
| Adam to the Flood..... | 2656 |
| To b. Abraham..... | 992 |
| Life of Isaac, i. 22. 1..... | 185 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 3833 |

The computist overlooking the 100 years of Abraham between the Call and the birth of Isaac. But it rather seems to imply that in the post-diluvian genealogy the centenary addition in the generation of Nahor was inserted at a later period than the six first, so that the sum to the birth of Abraham was 892, differing from our shorter text of the LXX only in the omission of the half century prefixed to the original 29 of Nahor. That is to say, Josephus having written the numbers as in the Hebrew, the text would seem to have obtained its present form in this way:

| | | | | |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Terah | 70 | 70 | 70 | 70 |
| Nahor..... | 29 | 29 | 129 | 120 |
| Serug | 32 | 132 | 132 | 132 |
| Reu..... | 30 | 130 | &c. | &c. |
| Peleg | 30 | 130 | | |
| Eber | 34 | 134 | | |
| Salah | 30 | 130 | | |
| Arphaxad | 35 | 135 | | |
| Flood | 2 | 2 | | 12 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | 292 | 892 | 992 | 992 |

In conclusion, it is to be observed that Josephus, *c. Apion.* i. 8, reckons "almost 3000 years from the Creation to the death of Moses;" and in the proëm to his *Antiquities* affirms that "the sacred books of the Jews contain the history of 5000 years." The former notice may mean only this, that the death of Moses occurred during the 3rd millennium: (in the Hebrew chronology it lies at A. M. 2556.) In the other, the period must be supposed to end at *Malachi*, for he is speaking of the contents of the *sacred books*; and the sum of the corrupted numbers does in fact give nearly that length of time from the Creation to the close of the Canon. Hence I suspect that Josephus in his proëm wrote 4000; meaning, the period of time contained in the Canonical Scriptures. He reckoned, as we have seen, 3513 to the destruction of the first Temple, therefore about 3700 to the close of the Canon¹.

§ 322. Demetrius, contemporary with Ptolemy Philopator, in an abstract of the early history quoted by Polyhistor (ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix.) gives the following numbers :

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------|
| From the Creation to the Flood | 2264 |
| To the Call of Abraham..... | 1145 |
| To the Descent into Egypt | 215 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 3624 |

The first term really ends at the birth of Arphaxad, agreeably with the larger text of the LXX. The next can be explained only by supposing that he included the second Cainan, and gave Nahor a generation of 79 years. *Viz.*

| |
|--|
| 940 from birth of Arphaxad to Terah 70, (shorter LXX.) |
| 130 Cainan |
| 75 to the Call |
| <hr/> |
| 1145 |

This testimony, therefore, if genuine, bespeaks the antiquity of the interpolated Cainan. But perhaps the text of Polyhistor has been corrupted by a later hand.

¹ Since these pages were written, I have read the ingenious and elaborate Dissertation of Whiston, on this subject, prefixed to his translation of Josephus. He maintains that Josephus reckoned 16557

to the Flood and 892 from thence to the birth of Abraham. This notice may suffice, for I do not find it necessary to retract any of the conclusions drawn in the text.

§ 323. We may notice, in conclusion, the early Christian texts of the genealogies and chronology. The earliest of these is that of S. Theophilus Antioch. *ad. Autolyc.* iii. 24, which is remarkable on several accounts.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|------------|
| Adam..... | 330 ¹ | [After the Flood | 2] |
| Seth | 205 | Arphaxad | 135 |
| Enos | 190 | Salah | 130 |
| Cainan | 170 | Heber | 134 |
| Mahalaleel ... | 165 | Peleg | 130 |
| Jared | 162 | Reu | 132 |
| Enoch | 165 | Serug | 130 |
| Methuselah ... | 187 ² | Nahor | 75 |
| Lamech | 188 | Terah | 70 |
| Noah | 600 | Abraham | 100 |
| | <hr/> 2362 | | <hr/> 1038 |

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|-----------|
| From Adam to the birth of Isaac | 2362 + 1038 = | 3400 |
| To the birth of Jacob | | 60 |
| To the descent into Egypt | | 130 |
| To the <i>Exode</i> | | <hr/> 430 |

Sum 4020 years.

If, however, we give (with Galland's MSS.) 167 years to Methuselah, the sum is just 4000 years. The old editions give the sum from Adam to Isaac (omitting the two years after the Flood) $\gamma\phi\lambda\beta'$ (3532), but Cod. Reg. has $\gamma\sigma\sigma'$ (3276), Fell and Galland $\gamma\sigma\sigma\eta'$ (3278). The first (3532) is derived from the text of the LXX; viz. $2262 + 1170 + 100 = 3532$, and was inserted arbitrarily by some scribe. It seems to me that Theophilus really gave Adam a generation of 330 years, and to Methuselah of 167 years, making the antediluvian period 2342 years. From Arphaxad to Isaac he certainly reckoned 1036 years, giving Nahor a generation of 75 instead of 79 years. Thus the period to the Flood was 2342, to the birth of Arphaxad 2344, to the birth of Abraham 3280 (or omitting the 2 years after the Flood) 3278, the result being the same as the sum of the shorter text of the LXX, $2242 + 942 + 100 = 3284$, diminished by the 4 years subducted from the generation of Nahor. From the birth of Abraham to the Exode,

¹ Two MSS. of Galland have 230, which he adopts.

² Galland, 167.

Theophilus, *by assigning the whole of the 480 years to the sojourn in Egypt*, gets 720 years, so that the sum is just 4000 years. In other words, this scheme is fashioned out of the shorter text of the LXX by giving to Adam an additional century, and deducting 4 years from Nahor. And now observe the result:—this period of 4000 years is composed, as in the larger text of the LXX, of 1656 years, plus 2344 (= 8 + 293). *The latter term is made to end at the birth of Arphaxad* by adding a century to the number 2242 (viz. 2342 + 2): *the other, of 1656 years, is made to extend from the birth of Arphaxad to the Exode*, by deducting 4 years from the number 940 (viz. 936 + 100 + 60 + 130 + 430 = 1656 years).

§ 324. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 21, § 140, has the following summary :

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| From Adam to the Flood..... | 2148 years and 4 days. |
| From Shem to Abraham | 1250 |
| From Isaac to the κληροδοσία..... | 616 |
| From the Judges to Samuel, &c. | |

The 1250 years may be explained either thus :

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| Birth of Shem to birth of Arphaxad | 100 |
| Birth of Arphaxad to Terah 70 | 990 (as in Josephus) |
| To birth of Abraham..... | 60 |
| To birth of Isaac | 100 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 1250 |

or thus :

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| Flood to Terah 70 | 1172 (as in LXX) |
| To the Call | 75 |
| To the Promise..... | 3 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 1250 |

The latter seems the most probable, because the first item is expressly made to terminate at the Flood, not at the birth of Shem. The 616 years are composed of 215-6 years of sojourning in Canaan, and 400 years reckoned from the descent into Egypt to the settlement in Canaan, in virtue of a peculiar interpretation of the passage in Genesis xv.

§ 325. The scheme of Julius Africanus has been in part already described. In the antediluvian period he followed

the longer computation, probably because he perceived the difficulty attendant upon the other in respect of Methuselah.

| | | |
|--------------------|------|------|
| To the Flood | 2262 | |
| Arphaxad | 135 | 2397 |
| Salah | 130 | 2527 |
| Eber..... | 134 | 2661 |
| Peleg | 130 | 2791 |
| Rau | 132 | 2923 |
| Serug | 130 | 3053 |
| Nahor..... | 79 | 3132 |
| Terah | 70 | 3202 |

940

To the Call 3277

1015

"From the Flood to Abraham's entrance into the promised land are therefore *ten* generations, 1015 years; from Adam *twenty* generations, 3277 years'."

§ 326. The Samaritan text of the genealogies is manifestly derived from an earlier text of the Septuagint; as indeed the labours of modern critics have left it no longer doubtful that the entire text of the Samaritan Pentateuch was fabricated from the Alexandrine Greek version. In the antediluvian period, the first five generations were left untouched, and the other generations were reduced to uniformity by striking

¹ Origen's departure from the LXX has been already mentioned: here I would notice a remarkable passage of his writings on Genesis, in which he is commenting upon the Greek text. *Sel. in Genes.* (ad vi. 9.) Περιέχει ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ὅτι "ἔζησε Λάμεχ ἔτη ἑκατὸν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ, καὶ ἐγέννησε Νῶε. Καὶ ἔζησε Α. μετὰ τὸ γεννηθῆσαι αὐτὸν τὸν Ν., ἔτη πεντακόσια καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ πέντε. Καὶ ἐγένοντο πᾶσαι αἱ ἡμέραι Α. ἔτη ἑπτακόσια καὶ πενήκοντα τρία, καὶ ἀπέθανε. Καὶ ἦν Ν. ἐτῶν πεντακοσίων καὶ ἐγέννησε τρεῖς υἱούς." Καὶ εὕρισκόμεν ἐν τούτῳ διαφωνίαν ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἐτῶν τοῦ Νῶε. 'Αλλ' ἐνταῦθα ἡ γραφή λέγει ὅτι τῷ

Θεῷ εὐηρέστησε Ν., καθὼς γέγραπται καὶ περὶ τοῦ 'Ενῶχ. Κάκεινος γὰρ ὅτε εὐηρέστησε τῷ Θεῷ τότε μετέθηκεν αὐτόν. Ὁμοίως οὖν καὶ τοῦ Ν. τὰ πρὸ τῆς εὐαρεστῆσεως ἐξήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἔτη οὐκ ἐλογίσατο αὐτῷ ἡ θεία γραφή. "Ὡς περ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ 'Αβραάμ οὐκ ἐλογίσθη εἰς ζωὴν τὰ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη τὰ πρὸ τῆς θεογονωσίας αὐτοῦ" (*supra*, p. 320. note.) καὶ τοῦ 'Ενῶχ ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ τοῦ Σαούλ ἔτη εἰκοσι, καὶ τοῦ 'Ερχίου ἔτη δέκα καὶ ἑπτὰ· ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Μαθουδάλα εὐρίσκεται διαφωνία ἐτῶν δεκαπέντε.—What these statements about Noah and Enoch can mean, I am at a loss to understand.

off the centuries. Now, if the tens and units of Methuselah and Lamech were to remain, the sum would have been $1656 - 400 = 1256$, so that if Lamech lived 777 years, and Methuselah 969, the one would have outlived the Deluge 95, the other 200 years! For the birth of Lamech would lie 682, and that of Methuselah $682 + 87 = 769$ years before the Flood. Nay, the birth of Jared would lie only $769 + 65 + 62 = 896$ before the Flood, so that to give him 962 years, would be to bring his decease 66 years after the Flood. These absurdities it was necessary to obviate; accordingly at Jared the residues and sums of life begin to be altered, and it is contrived that Jared, Methuselah and Lamech, should each terminate their life in the year of the Flood. And first; since Lamech in the LXX had 753 years of life, by striking off a century, and giving him a generation of 53 years, his decease was brought to the year of the Flood, $600 + 53 = 653$. Hence, still following the LXX, Methuselah having a generation of 67 years would be born 720 years before the Flood; accordingly his life became 720, and residue 653. Lastly, the birth of Jared now lay $720 + 65 + 62 = 847$ years before the Flood; accordingly his life was reduced from 962 to 847, his residue therefore from 800 to 785.

Thus was this genealogy framed out of the shorter text of the Septuagint. In the post-diluvian period, this was followed uniformly, viz. in the addition of 6 centuries to the generations, and half a century to the generations of Nahor, making 942 years in all. In the residues, however, the Samaritan recensors reverted, for the most part, to the Hebrew text, perhaps because they perceived that the Alexandrine text obliterated the fact of a sudden contraction in the term of human life at Peleg. Hence with the Hebrew, they give Arphaxad and Salah a life of 438 and 433 years respectively, therefore residues of 303 years each: the life of Eber must part with 60 years, as in the LXX, for the sake of a gradual declension, hence the residue is 270: Peleg, Reu, Serug, and Nahor, have their lives as in the Hebrew, only their residues must be diminished by 3 centuries and a half, which were added to their generations. Only Terah remains; and here the Samaritans, assuming that Abraham was born when Terah was 70 years old, and rightly perceiving that the

Call of Abraham coincides with the death of Terah, reduced the 205 years to $70 + 75 = 145$. Thus the procedure of the Samaritan text-makers is sufficiently explained, and no room is left for the supposition of artifices such as I have exposed in both texts of the LXX. Nor indeed have I been able to detect any such.

PART II.

MYSTICAL CHRONOLOGY, OR, DIVINE ECONOMY OF TIMES AND SEASONS.

Ἡ πολυποίκιλος σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ κατὰ πρόθεσιν τῶν αἰώνων ἦν
ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.

Ephes. iii. 10, 11.

Διαστήματα μυστικά ἐβδομάσι τελειούμενα.

S. Clem. Alex.

*Quod non frustra factum esse credendum est ab Illo, qui est ante tempora,
et per quem facta sunt tempora, et qui venit in plenitudine temporum.*

S. Hieronym.

“THE thing intended here is...to observe that every circumstance of God's moral government may be adjusted beforehand with a view to the whole of it. Thus, for example, *the determined length of time...in which virtue is to remain in a state of warfare and discipline, and in which wickedness is to have its progress; the times appointed for the execution of justice...* may have such respects to other circumstances as to make up altogether a whole, connected and related in all its parts; a scheme or system, which is as properly one as the natural world is, and of the same kind.”

BISHOP BUTLER.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE ECONOMY DESCRIBED IN THE INTRODUCTION.

§ 327. WE have now reached the point to which this Enquiry tends, and for the sake of which it was instituted. The facts investigated in the former Part are now to be viewed in reference to the seeming Plan of which the first outline was traced in the Introduction. Is it true that the "sundry times" which God ordained "in divers manners" upon the Old World, the Patriarchs, the Levitical Church, give evidence, in their very *numbering*, of a Divine contrivance? that an arbitrary and mystical analogy runs beside and conterminous with the moral design of the Almighty? that the physical accident (as we speak) of time, by its numerical arrangement, by sacred measures and significant cycles, speaks of HIM, and bears on it the foot-prints of His presence?

That these things are so, in the view of angels, at least, and higher intelligences, is rendered probable, antecedently to all special enquiry, by the Scripture representation of God's providence. "He comprehendeth the hills in a measure, and the dust in a balance." "The very hairs of our head are all numbered"—how much rather the days and years of mankind! "The number of our months is with Him: He hath appointed our bounds." "Is there not an appointed time for man on the earth?" "He hath made of one blood all nations, and hath determined the times before appointed that they should seek the LORD." There is a "fulness of time," a "dispensation of the fulness of times." And, not to enlarge at present upon the numerous and varied phrases in which the New Testament, in particular, hints at the existence of a plan of Ages, Times and Seasons (*Αἰῶνες, Χρόνοι, Καίροι*), it may be sufficient to remark, that the existence and character of a plan in relation to a *part* of the tract of time which we have been examining, *are* actually revealed in the inspired record of the Theocracy. Jerusalem was to lie desolate, and the land to keep her sabbaths, *seventy years*. At the very close of this period, it was revealed that another, of

seventy times seven years, was thenceforth to begin its course. This one fact, were it alone in its kind, might well suggest a presumption that the whole tract of time was in some other such way, or by some other such mystical analogy, measured out and distributed in the wisdom of the Eternal, when "He created her, and saw her, and *numbered* her, and poured her out upon all His works."

But is any such order of God's providence discoverable by us? or is it true, here also, "It is not *for you* to know Times and Seasons?" Surely, if we are able to construct the true measure of the times out of the inspired history, and if, where the Scripture has indicated a moral and spiritual parallelism in the events, persons, and providential import of the several periods, there a significant numerical parallelism, or sacred measure, shall be found to accompany the spiritual analogy, it will be probable that these are vestiges of a Divine procedure.

Now I do not mean to affirm absolutely the former of these conditions. I admit that the true measure of the chronology may not be exactly discoverable by merely historical considerations. As yet, I say only, that the measure assigned in the preceding chapters is true, if a certain assumption be true: that is to say, if it be true that St. Paul, in his discourse delivered in the Pisidian Synagogue, meant to furnish a continuous and exact account of the times of Sacred History from the Exodus of Israel to the beginning of the reign of David. *Especially*, there is nothing against the assumption; nor yet *historically*, for it tallies extremely well with the detail of particulars. Still, it may not be true; one has, so far, no certainty. But, if this assumption unlocks a number of such sacred facts as are here spoken of, these, in whatever degree they are significant and evidential of design, will to that extent countervail that residue of uncertainty: they will tend to prove, in short, that our measure is the true measure. This then is the first point for consideration: Whether the results involved in the assumption are sufficient to prove it true?

§ 328. I. If it be granted that the Exodus took place in the year 1586 B. C., then the Levitical Dispensation measured precisely the same number of years as the world before the Flood: the year of the Flood was the 1656th from the Crea-

tion, the year of the destruction of the Temple and extinction of its worship, the 1656th from the Exodus and Delivery of the Law. That the two catastrophes are typically parallel, no reader of the Scriptures can need to be informed: but all readers may not have observed how frequently this analogy of the two consummations is intimated in the Prophetical and New Testament Scriptures. Let the following passages be considered:

1. It is certain that the seventy weeks of Daniel's Prophecy extend (in a sense which we will examine in a subsequent chapter) to the catastrophe of the *αιών* or Dispensation. Messiah being cut off, the people of the Prince that should come (*ὁ Ἐρχόμενος*)—i. e. the Roman host—was to destroy City and Sanctuary. Now, observe these expressions: "And the end thereof shall be (תַּבְּוֹלָה) *in the Flood* = with, or like, the Flood." v. 26. "And even unto extermination and judgment shall it rain down (תַּרְבֵּן) upon the desolate." v. 27.

2. In a prophecy of Isaiah, foretelling the desolations of Jerusalem, we read:

Desolation is left in the city,
The gate is shivered in pieces.

* * * *

The windows of heaven do ope,
The earth's foundations do tremble. xxiv.

So, in connexion with the predicted *rejection of the Corner-stone*, that is, as the consequence of the national rejection of the Christ,

I have made Right to be the line,
And Righteousness the balance;
Hail shall sweep away the refuges of lies,
And floods shall rend away their tower. xxviii.

3. In Isaiah's parable of the vineyard, which our Saviour teaches us to refer to this same crisis, i. e. to the Roman judgment, the conclusion is,

It shall roar over it in that day like the roaring of the sea,
And if one looks to the land, behold darkness, anguish:
The light is darkened by the raining thereof. v. 30.

i. e. the flood roars over it and the rain rushes down from heaven.

4. Again, in the promise of future restoration, looking back to the judgment by which the rejection of Messiah was avenged, as past,

*In the flood of my wrath I hid my face for a moment,
But with everlasting mercies will I have pity upon thee,
Saith thy Redeemer, Jehovah:*

As the waters of Noah is this unto Me,

As I swear that the waters of Noah should no more cover the earth, &c.

liv. 8, 9.

5. Amos prophesied the judgment on the ten tribes, but with an ulterior reference to Judah and Jerusalem :

*I will set mine eyes upon them for evil and not for good,
And the Lord, Jehovah Sabaoth is He that toucheth the earth and it melteth,
And it shall rise up wholly like a flood,
And it shall go down as the river of Egypt.*

It is He.....

That calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the land.

Behold the eyes of the Lord are against the sinful kingdom,

And I will destroy it from off the land,

Only that I will not destroy the House of Jacob.

For lo, I will command, and I will sift the House of Israel among all nations,

Like as corn is sifted in a sieve.....

All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword.

In that day will I raise up the Tabernacle of David, &c. ix. 4 ff.

6. Our Saviour, prophesying of the *συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος*, *i. e.* (in its proximate sense) of the last days of Jerusalem, likens the judgment to that which surprised the world of the ungodly in the days of Noah.

But as were the days of Noah so shall be the coming of the Son of Man.

For as they were in those days that were before the flood, eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark, and knew not, until the flood came and took them all away,

So shall be also the coming of the Son of Man. Matt. xxiv. 37 ff.

7. In the Church, as the Ark, the elect were saved from that judgment. St. Peter, in the near prospect of "the end of all things," of "the fiery trial about to begin at the House of God," reminds those to whom he wrote of the "longsuffering of God in the days of Noah when the Ark was being prepared, wherein few, that is eight souls, were saved by the water, the antitype whereof now saveth us, even baptism." 1 Pet. iii. 19 ff.

And in his second Epistle, speaking of the end of all things, in which the catastrophe of that *αἰών* lay as yet indiscriminated from the consummation of all things at Christ's coming: "If God spared not the old world, but saved Noah, a preacher of righteousness, when He brought a flood upon the world of the ungodly," &c. ii. 5 ff. and iii. 5 ff. See also Jude v. 14.—The import of these passages of S. Peter is expressed by Lightfoot in words which are very much to my present purpose:—"S. Peter sets forth the destruction of that cursed city and nation in those terms that Christ had done, namely, as the destruction of the whole world, the heavens passing away, the elements melting, the earth burnt up," &c. Works, Vol. i. p. 338. (*The Fall of Jerusalem*). Ed. London, 1684. "This desolation is phrased in Scripture as the desolating of the whole world. A new world, as it were, now created, a new people made the Church, a new economy: old things past, and all things become new. We are now upon a very remarkable and eminent period, where, should I write an ecclesiastical history, I would begin as at the beginning of a new world...Not but the calling of the Gentiles had begun before, for the gospel was now gone through all the world...but their (the Jewish) state and economy was not till now rooted up." *ib.* 362. And on 1 Pet. iii. 21. "He magnifieth baptism as a badge and pledge of preservation of those that had received it, for the vengeance that was coming on that wicked nation. It is something of a strange recoiling that he makes, leaping back from mention of the death of Christ, v. 18, over all the story of the Old Testament, and lighteth on the generation that was swept away by the Flood, and sheweth how Christ's Spirit preached unto them. Why? had not the same Spirit preached in all the times between? Why are not those times named as well as these? Because the Apostle doth purposely intend to compare that old world then destroyed, with the destruction of the Jewish nation shortly coming, and to shew, that as Noah and his family were then saved by water, so they that had received baptism were the antitype to that." *Harmony of the N. T.* Anno Chr. 65.

In fact, the connexion between the Flood and the catastrophe of the Mosaic Dispensation is of this kind: both are types and earnest of that day of God which is yet to come;

in both, an old world, an *Αἰών*, a Dispensation and Order of Times came to an end by an awful dissolution, and a new world arose out of the ruins. Each was such a Day of the Lord, and *Last Day*, as the world had never seen before, nor will see until Christ's return to judgment. "Any person who reads the narrative which Josephus has left us of the events which marked the siege of Jerusalem, and weighs the unspeakable greatness of the catastrophe in comparison with any similar event recorded in history, will see that it stands alone in the annals of mankind, neither like nor second to any calamity which, either before or since, ever fell upon the people of any nation. When Tacitus comes to that part of his history in which he has to relate this event, the expression which he uses marks how deep an impression it had made upon his imagination. *Sed quia famoæ urbis supremum diem tradituri sumus, congruens videtur primordia ejus aperire.*—*Supremum diem!* there was no metaphor in this phrase, the words were literally true. It was the last day of one of the greatest and most renowned cities in the world, and there is, perhaps, no parallel event in history to which the same expression could with so little exaggeration have been applied." (Archdeacon Lyall, *Propædia Prophetica*, 1840, p. 385.)

Now if the Mosaic Dispensation began at the year to which it has been assigned; in other words, if we have rightly construed the meaning of the words which dropped from the Apostle in that discourse which he held in the Synagogue of Pisidia, then the two "Days of the Lord" which Scripture exhibits as bearing to each other so impressive a relation, are related also by a law of Times and Seasons. I do not affirm that this one fact is of itself sufficient to countervail whatever of doubtfulness may attach to our interpretation: but it is the first of a series of similar facts forming a cumulative attestation to the true meaning of that statement.

§ 329. II. If this be indeed the period of the Mosaic Dispensation, it is composed of a series of cycles of a sacred character, which character has been expressly revealed as a part of the Divine Plan. In connexion with, and at the close of, a period of *seventy* years, announced by the voice of prophecy as a penal sabbatism, there was revealed to Daniel a period of *seventy times seven* years as yet to elapse before Messiah's coming. But

history shows a period of 450 years preceding those seventy: annex to these the 40 years which St. Paul describes as beginning at Samuel and ending at David, and we have a cycle of *seventy times seven* years. And this is preceded in the same outline by a period of just the same length, *seventy times seven*, and composed of the same portions, $40 + 450$. Now this is very remarkable. We had measured the time up to the epoch of David's reign; we lacked an exact measure of the time lying beyond this epoch; then an inspired Man of God casually, as it were, put us in possession of the measure which was desiderated, which measure being applied to the known portion made the whole tract of time, *first*, exactly symmetrical with another to which it stood in a mystical relation, and *secondly*, marked out the whole into lesser cycles, uniform in their structure with that part of the times with respect to which the Divine plan was explicitly revealed. If the measure furnished by the Apostle had but been such as to make with the known term a gross sum of 980, or twice the period of seventy times seven, it had been sufficiently remarkable: but it is so given as to discriminate the two cycles conformably with this mystical analogy, that the first is the time of the *Law* alone, beginning with *Moses*, the second the time of the *Prophets*, beginning with *Samuel*. Nor is this all: but each cycle, again, is distributed into two analogous terms. In the first, the history notes a term of forty years—the Apostle supplies the term of 450 years. In the other, conversely, the history furnishes the term of 450 years—the Apostle adds that of 40 years. Here, too, the mystical analogy is striking. Either term of forty years is a time of trial and provocation. *Moses* finds his counterpart in *Samuel*; *Joshua* in *David*. Joshua stands at the head of a succession of judges ruling Israel 450 years, David at the head of a line of kings reigning the same length of time. At the close of each cycle is a crisis of rejection and captivity (with this difference only, that the one period of servitude is included in the first cycle, the other, the Babylonian, is added to the second). Both, however, are obviously distinguished from all other, save the last of all, by God's rejection of the place which He had chosen to set His Name there. Accordingly, the one catastrophe is actually set forth in Scripture as the earnest of the other.—Of the first, the Psalmist speaks thus:

When God heard this He was wroth
 And greatly abhorred Israel :
 So that He forsook the Tabernacle of Shiloh,
 And the tent which He had pitched among men.
 And delivered their strength into captivity,
 And His glory into the enemy's hand. Psalm lxxviii. 59.

Of the second, Jeremiah thus prophesies :

"Go ye now to my place which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel. And now because ye have done all these works, therefore will I do to this house which is called by my name, wherein ye trust, and unto the place which I gave to you and to your fathers, as I have done unto Shiloh, and I will cast you out of my sight." vii. 12.

"Thus saith the LORD: if ye will not hearken to [Me to walk in my *Laws* which I have set before you, to hearken to the words of my servants the *Prophets* whom I sent unto you...then will I make this house like *Shiloh*, and will make this city a curse to all the nations of the earth." xxvi. 6.

Moreover, at the close of the second æra or Dispensation, the Almighty, speaking by Jeremiah, declares this final issue :

"Though *Moses and Samuel* stood before Me, yet my mind could not be towards this people. Cast them out of my sight, and let them go forth." xv. 1.

§ 330. And now let us notice the two correspondent terms of forty years.—Each begins with the manifestation of a great Deliverer, whose birth and early years are previously related in conspicuous analogy with the opening of the Gospel History. With each, a new order of things begins: the one, having saved Israel from the hand of Egypt, gives the *Law*: the other, after a like miraculous deliverance, is manifested as the promised "Prophet like unto Moses" (in the proximate sense of that promise) the leader of the goodly fellowship of the Prophets. The great day at Mizpeh was the beginning of a new order of things, the boundary between two æras of the Theocracy: this Samuel himself seems to intimate in that significant act of his, the erection of a stone or pillar, which "he called *Eben-Ezer*, saying, Hitherto hath the LORD helped us."—But every season of mercy is, in connexion with our state of probation, a crisis, or season of judgment. When Israel came out of Egypt, the LORD led him in the wilderness, to humble him and to prove him, and to know what was in his

heart, *forty years*. It was a time of δοκιμασία, of πειρασμός, of παραπικρασμός, of probation, temptation, and (in the issue) of provocation. And so it was, again, when God delivering His people by Samuel from a second almost Egyptian bondage gave them a new Dispensation, the order of the Prophets, "*the Prophet like unto Moses*:" then, also, a term of forty years, a τεσσαρακονταετής χρόνος, as S. Paul expresses it, was measured out to Israel for probation and trial. But Israel a second time rejected wilfully the mercy of God. "They have not rejected thee," said God to Samuel, "but they have rejected Me, that I should not reign over them: according to all the works which they have done *since the day that I brought them up out of Egypt even to this day*." In the wilderness "they provoked God, giving no credence to His word, and lusting to return into Egypt," and in the days of Samuel they provoked Him, lusting after a king such as were the kings of the heathen. Thus in the wilderness they provoked God and were tried and punished, forty years; in Canaan, they desired a king, and He "gave them a king in His wrath," forty years. Perhaps it was even while this second season was running its course that the Spirit of Christ thus warned his people by the Psalmist: "To-day if ye shall hear His voice, harden not your heart, as in the provocation, as in the day of temptation in the wilderness, when your fathers tempted Me, proved Me, and saw my works. Forty years long was I grieved, &c." "To-day," as the Apostle comments, "*after so long a time*."

Passing by for the present the interval of about 147 years, which elapsed between the close of the period and the commencement of the concluding period of 490 years, we observe that a period nearly τεσσαρακονταετής ensued upon the commencement of the Gospel Dispensation. We have not yet examined Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks: this we shall do in the next chapter: at present it is sufficient for our purpose that the interval between the Crucifixion and the destruction of Jerusalem has been proved to be nearly 40 years. This was the final term of probation allotted to Jerusalem, when He of whom Moses and the Prophets did testify appeared as the true Saviour, Lawgiver, and Prophet, and was about to manifest himself in due time as the true Joshua and David. The dispensation of the gospel was to be preached "to the Jew

first:" it was to be seen whether Israel would receive Messiah himself preached to them with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, or whether they would "reject the (final) counsel of God," as their fathers had rejected the Law and the Prophets. In its issue, this final τεσσαρακονταετῆς χρόνος proved to be the most aggravated "day of provocation." At its close, Israel was found unhumbled, given over to a reprobate mind, ἔφθακεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ εἰς τέλος. 1 Thess. ii. 16¹.

It was during this last term of forty years, and before one half of it was expired, that S. Paul being sent forth with Barnabas by express command of the Holy Ghost to preach the gospel to the Gentiles, but still in every place preaching Jesus Christ "to the Jew first," appeared in the Synagogue of Antioch in Pisidia. The discourse which he delivered upon that occasion, the first which is on record, it has pleased the Holy Spirit to deliver in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. xiii. In it the Apostle reminds his hearers, Jews and proselytes, "how God chose out their fathers, exalted them in the time of their sojourning in Egypt and brought them out thence with an high arm. After this, *during a forty years period* (ὡς τεσσαρακονταετῇ χρόνον), He bore them as a nurse in the wilderness, and having destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, caused them to share their land, and after this, *for 150 years* (ὡς ἔτεσι τετρ. καὶ πεντ.), He gave them judges until Samuel the Prophet. And thence (or, thereupon, from that conjuncture) they asked a king, and God gave them Saul, son of Kish, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, *forty years* (ἔτη τεσσ.), and, having removed him, raised up unto them David to be their king...Of this man's seed, God according to His promise hath brought to Israel a Saviour, Jesus." Then he speaks of the forerunner John the Baptist and of his testimony, of the miracles of Jesus, his rejection by the Jews, his crucifixion and resurrection, and ends with this solemn warning: "Beware, therefore, lest that come upon you which is written in the Prophets:

Behold, ye despisers, and wonder and perish:

For I work a work in your days

Which ye will in no wise believe, though one declare it unto you."

¹ Dehinc quum tempus medium a Tiberio usque ad Vespasianum non penitentiam intellerissent, facta est terra

eorum deserta. Tertullian. adv. Marcion. 111. 23.

The words are taken partly from Isaiah's prophecy of the *destruction of Jerusalem* (xxix. 14), partly from a prophecy of Habakkuk to the same purport (i. 5. LXX.) Thus it is intimated in these concluding words, that the consequence of a rejection of Jesus Christ would be a judgment upon the whole nation, city and temple, of which the times of Babylon should be regarded as a type and earnest.

The chronological statement with which this discourse begins must, surely, involve some latent emphasis, some significance which at first sight does not disclose itself. One can scarce think that S. Paul on such an occasion should have entered into such details merely as matter of historical recital. Something depends on them—something of cogency is involved in them—the scope of the exhortation is somehow concerned in them. And the scheme of Times and Seasons, of which we have now discerned the outlines by means (and solely by means) of these very statements, may enable us to apprehend the purpose for which they are introduced. Had any of those who heard him possessed a prophetic knowledge or foreboding (as Daniel did in another case) of that purpose of Divine Providence which the event has made known to us, he would, I think, have felt in these statements of the Apostle an emphasis, which may be worded somewhat in this way: “It is the last time, the final *τεσσαρακονταετής χρόνος* of probation: as Jonah preached to the Ninevites, so we to you: *yet forty years, and Jerusalem shall be destroyed*: Reject not the Christ, as your fathers rejected Moses and Samuel, the Law and the Prophets.”

And, indeed, it is not only on this occasion that this particular term of years is introduced with a significance so latent, that a reader who is not aware of its purport is apt to feel a kind of surprise at its being mentioned at all. S. Stephen's discourse, Acts vii., abounds in instances². But this is espe-

² Acts vii. 23. *ὡς δὲ ἐπληροῦτο αὐτῷ τεσσαρακονταετής χρόνος* it came into his heart to visit his brethren...*now he thought that his brethren understood that God, by his hand, was giving them deliverance, but they understood it not....* So Moses fled and became a sojourner in the land of Midian...*καὶ πλῆρωθέντων*

ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα in the wilderness of the mount Sinai &c; and again, v. 36. Surely these emphatic statements have a meaning: and the meaning, which is perhaps a deeper one than we can at present comprehend may be of this kind, namely: First, Moses amidst the Egyptian, and then, through the dulness and faithless-

cially the case in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, in which, again and again, the inspired writer takes up and enforces the warning delivered long before by the Holy Spirit through David in the 95th psalm: "Wherefore, as saith the Holy Ghost, to-day, if ye shall hear His voice," &c. The reader will easily satisfy himself of the fact, if he will read the four first chapters of that Epistle with this notion in his mind, that the Apostle is addressing this exhortation to his own nation in reference to a τεσσαρακονταετής χρόνος of probation.

The reality of the particular arrangement which we are now considering is confirmed by the type of Jonah to which I have already made a passing allusion. "There shall no sign be given to this generation but the sign of the prophet Jonah." "As Jonah was a sign to the Ninevites, so shall the Son of Man be to this generation." "The men of Nineveh shall rise up in the judgment against this generation and shall condemn it. For they repented at the preaching of Jonah." The Nineveh of Jonah is, mystically, Jerusalem. And what was the preaching of Jonah? Of Jonah, be it observed, after his resurrection from the jaws of death and from "the womb of Hades," on the third day? "Jonah began to enter into the city a day's journey, and he cried and said, *Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown.*"

Numerous other types of this same period occur both in the Old and New Testament. The early Christian writers have frequently adverted to this significance of the number *Forty*.

ness of Israel compelled to sojourn in the wilderness 40 years, may perhaps be the type and rehearsal of the smiting of all Egypt and the subsequent time of provocation in the wilderness. Secondly and principally, and in direct connexion with the drift of the Martyr's discourse, I take it to be the type of the great crisis on which the Church had just entered when Stephen spake these words: "*Christ*, in the fulness of time, came ἐπισκέψασθαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐκδίκησιν πατάξας (τὸν Σατανᾶν)...οἱ δὲ οὐ συνῆκαν, ἀπίσαντο δὲ αὐτὸν λέγοντες, τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν; (cf. Luke

xix. 14.) Then He withdrew himself from them, 40 years." In much the same way Œcumenius comments on the transaction. Θεωρίας τῆς ἀνωτάτω συνθήσει ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τὴν οἰκονομίαν, τὴν ἐπὶ Χριστῷ. Εὐρὼν γὰρ ὁ Σωτὴρ δεινὴν ὑπομένοντας τὴν πλεονεξίαν τοὺς ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ, (ἐπεπῆδα γὰρ εἰς αὐτοὺς ὡς περ συντρίβων ὁ Σατανᾶς,) ἐλείψας ἐλευθεροῦν ἐσκέπτετο...οἱ δὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἐμελλον εὐχαριστεῖν ἐφασκον, Οὗτος οὐκ ἐκβάλλει κ. τ. λ.διὰ τοι τοῦτο...καθάπερ Μωσῆς μετετέθη εἰς γῆν Μαδιάμ...τὴν ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐκάλει συναγωγὴν. Εἰσαγγ. ἐν Act. Apost. c. vii. Compare v. 35 with ii. 36. iv. 11, 12.

“Jerome repeatedly observes, that the interval of 40 years, or the number 40 in general, seems to have been especially appropriated to the suspension, previous to the execution, of the penal dispensations of Providence, as the term of probation, as the measure of God’s long-suffering, as the interval of warning and expectation allowed for repentance, and, in defect of that, after which the punishment of obstinate impenitence should begin.” Greswell, *Dissertations*, i. 597. Origen had previously made the same remark, on Deut. xxv. 3. αἰί γε τετηρήκαμεν κακωτικὸν ὄντα τὸν τεσσαράκοντα ἄριθμον. He cites as instances the fasts of Moses, Elijah, and Christ, and the 40 days rain in the Deluge. The passages referred to in S. Jerome are the following :

Comm. in Jon. iii. 4. *Quadragenarius numerus convenit peccatoribus et jejuniis et orationi et sacco et lacrymis et perseverantia deprecandi.* *Comm. in Ezech.* xxix. 11. *Qui numerus semper afflictionis et pœnæ est.* (*E. g.* The fasts of Moses, &c.: the 40 years in the wilderness: the 40 years denoted by the 40 days of Ezekiel’s lying on one side: the 40 decads of sojourning, Gen. xv.: the 40 days of rain in the Flood.) But the passage most to the purpose is the following: *Comm. in Amos*, ii. 10. *Ipse Dominus fecit nos exire de sæculo, et per annos xl., qui numerus semper afflictionis et jejunii, luctus est et doloris, per tribulationes et angustias pervenire in terram sanctam, ut possideremus primum terram Amorrhæi . . . et postea suscitaret de filiis nostris prophetas, omnes sanctos viros qui acceperunt spiritum prophetalem.*” See also *Comm. in Ezech.* xli.

The Jews themselves have a very remarkable tradition which distinctly recognizes a period of forty years preceding the destruction of the second Temple. “Our rabbins,” says Kimchi in Zech. xi. 3, “say, that forty years before the destruction of the Temple, the doors of the sanctuary flew open of their own accord. Rabban Johanan Ben Zakkai reproved them, and said, O sanctuary ! How long wilt thou terrify thyself ? I know that thine end is to be left desolate, for Zechariah hath prophesied against thee long since, Open thy doors, O Lebanon.” (Kimchi’s *Comm.* on *Zechariah*, translated by Dr. McCaul, p. 119.) Josephus, too, relates this prodigy in his summary account of the portents which preceded the war, (*B. J.* vi. 5. 3,) but without mention of the time, except that it was

at a certain passover, apparently of the same year in which, at Pentecost, the voice was heard, which said, *Μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν*. Perhaps the tradition confounds the rending of the veil, forty years before the war, and the spontaneous opening of the gate at a later period. However that may be, here is this critical period recognized by the Jews themselves¹.

¹ I perceive with much satisfaction that the economy of periods measured by seventy times seven has been noticed in part by Lightfoot. "From the beginning of Samuel's rule to the beginning of the Captivity in Babel was 490 years, and from the end of that Captivity to the death of Christ, 490 years more, and the seventy years Captivity, 'the midst of years' between." The first period of 490 years he dates from the day of Mizpeh, as I have done, and makes that day the type of the beginning of the Gospel Dispensation. "Here was a strange and wondrous spirit of conversion poured upon the people at the beginning of the race of Prophets as there was at the end of it." "As the practice in the Acts was to repent and *be baptized*, so was it then with Israel, as that expression may most properly be interpreted 1 Sam. vi. 6, 'they drew water and poured it out before the Lord,' as washing or baptizing themselves from their idolatry."—*Commentary on Acts* iii. 24. See also "Chronicle of the Times" on 1 Sam. vi. *Works*, Vol. 1. p. 54. Lightfoot's scheme for the earlier part being based on the Hebrew text of 1 Kings vi. 4, as understood by the Jews and Ussher, he could not perceive the existence of a period of 490 years before these two. The reader will observe that in the latter part Lightfoot absurdly follows the Jewish reckoning, in making but 490 years from the 1st of Cyrus (B. C. 536) to A. D. 33. His reason for overthrowing the received chronology is expressed in the note on Dan. ix. p. 136. "So that from this year to the death of Christ are 490 years; and there is no cause *because of doubtful records among the heathen (!)* to make a doubt of the fixedness of this time, which an Angel of the Lord hath pointed out with so much exactness." See the entire scheme in the *Prolegomena to the Harmony of the Four Evangelists*, p. 383—390.

I have not been able to discover whether the early Christian chronographers had their attention drawn to this feature of the Old Testament chronology. In some of the ancient schemes, however, this double period of 490 years was made out, or very nearly. S. Paul's outline gave the first; but to bring out the second, required more exact criticism and summation than the ancients applied to the subject. Still, some of them do come very near to the truth. Thus Clement of Alexandria, and S. Cyprian in his *Paschal Computus* (or whoever was the author of that essay) give 490 years as the period between the Exode and the epoch of the 40 years of Saul, and reckon 497 (Clem.) or 495 (Cyp.) from thence to the Captivity, *i. e.* to the beginning of the Seventy Years. Africanus recognized both periods but separated them by wide intervals: viz.

§ 331. It can scarcely be accidental that the period of 430 years so emphatically described in Exodus is just the period afterwards, in a different connexion, revealed to Ezekiel. On that subject I have more to say in a subsequent place. Here I would call attention to a remarkable circumstance which seems to connect this period in a peculiar way with the Abrahamic covenant.

| | |
|---|-----|
| "Moses 40 years. Joshua 25 [1. 27]. Elders 30 = | 97 |
| Judges, from 1st Servitude to Eli..... | 490 |
| Eli and Samuel..... | 90 |
| Hebrew Kings, from 1st of Saul..... | 490 |
| Captivity, beginning at 1 Zedekiah | 70 |

Sum..... 1237 years."

The excess is enormous: for not only are the three first items in truth part of the fourth, and the fifth item part of the sixth, but Africanus, by a singular oversight, identifies the end of the 70 years with the 1st year of the Persian reign of Cyrus = 559 B.C. Ol. 55. 1, so that his date of the Exode becomes 559 + 1237 = 1796 B.C. This extravagant scheme originated, I suppose, in his use of early profane chronology, viz. in his making the Flood of Ogyges, which he dates 1020 years before Ol. 1. 1. (= 1796 B.C.) contemporary with the Exodus of Israel. Syncellus comes much nearer to the truth: viz. he reckons from the *First Servitude* to the Captivity, 2 × 490 years (3908 – 4888. A. M. = 980.) S. Theophil. *ad Autolyc.* iii. reckons 496 from the Exode to the accession of David, which is 32 years too little; and 518½ from thence to the end of the seventy years Captivity, which is but a year and a half short of the truth.

It is very remarkable that Origen reckoned 10 × 490 years from the Creation to the last times of Jerusalem: he gave this as the sense of Daniel's prophecy, reckoning to the birth of Christ 4830 years, or 69 weeks of 70 years each. The last week, of 70 years, is bisected at the death of Christ. In *Matt. Comment. Series*, 40. (ii. 277. ed. Lommatszsch.) In another place, *Comm. in Matt.* tom. xv. 34 (i. 398), expounding the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard, and placing the *first* hour at Adam, *third* at Noah, *sixth* at Abraham, *ninth* at Moses, *eleventh* at the Incarnation of Christ, he remarks that the interval from the third to the sixth is equal to that from the sixth to the ninth, and similarly that the period from the first to the third corresponds with that from the ninth to the eleventh: i.e. that from Adam to Noah is the same length of time as from Moses to Christ, and from Noah to Abraham the same as from Abraham to Moses. *This is very curious: it is almost precisely the scheme of the times which I am here describing: from which it differs only in placing the Incarnation, not the destruction of Jerusalem, as parallel with the days of Noah.* Perhaps, however,

The Roman judgment on Judah and Jerusalem was consummated in two great catastrophes:—the Levitical Covenant was abolished, in the one, when the Temple was destroyed: in the other, precisely 65 years later (A.D. 135, Hadrian's war of extermination), the seed of Abraham was finally expatriated from the Land of Promise; this, accordingly, may be regarded as the *supremus dies* of the Abrahamic Covenant. Ponder the scene which is here described as the issue of that war: "The whole of Judæa was a desert; wolves and hyænas went howling through the streets of the desolate cities. Those who escaped were scarcely more fortunate: they were reduced to slavery by thousands. *There was a great fair held under the terebinth beneath which Abraham, it was believed, had pitched his tent: thither his miserable children were brought in droves, and sold as cheap as slaves.* Others were carried away, and sold at Gaza; others were transported into *Egypt.*" (Milman, *History of the Jews.*)

In connexion with this impressive scene, let the reader consider this fact, involved in our date of the Exode. The time of the catastrophe was certainly the year 135. From the *Promise* (2106 B.C.) to this year are therefore just 2150 years, that is, five periods of 430 years precisely; and from the Exodus four such periods¹.

But there are some further corollaries resulting from our date of the Promise. For the Covenant made on that day with Abraham attained its highest fulfilment in *Solomon*: now

ever, Origen had no very precise notion of a numerical parallelism of periods: and certainly he could not mean to represent the interval from Noah to Abraham as longer (in the proportion of 3 to 2) than the period from Adam to Noah. It may be remarked, that some of the ancients seem to have been very nearly in possession of the true length of the Mosaic period: and it is curious that the mystical calculation of the name Μωϋσης (= 1648) was supposed by some to give the exact length. Thus an unknown writer quoted from a MS. ined. by Cotelierius in *Barnab. Ep. c. 16.* ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ Μωϋσῆς ὄνομα ψηφίζόμενον ἔχει ἀριθμὸν αἰχμῆς. Καὶ εὐρέθη ὁ Μωσαϊκὸς νόμος κρατήσας τοσαῦτα ἔτη.

¹ Even the interval of 65 years, between the two instalments of the judgment (A.D. 70 and 135), is significant in

connexion with this very period of 430 years. This will be shown in a subsequent chapter.

from our year of the Promise (2016) to the first year of the son of David (1016) are precisely a thousand years. Again: the whole period from the Promise to the end of the Mosaic dispensation (4 August, A.D. 70) is $2085^{\text{v}} 4^{\text{m}}$. The bisection of this period (or $1042^{\text{v}} 8^{\text{m}}$) lies at the close of 974 B.C., which is a very remarkable conjuncture of the history. For so we read: "They strengthened the kingdom of Judah and made Rehoboam strong, three years: for three years they walked in the way of David and Solomon. And it came to pass when Rehoboam had established the kingdom, and had strengthened himself, he forsook the law of the Lord, and all Israel with him. And it came to pass, that in the fifth year of Rehoboam Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, because they had transgressed against the Lord...And when the Lord saw that they humbled themselves, the word of the Lord came to Shemaiah, saying, They have humbled themselves; therefore I will not destroy them...Nevertheless they shall be his servants, that they may know My service, and the service of the kingdoms of the countries." 2 Chron. xi. 17; xii. 1 ff. The third year of Rehoboam expired at the Passover of 974 B.C. That year, the critical epoch of the troubles of Judah—the time when Egypt was again, for the first time since the Exode, a triumphant enemy—is the central year of the entire Abrahamic dispensation. *Ex illo retro fluere ac sublapsa referri.*

It seems to me that the facts which have been described are sufficient to establish our interpretation of the apostolic statement. I shall, therefore, drop all further questioning on that point, and proceed to describe the manifold economy of Times and Seasons which that measure brings to light. First, however, we have to examine that famous prophecy of the Seventy Weeks, and to determine its bearings on our scheme of chronology.

CHAPTER II.

DANIEL'S PROPHECY OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS.

§ 332. WE have now seen that the prophetical period of *Seventy Sevens* which was revealed to Daniel does not stand by itself, but forms part of a system of such periods. In the prophecy itself, there is an evident connexion between the period of seventy years foretold by Jeremiah, which were then just about to expire, and the period of seventy sevens which was the subject of a fresh revelation. The fact of this connexion is, in itself, sufficient to satisfy us, who live after the event, that a fulfilment in *years* was, if not the only, at least the principal and immediate fulfilment which was intended¹.

The prophecy was given "in the first year of Darius, son of Ahasuerus the Mede, which was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans," i. e., in the course of the sixty-ninth year of the seventy years captivity. (*Supra*, § 184, p. 196.)

Babylon was now taken by the Medes as the Prophets had foretold: and Daniel, understanding by the books, especially by the prophecy of Jeremiah, "that the Lord would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem," "set his face unto the Lord God to seek by prayer and supplications." The object of his prayer is described in these words: "Hear the prayer of thy servant, and cause thy face to shine upon thy *sanctuary* that is desolate. Behold our desolations, and the

¹ This connexion ought not to be overlooked in the argument against that scheme of prophetical interpretation which assumes that each *day* of the other prophetical periods (1260, 2300, &c.) *stands of course for a year*. The advocates of this scheme in question appeal to the prophecy of the seventy weeks, as if it afforded a notable proof that, in the eye of prophecy, a day is of course, to be interpreted as a year. But in fact,

this prophecy says not a word about *days*; it speaks only of *sevens*. To which I add, that the word *sevens*, in the Hebrew, is in a different form from the word which means *weeks of days*. Whether sevens of days are meant, or sevens of months, of years, or any other period, must be gathered from the context: and the context, in so far as 70 *sevens* are opposed to 70 *years*, implies the unit to be a *year*.

city which is called by thy name. Defer not, for thine own sake, for thy *city* and thy *people* are called by thy name." And thus was his prayer answered: "While I was speaking and praying . . . for the Holy Mountain of my God, the man Gabriel, being caused to fly swiftly, touched me about the time of the evening oblation. And he informed me, and talked with me, and said, I am now come forth to give thee skill and understanding. At the beginning of thy supplication *came forth the word* (וַיֵּצֵא דְבַר) and I am come to shew thee, for thou art greatly beloved: wherefore understand the word and consider the vision.

Sevens seventy are cut off (or, *cut short*) upon thy people and upon thy holy city.

To finish the defection and to seal up sins²,

And to cover (or, *expiate*) iniquity (*perversity*),

And to cause-to-come righteousness of ages:

And to seal up vision and prophet, and to ahoint (the) Holy of Holies.

Thou shalt know therefore and understand:

From the going forth of the word for the restoring and for the building of Jerusalem to (the) Anointed, (the) Prince [Messiah Nagid].

(Shall be) sevens seven, and sevens sixty-and-two:

It shall be restored and built, (both) street and conduit³, even in the straitness of the times.

[Or, *The street shall be restored and built,*

And it is decreed, even in the straitness of the times.]

And after the sevens sixty-and-two shall Messiah be cut off, and it is not his: (*i. e. the people.*)

And the city and the sanctuary shall (the) people of the prince that is come to lay waste:

And its end (shall be) in (or, *like*) the inundation:

And even to the end of the war is (a) decree of desolations.

And he will make-firm a covenant with the many one seven,

(Or, *One seven will make strong, &c.*

Or, (*The*) covenant shall prevail, do-great-things, with the many, one seven.)

And the half (or, *middle*) of the seven will make-to-cess offering and drink-offering,

² The K'ri here has חַטִּי, as in viii. 23, for חַטִּי; "to bring sins to the full." Ewald prefers this reading as more agreeable to the sense, and also as being more poetical than the repetition of חַטִּי in the same verse.

³ "חַוִּי has undoubtedly the same meaning here, as in the Aramaic and Arabic, *pool* or *water-conduit*, the building of which is of so much importance to Jerusalem." Ewald.

And on the wing shall be abominations of desolation,
And even unto extermination and judgment shall it rain down upon the
desolated (or, *desolator*).

§ 333. The obscurity of this prophecy before the event must have been great indeed, since even now it is so difficult to give, clear of ambiguity, the exact sense of several of its terms. How little it was understood before the event may be seen as matter of fact in the Septuagint—the old version, that is, and not the Greek of Theodotion, which has been substituted for it. The ambiguity, doubtless, was intentional. Assuredly, it was not agreeable to the Divine Will that the Old Testament Church should know, so long before, that a period of nearly five centuries would elapse before the coming of the Messiah, and that His Advent would issue in the destruction of His “people, city, and sanctuary.” That destruction was foreknown and decreed, but as the consequence of the nation’s rejection of Messiah. And here, as in all other prophecies *ejusdem materie*, the true sense, which is the expression of the Divine Foreknowledge, lay hidden until the event disclosed it. The very purpose of probation required this concealment.

This, however, is not the place for any sufficiently extensive discussion of the nature and objects of Prophecy. Our business is to shew how the event has brought out the true sense of this prediction. And since its wording is designedly ambiguous, it is useless to argue, *à priori*, what must be the true sense. Only thus much appears upon a general survey of the prophecy, that after the sixty-two weeks “Messiah is cut off:” that a period of seven weeks precedes this of sixty-two: that in the middle of the 70th week, *i. e.* $3\frac{1}{2}$ years after the $7 + 62$, “sacrifice and offering are made to cease.”

§ 334. Now let us apply this scheme to the results of our chronological investigation. Messiah was “cut off” in the year A. D. 29, March 18. If from this date we measure back $3\frac{1}{2} + 62 \times 7 + 7 \times 7 = 486\frac{1}{2}$ Julian years, we arrive at B. C. 459, 17th September. But $486\frac{1}{2}$ *natural* solar years, to end at 18 March A. D. 29, must begin 20 or 21 Sept. B. C. 459. In that year the 7th month began 11th Sept., whence the 20th Sept. was the 10th Tisri, or Day of Atonement. And, on turning to the history, we find this to be a date which precisely corresponds with the terms of the prophecy. Ezra vii. 1 ff.

"Now after these things, in the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, Ezra . . . went up from Babylon. And he was a ready scribe in the law of Moses which the LORD God of Israel had given: and the king granted him all his request according to the hand of the LORD his God upon him. And he came to Jerusalem in the 5th month, *which was in the seventh year of Artaxerxes the king*. For on the first day of the first month began he to go up from Babylon, and on the fifth day of the fifth month came he to Jerusalem, according to the good hand of his God upon him. For Ezra had prepared his heart to seek the law of the LORD and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments." After this follows the decree of Artaxerxes for the complete rebuilding of the Temple and restoration of the Mosaic ritual and polity.

§ 335. That Ezra, more than either Zerubbabel or Nehemiah, was the restorer of Jerusalem, in the most important and effective sense of the word, cannot be doubted. He is to the Old Testament Church in its last period, what Moses was to the first, and Samuel to the second. With him began what may be called the Dispensation of the Scribes and Wise Men. A fitter epoch for this last period can nowhere be found than is afforded by the great crisis in which Ezra was the principal actor. The national humiliation and renewal of the covenant, *cha. x.* are the counterpart of the like event at the beginning of the æra of the Prophets. Nay, the very name of Ezra bears a significant relation to the Eben-Ezer, "Stone of Help," set up by Samuel as the boundary between the two first dispensations. 1 Sam. vii. 12.—"We were bondmen," says Ezra, "yet our God hath not forsaken us in our bondage, but hath extended mercy to us in the sight of the kings of Persia, *to give us a reviving, to set up the house of our God, and to repair the desolations thereof, and to give us a wall in Judah and Jerusalem.*"

For the proof of the fact, so far as this obscure point of chronology can be proved, that the seventh month of the seventh year of Artaxerxes lies in B. C. 459, I refer the reader to an earlier section of this work (§ 192). The *seventh* month, indeed, is not mentioned in the history, but it is almost a matter of course that the month of the Feast of Trumpets, of the Day of Atonement, and of the Feast of Tabernacles, would form the epoch of Ezra's restoration of the Mosaic worship and polity.

Then, and not sooner, would all the people be assembled at Jerusalem.

From this term, then, we are to reckon $7 + 62 + \frac{1}{2}$ periods of 7 years each. The first of these, or 49 years, will terminate 18th September (about), in the year 410: the second, at the same period of A.D. 25; the third, of course, at the Crucifixion, 18th March, A.D. 29.

§ 336. And now, perhaps, we may be able to apprehend the purport of the partition of the whole period of 70 weeks into portions of $7 + 62 + 1$.

The 7 weeks or 49 years end at a time which coincides, on the one hand, with the complete restoration of Jerusalem¹, as far as we have the means of judging; and also with the cessation of prophecy, or "sealing up of vision and Prophet" in the person of Malachi², the last Prophet of the Old Testament.

The exact date of Malachi's prophecy is nowhere on record. Thus much, however, can be shewn to be probable, that it coincides, in time, with the latter part of the history of Nehemiah (xiii. 6 ff.) Both Malachi's prophecy and that part of the history of Nehemiah hinge upon the same state of things, which, indeed, is described in both almost in the same terms. Compare, for instance, what is said of the sin of the priests in allying themselves with strange wives, in Mal. iii. 10, with Nehemiah xiii. 10—12. "Only it may be doubted whether the appearing of Malachi should be placed shortly before, or shortly after, or just at the same time with the reformation effected at the second visit of Nehemiah" (which occurred some considerable time after the 32nd of Artaxerxes). "The last supposition is

¹ How truly that part of the prophecy was fulfilled in the term specified the first 7×7 years, which foretold the building again of the street and wall, or, as Theodotion expresses it, *οικοδομηθήσεται εἰς πλάτος καὶ μήκος*, we may learn from the incidental testimony of Herodotus (iii. 5), *ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὐρῶν τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος, ἥ ἐστὶ Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστινῶν καλεομένων· ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος, ἐούσης πόλιος (ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ) Σαρδίων οὐ πολλὰ ἑλάσσονος κ.τ.λ.* That *Kadytis* means Jerusalem, the Holy City, (*Ha-god'shah*, as

it is still called by the Arabs,) there can be no doubt. Now Herodotus finished his history later than 408 B.C. (iii. 15.) That is, when Herodotus visited Jerusalem, somewhere between 450 and 400 B.C., it was a city hardly inferior, in point of size, to the great city Sardis—a city which claims the standing epithet "great." Vade, ait, ad magnis vicinum *Sardibus* amnem. Hengstenberg, Christol. 2 Th. p. 536.

² Who accordingly is called by the rabbins "the seal of the Prophets."

the most probable. The delivery of Malachi's prophecy can hardly be supposed prior to that visit; for the evil appears, in Nehemiah, to be yet at its height, to have suffered no interruption. Besides, Mal. i. 8 a 'governor,' or ruler in civil affairs, is mentioned as then present with the people. Nor can we suppose it to have been long posterior; for Nehemiah's reformation, in the nature of the case, and upon the face of the history, must be conceived to have been an effective one. It is likely, then, that Malachi stood in the same relation to Nehemiah as Haggai and Zechariah did to Zerubbabel and Joshua ... A parallelism of this nature pervades the whole history of the chosen nation: for instance, Isaiah and Hezekiah, Jeremiah and Josiah. We find no example of a reformation *ab extra* and *by force*, such as Nehemiah's (xiii. 8, 21, 25), unattended by a reformation *ab intra*, by an inspired messenger of God speaking to men's hearts." (Hengstenberg, *Christologie des A. T.* 3, p. 371.)

Thus considered, the History and the Prophets come to a close at the same conjuncture. The crisis last recorded, in the one and in the other, is a reformation of the priests and the whole Church, who are thereby directed and brought into that posture in which they must be found in order that they may be able to abide the day of Messiah's coming into his Temple.

§ 337. Now, among the terms of our prophecy, one is, "to seal up vision and Prophet." The expression may be, and probably is, designedly ambiguous: but one sense, at least, seems to be this, that one or other of the specified terms of years is to end at a conjuncture when prophecy shall cease. And this view is strengthened by the fact, that the title given by the Jews to Malachi is derived from this prophecy: they call him "the seal of the Prophets." "The tradition" also "of the Jews is, that prophecy remained among them forty years under the second Temple: in which time Haggai, and Zachary, and Malachi prophesied; of which Malachi was the last³." (Pococke on Mal. i. 1.) Which very tradition agrees

³ This is remarkable: it shows that the Jews distributed the last period of 490 years in the same numerical proportions (40 + 450) as the two former; and

assigned the 40 years to a time of visitation corresponding with the two former — *Moses, Samuel, the three last Prophets.*

with the view here proposed ; for the Jews date the 70 weeks from the restoration : so that, according to them, prophecy ceased during the first 7 weeks of the prophetic period. It is likewise a Jewish tradition that the name Malachi ("my angel") is not a proper name, but derived from the contents of the prophecy itself (ii. 7 ; iii. 1), and that the prophet was, in fact, *Ezra*. This view has been adopted by more than one subsequent writer of note, and is not at all improbable.

As the purport, then, of the first 49 years, measured from the arrival of Ezra at Jerusalem, we understand the complete reparation of city, temple, worship, polity, and manners, by the agency of both Ezra and Nehemiah ; the one a priest and scribe, or expounder of the law, the other a civil governor and reformer : at the end of which period the voice of prophecy is heard for the last time, and the shades of evening descend upon the Old Testament Day, to be succeeded, after an appointed time, by the dawn of the Gospel.

That the second visit of Nehemiah and the prophecy of Malachi belong to the exact year which has been noted (B.C. 410) we have no means of proving. The only note of time is that in Neh. xiii. 6 : "But in all this (time) was I not at Jerusalem : for in the 32nd year of Artaxerxes the king (B.C. 435) came I unto the king, and *at the end of days* (לְסוֹף יָמִים¹) I obtained leave of the king, and came to Jerusalem." The very expression, "at the end of days," seems to be significant (not necessarily so, but under the circumstances) of a termination of a period which was somehow defined. (Of course, in this view of the case, "the king" in the second clause is not Artaxerxes, but Darius the Second, in about his 14th year ; for Artaxerxes died B.C. 424. § 190.)

338. The second term, or 62 weeks, ends at the appearing of "Messiah the Prince," v. 25. And after this term of 62

¹ The same expression in the Chaldee of Dan. iv. 31. (E. V. 34.) לְסוֹף יָמִים "at the end of days," denotes the *terminus ad quem* of the mystical period "seven times." As the 490 years commenced in the 7th of Artaxerxes,

and Nehemiah returned in the 32nd, here is, perhaps, one half of the period of 49 years, or 24½ years. And our date for Nehemiah's mission (Chisleu, 447) is about 12½, or one fourth of 49 years from the date of Ezra.

weeks Messiah is cut off, *v.* 26: it is not said *how soon* after, but from *v.* 27 it appears to be in the middle of the week. The crisis which I assume to be coincident with the expiration of the 62 weeks, is the appearing of John the Baptist, "the day of his manifestation unto Israel" (S. Luke i. 80.) which is "the beginning of the Gospel." (S. Mark i. 1.)

That this first revelation of the Gospel preceded the Crucifixion by a period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, although it is not actually recorded in the history, is an extremely probable supposition.

1. In the first place, our Lord Himself in the words which He let fall in the Synagogue of Nazareth concerning the days of Elijah, when the heaven was shut up "three years and a half," seems to intimate that a period of the like extent was at that very time running its course.

2. There is the analogy of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years prophesying of the two faithful witnesses in the days of Antichrist, and of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of the reign of Antichrist itself. Both, if they are two periods, as I rather conceive to be the fact, seem to be the counterpart of the "days of the Son of Man." Connected with this analogy is the very interesting fact (presently to be explained), that the last times of Jerusalem, from the breaking out of the rebellion to the Passover-day on which Titus began the siege, are exactly this fateful period of half a week, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ years.

3. Tertullian, we have seen, though he placed the Passion in the 15th year of Tiberius, and consequently must have supposed the Lord's personal ministry to have lasted only a year, yet dates the revelation of Jesus Christ in the 12th year of Tiberius, which year began 19 Aug. A. D. 25, little more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ years before the Crucifixion.

4. It seems also to have been commonly believed by the ancients that the last week of the seventy includes the *prædicatio Domini* to the Jews for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years before, and the same length of time after, the Passion. I have already mentioned, § 102, that this period seems to end at the time of S. Paul's first visit to Jerusalem and the conversion of Cornelius.

§ 339. It is, however, a very ancient opinion, that the closing $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of the 70×7 are identical in some sense with the pre-

dicted times of Antichrist¹, which both Daniel and S. John on various occasions and in varied language describe as a term of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. And, indeed, this connexion between the last $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of the 70×7 and the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of Antichrist is not obscurely intimated in the prophecy itself. For the expression in v. 27, "On the wing shall be *abominations of desolation*," occurs again in another prophecy, xi. 31, xii. 11, relating in its primary sense to Antiochus Epiphanes, but manifestly extending beyond that crisis to the time of the Resurrection of the Just, xii. 2, 13. This will be more fully explained when we come to speak of the prophecies relating to Antiochus: at present it is sufficient to remark, that a time characterised by the setting up of the abomination of desolation is placed in the one prophecy at the end of a period of 70 weeks, in the other, in the times of Antichrist. Now with this compare our Lord's allusion in the Prophecy on the Mount. That prophecy is unquestionably complex, as it blends in one description the judgment on Jerusalem, or the end of that *αἰών*, and the second Advent at the end of the *αἰών* which now is. In the report of this prophecy given in the two first gospels, the near and the remote future remain thus interblended; in S. Luke they are in some measure discriminated: *i. e.* down to v. 25, all, or nearly all the terms admit of being interpreted by referring them to the judgment on Jerusalem at that time impending.

Now there can be no doubt that the last times of Jerusalem afford a very signal type and earnest of the times of Antichrist, as the judgment on Jerusalem in our Lord's own prophecy is interblended with the final judgment, which is immediately preceded by the time of Antichrist. And it is a very remarkable circumstance, in respect of this connexion, that the reign of the Jewish Antichrist, measured from the outbreak or rather crisis of the rebellion, the day of which is punctually recorded by Josephus, to the coming of Titus and

¹ See Hippolyt. *de Antichr.* Africanus placed the entire last week at the end of the world, see Apollinar. Laod. ap. Hieronym. in *Dan.* ix. So Cyprian, in the *Computus Pasch.* But S. Clem.

Alex. Strom. i. p. 394, refers it to the end of the Mosaic *αἰών*, *viz.* to the latter years of Nero, and the times of the Jewish war.

the Roman armies against Jerusalem, the day of which is also known, is precisely this period of $3\frac{1}{4}$ years.

It was during the Feast of Tabernacles, in the year 66, A. D. that Cestius Gallus came up to assault Jerusalem. (The dates are so precise that we can exactly assign the several transactions to their proper days in the Julian Calendar.) On the 22nd of Hyperberetæus or Tisri, the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 66, the Jews having notice of Cestius's approach, desisted from the solemnities of that great day of the feast, rushed to arms, poured out tumultuously from the city, and attacked the Roman legions at Gabao or Gibeon. The assault was successful. Cestius, almost panic-stricken, remained on the spot three days, and, after this, three days more at Scopus. On the 30th of Hyperberetæus = 8 October, he came up to the city, and wasted five days in unsuccessful attempts. After the last assault, when he was on the very point of success, when a strong party within the walls was just about to open the gates to him, and so in all human probability an end would have been put to the war, under the influence of some unaccountable panic he precipitately drew off his forces and made a tumultuous retreat to Scopus. "Had he only a little longer persisted in the assault he would have taken the city immediately. *But, methinks, God, who now on account of the wicked had turned Himself away even from His holy place, hindered the war from coming that day to an end.*"—*B. J.* ii. 19. 6. This, it appears, occurred on the 5th Dias = 13th October. From Scopus, Cestius continued his retreat to Gabao, and thence on the third day, seeing the numbers of the enemy increasing, he determined to retreat still further northward, and accordingly, with the sacrifice of most of the incumbrances, engines, and heavy armour, rapidly retraced his steps through the defiles, and with immense difficulty and great loss gained Bethhoron at nightfall, 8 Dias, 16 October. That same night he stole a march upon the enemy, and escaped undiscovered until the morning. The Jews pursued him as far as Antipatris without overtaking him, and thence returned in triumph to Jerusalem. "These things were done on the 8th Dias, in the 12th year of the reign of Nero."

Unquestionably this is the crisis of the rebellion—the fatal epoch of the last times of Jerusalem. "Immediately after this

catastrophe, many of the Jews of rank forsook the city, as men swim away from a drowning ship." "Then they which had pursued Cestius returned to Jerusalem, and being assembled in the Temple elected them generals for the war."

It was in the year 70, and *at the Passover* (13th April), when multitudes of Jews from all parts of the world were gathered into Jerusalem for the feast, and precisely $3\frac{1}{2}$ Jewish years from the Feast of Tabernacles at which Cestius came up, that Titus and the Roman armies arrived before Jerusalem. And from the day of Cestius's precipitate retreat from Jerusalem (13th October) to the Passover at which Titus laid siege to Jerusalem "and her children within her," are precisely $3\frac{1}{2}$ solar or Julian years¹.

§ 340. Thus considered, the $49 + 434 + 3\frac{1}{2}$ years terminate at the Crucifixion, 18th March A.D. 29. The remaining $3\frac{1}{2}$ years have a manifold fulfilment.

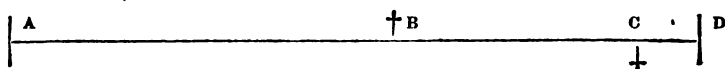
1. They may be considered as the time of the preaching of the Gospel to the Jews only: at the expiration of which there ensues a period of about 38 years of the preaching of the Gospel to the Jews *and Gentiles*. This period, consequently, must be said to be left blank in the prophecy; for it is evident that the whole period of seventy weeks terminates in the destruction of Jerusalem, *vv.* 26, 27. And, indeed, our Lord teaches us that this is the end of Daniel's predicted period; since, in speaking of the destruction of Jerusalem, he bids the disciples "read and understand" concerning the "abomination of desolation" spoken of in this very prophecy.

2. In our Lord's prophecy the last times of the former *αἰών* are blended together with the last times of the *αἰών* which now is. The one is the rehearsal of the other. Hence the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of that former crisis are the counterpart of the same

¹ That this was the term of years intended in Daniel's prophecy was of old the view of the Jews themselves, as reported by S. Jerome in *Dan.* ix. *Neo ignoramus quosdam illorum dicere quod una hebdomada de qua scriptum est confirmabit pactum multis hebdomada una dividatur in Vespasiano et Hadriano quod juxta historiam Josephi Vespasianus et Titus tribus annis et sex*

mensibus pacem cum Judæis fecerint, tres autem anni et sex menses sub Hadriano supputantur quando Jerusalem omnino subversa est et Judæorum gens catervatim casa, ita ut Judææ quoque finibus pellerentur. That is, these Jewish commentators made the first half of the last week to end at the siege A.D. 70, and the last half to begin in the times of Bar-Cochab.

period which is to be in the times of Antichrist. In this point of view, the interval of about $37\frac{1}{2}$ years between the Crucifixion and the Rebellion is a sort of miniature of the unknown period which, beginning at the Crucifixion, is now running its course, and will end at the manifestation of the last Antichrist. My meaning may be put more clearly by means of the following figure :—



Where A D denotes the entire period comprehended in Daniel's prophecy, beginning at the epoch of Ezra, and ending at the consummation of all things: $486\frac{1}{2}$ years end at B, the Crucifixion. Then, in the proximate sense of the prophecy, ensues the hidden, unexpressed interval of about $37\frac{1}{2}$ years (B C) between the Crucifixion and the Rebellion or typical reign of Antichrist, which reign is denoted by C D = $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. In the ultimate sense of the prophecy, in which the end of the former is blended with the end of the present *αἰών*, the first Advent with the last, and the rejection of the true Christ links on with the manifestation and acknowledgment of the Antichrist, the interval B C is the whole time (known only to God, by us not to be scanned and computed) of that *μυστήριον χρόνους αἰώνιους σεσιγημένον* (Rom xvi. 25), the preaching of Christ to the Gentiles: and the term C D = $3\frac{1}{2}$ years is the time foretold in the prophetic revelations of Antichrist. The interval is not expressed in the prophecy, because altogether hidden from the vision of the seers, to whom it was not given to know this "great mystery of godliness" of which S. Paul speaks. The interval which lay between the first and the second Advent, *i. e.* between "the sufferings of Christ and the glories which should follow," was withdrawn from their ken, in the long perspective of ages. Of this concealment, as I have said, the term of about 38 years which lies between the Passion and the Rebellion (or else between the end of the 490 years and the first day of the siege) is a miniature emblem. And, indeed, the course of God's Providence since the overthrow of the Levitical Church has brought to light a further emblem of the like kind. The reign of *Bar-Cochab*, which lasted just this fatal term of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, is doubtless the most

striking type the world has yet seen of the days of the last Antichrist. In this respect, B D in our diagram denotes the period beginning at the Crucifixion and ending 5th August A.D. 135, and C D the "time, times, and a half" of Bar-Cochab, that most conspicuous type of Antichrist. Thus the two instalments of the Roman judgment, or crisis of the Third Prophetical Empire, are interblended in the vision, as both are with "the last days," or crisis of the Fourth Empire¹.

What has been now stated respecting the interval which separates the two moieties of the last septenary will be set in a clearer light, I hope, by facts to be related in a subsequent chapter. It might be thought sufficient, if I had simply terminated the 490 years at the conversion of Cornelius. But since Daniel clearly extends the seventy weeks to "the setting up of the abomination" and destruction of Jerusalem; since our Lord, in the proximate sense of His own great prophecy, manifestly identifies the termination of Daniel's prophecy with the consummation of the Mosaic *αιών*; since that consummation is set forth by Him as the pledge and type of the consummation which is yet future; since the periods of both consummations are commensurate with the closing half-septenary of Daniel; and since history exhibits two acts or stages of the former consummation, which we may, on other accounts, designate as the end of the Mosaic and the end of the Abrahamic Dispensation; and, lastly, since this arrangement illustrates the structure of prophecy, and its manifold yet connected fulfilments; on these accounts, I would not withhold this part of the exposition, although I am well aware that to many it will seem somewhat fanciful. I deprecate, however, any imputation of novelty, so far as the principle of the exposition is concerned. S. Hippolytus has taught that the closing $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of Daniel's 490 are identical with the predicted $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of Antichrist; and I believe that, in the ultimate sense of the prophecy, they are so, but withal, that the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of the first Roman war lying at the close of the Mosaic *αιών*, and the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years at the end of the Abrahamic *αιών*, as types or emblems of the last times of our *αιών*, are included in the scope of the prophecy. The Jewish rabbins in S. Jerome's time had a similar interpretation in respect of

¹ See the Dissertation on the Complex Structure of Prophecy in the *Appendix*.

these two latter periods; only they made them the two moieties of the last week of the seventy, while I suppose them to be *emblems* of the last half-week.

§ 341. In reading the history of the pretended Christ, Bar-Cochab, and of the awful judgment which came through him upon the seed of Abraham², we can hardly fail to recognise in this blasphemous impostor, the most conspicuous manifestation of Antichrist ever yet exhibited in the person of an individual *Jew*. In the earlier crisis, or first act of the Roman judgment, we seem to see the whole people of the Jews set forth in the character of an Antichrist. Amid the portentous wickedness of those tremendous times, we do indeed discern in one or another individual an awful pre-eminence in the deeds of Antichrist—more especially in that “furious beast,” as Josephus calls him, Simon the son of Gioras: but this man did not pretend to be the Christ, nor was received as such: in him we see a “murderer” such as the Jews “desired to be given unto them:” but Bar-Cochab declared himself to be the Messiah, was acknowledged as such by his infatuated nation, and did all the works of Antichrist, so far as the Providence of God at that time permitted.

Trajan, it is well known, persecuted not only the Christian Church but the Jews. His acts against the latter assumed, for whatever reason, a character of greater animosity about the year 108. When, at last, a decree was issued which forbade the further use of circumcision, the Jews in various parts of the empire began to revolt. In Cyprus, Cyrene, and other places, they put to death many thousands of Greeks, taking advantage of the withdrawal of the legions from these places about A. D. 115, at the beginning of the second Parthian expedition. At this time we find the celebrated Rabbi Akiba preaching the near advent of Messiah, stirring up revolt in Mesopotamia, and finally declaring that Messiah was come in the person of one Simon, who, applying to himself the prophecy of Balaam, called himself Bar-Cochab, “son of the star.” This was before Trajan’s death in 118. After the return of Hadrian

² Dion. Cass. lxxviii. 32. lxxix. 12—14. Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 2. 6. Spartian. *Hadrianus*. Münter *der Jüd. Krieg unter den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian*.

Greswell, *Dissertations*, iv. 98. Milman, *History of the Jews*. Jost, *Geschichte d. Israeliten*, iii. 181.

from the East in A.D. 130, the rebellion broke out in earnest. The pretensions of Simon, urged by "the great and wise Rabbi Akiba" (as Maimonides styles him), and attested by "lying wonders" which he is said to have wrought—for "he breathed flames from his mouth to the terror of his enemies and the unbounded confidence of his followers"—rapidly gained adherents who flocked to his standard. They fortified the mountain fastnesses, gathered arms, and harassed the Romans with a predatory warfare, *and cruelly persecuted the Christians who refused to join them.* (S. Justin Mart. *Apol. pr.* 32). Bar-Cochab took Jerusalem about A.D. 132. He issued coins having on one side his own name, on the other "Freedom of Jerusalem." *He intended to rebuild the Temple,* or, as some say, made a beginning of the work. Fifty fortified places and 985 villages were presently in the hands of the insurgents. Hadrian now committed the war to Julius Severus, the ablest of his generals. Jerusalem was taken and destroyed: a ploughshare was driven over its soil. The Jews gathered their forces in the mountain-fortress of Bethar or Bitter, near Jerusalem; and here Simon still maintained his regal pretensions about three years. Bethar was taken, and an end put to the life of Simon and to the war, *on the 9th day of Ab,* the precise anniversary of the burning of the Temple, exactly 65 years after that crisis, A.D. 135. *The rebellion, or reign of Simon, say the Jews, had lasted precisely 3½ years.* Dion Cassius relates that in this war 580,000 Jews fell by the sword, besides untold multitudes who died by famine, disease, or fire. The Rabbins, unconsciously adopting the terrific language of the Apocalypse, relate that the horses waded up to their bits in human carnage. The dead covered 18 square miles; the inhabitants of the adjacent region had no need to manure their land for seven years. "The whole of Judæa was a desert, wolves and hyænas went howling through the streets of the desolate cities. Those who escaped the sword were scarcely more fortunate. They were reduced to slavery by thousands. *There was a great fair held under the Terebinth, beneath which Abraham, it was believed, had pitched his tent. Thither his miserable children were brought in droves, and sold as cheap as slaves. Others were carried away and sold at Gaza; others were transported to Egypt.*" (Milman's *History of the Jews.*)

Surely this whole history is, as I have said, a manifest rehearsal of the times of Antichrist. Bar-Cochab and his prophet are no obscure types of the Beast¹ and the False Prophet of the Apocalypse. The 3½ years, and the fatal 9th Ab², occurring at so awful a crisis, are significant intimations of the kind with which we are concerned, that the catastrophe is in some sense the end of an *aión* or sacred period. This crisis in its historical details—in respect of the attempted prohibition of *circumcision*, and the final expatriation of the Jews from the Promised Land, stands in the same relation to the Abrahamic as the crisis of the Temple to the Levitical Covenant. (*Supra* § 331.)

I have now explained what I take to be the principal sense of this wondrous prophecy. But it has other bearings, which we will attempt to define in the succeeding chapters.

¹ Perhaps the fatal number, Rev. xiii. 18, may consist in the formula שמעון ברכוכב מלכי (*Simon Stella Filius Rex meus*) or מלך ישראל (*Rex Israel*) considered as the badge or watch-word of his followers.

² "On the 9th Ab the decree came out against Israel in the wilderness, that they should not enter into the land: on it was the destruction of the first Temple, and on it was the destruction of the second. On it the great city Bitter was taken, where there were thousands and ten-thousands of Israel who had a great king over them [Ben Coziba] whom all

Israel, even their greatest wise men, thought to have been Messias: but he fell into the hands of the heathen, and there was great affliction as there was at the destruction of the sanctuary. And on that day, a day allotted for vengeance, the wicked Turnus Rufus ploughed up the place of the Temple, and the places about it, to accomplish what is said, 'Zion shall become a ploughed field.'" *Talmud in Taanith. Lightfoot, The Fall of Jerusalem, Works, Vol. i. 362.* To which we may add, that on this same day Noah opened the windows of the Ark, and sent forth the raven and the dove, p. 326.

CHAPTER III.

OTHER MORE PRECISE AND MORE RECONDITE ECONOMIES INVOLVED IN THE GENERAL SCHEME.

I HAVE now to describe some cycles and parallelisms of a very exact nature, hinging upon the dates which we determined in our historical investigation, but so recondite, that prior to actual calculation no one could have even surmised their existence. I will not attempt to describe the sense of awful surprise which attended the discovery, as, one after another, the facts rose before me.

At the head of this series I place two facts involved in the dates here assigned to the Exodus, the Nativity, and the Passion, in connexion with the well-known date of the Conflagration of the Temple. I will only request my reader, in the first place, to refresh his recollection of the process by which those three dates were obtained, that there may be no suspicion of a preconceived intention, or unconscious collusion between the understanding and the fancy.

I. *The Fulness of Time: The Year of Jubile.*

§ 342. "In the fulness of time" Christ was born of the Virgin: when "His hour was come" He died on the cross. The precise *year* of His Passion was predetermined in Daniel's prophecy: the precise *day*, in the type of the Paschal Lamb. Was the fulness of time for His Nativity prescribed by any analogy discoverable by us?

From the slaying of the first paschal lamb, in Egypt, to the fulfilment for ever of that great type in the slaying of the Lamb of God, are, in our Chronology, 1614 Jewish years: (B. C. 1586, A. D. 29.) The very day and hour of each event, being paschal dates, are had by lunar calculation, from the data of the respective years. The first is the 10th April, the other, 18th March. The interval therefore is 1614 Julian years

minus 23 days, or 589,491 days¹. Again, our approximate date of the Nativity was 8th December, B.C. 5. In virtue of our elements, this date is, in all probability, true within a day or two either way. From 8th December, B. C. 5 to 18th March, A. D. 28, are 32 Julian years, *plus* 100 days, or 11,788 days.

It occurred to me, in the course of reflection on which I had entered, to enquire, whether these two periods stand in any marked numerical relation to each other. They do, and in such a relation, that one more significant and impressive can hardly be conceived.

Divide the number 589,491 by 11,788: the one contains the other *fifty* times, with only the small fraction $\frac{91}{11,788}$. Suppose the relation to be exact: the larger number divided by 50 gives the quotient 11,789 days, with a fraction 0.82, equivalent to 19 hours and a half. This term of days and hours measured back from the hour of our Lord's death, reaches to the 7th December, B. C. 5, about 5 hours before midnight. A marvellous coincidence! Think of the manifest spiritual import of the JUBILEE, or *fiftieth year*; and then observe that the time during which it pleased the Son of God to sojourn among us, when He brought liberty for the captives with forgiveness of debts and restoration of the alienated inheritance—was this *Jubile* of the times of Israel, from the hour of the first Pass-over to "His hour" when "fully come."

II. "*Supremus Dies.*"

§ 343. When Messiah was cut off, a final period of probation ensued. "The wrath came upon them to the utter-

¹ By direct calculation: 1614 Julian years = 403×1461 days *plus* 2 years, one of which (A. D. 28, is bissextile). Therefore,

$$400 \times 1461 = 584,400$$

$$3 \times 1461 = 4,383$$

$$2 \text{ years} = 731$$

$$589,514$$

$$\text{Deduct} \dots 23$$

$$589,491$$

But the trouble, such as it is, of calculation may be partly saved by use of the Tables appended to the *Institutes of Chronology*.

most." The Temple was burnt with fire; the Levitical Covenant therein ceased for ever.

The day of that catastrophe is the 9th of the Jewish month Ab or Lous, = Saturday, 4 August, A. D. 70. Josephus says the 10th. Both accounts are consistent. The fatal firebrand was cast towards evening of the one day, the vast pile would blaze on for many hours. To this 4th August, then, from the day of the Exode, or first Passover, are 1655 Julian years, *plus* 116 days, or 604,605 days. From the hour of the Passion to the same hour of 4th August, A. D. 70, are 41 years, *plus* 139 days, or 15,114 days. The quotient of the division is *forty*, with the minute fraction $\frac{45}{15,114}$. Suppose the relation exact: one 39th part of the period ending at the Passion ($\frac{587,491}{39}$) *i. e.* one exact fortieth part of the whole is 15,115 days, with the fraction 0.154, or about 3 hours. These days and hours, measured from the hour of the Lord's Death, reach to 5 August (= 10th Lous), at about 6 P. M. That is to say: *The final time of trial, from the rending of the veil to the utter destruction is just one fortieth of the entire Age.* The whole Age is a mystical τεσσαρακονταετής χρόνος. The final time of trial was, in this mystery, "the acceptable year of the Lord." It was followed by "the Day of Vengeance of our God."

And here those words of the Jewish historian come in with a significance terrible beyond all that he contemplated. In vain, says he, had Titus issued strict orders for the preservation of the magnificent edifice. "*The fire was ordained for it of old by God.* And now in the predestined circuit of the times THE FATAL DAY *was come*, the 10th of the month Lous, the very day on which the former Temple was burnt with fire by the king of Babylon...Marvellous it is, how exactly the time came round: it kept punctually to the very month and day on which the Temple was destroyed the former time¹." He little thought that the predestined hour was ordained in reference to the destruction of another Temple, not made with hands, His body, in Whom dwelt the fulness of the Godhead.

¹ Jer. lii. 12. The Julian day was 9 August, 588 B. C., five days later in that calendar. But in the true solar year | the coincidence is exact, for 657 true solar years fall short of the same number of Julian years by *five days* exactly.

III. *Economies connected, chiefly, with the period of the Seventy Weeks.*

§ 344. We have seen that between the two halves of Daniel's last week, considered as ending at the coming of the armies of the prince against Jerusalem, there lies an interval of nearly 38 years. From the 18th March, A. D. 29, to the 13 October, A. D. 66, (§ 339.) are 37 years, 209 days = 13,723 days, which exceed only by three days the remarkable period $40 \times 7 \times 7 \times 7$, or *forty* periods of seven times seven weeks. If we suppose the 490 years to be continuous and complete, they end 19th September, A. D. 32: from which day to 13th April, A. D. 70 being the Passover-day on which Titus appeared before Jerusalem, the interval is 38 years *minus* 159 days, or 13,720 days, that is, precisely the above period. This too, is very remarkable: the chasm—the pause of suspense—withdrawn from the view of the Seer, is a miniature *τεσσαρακονταετης χρόνος*.

§ 345. It is an impressive fact that we just now learned from Josephus (§ 343)—that the Temple was destroyed on the self-same day the first and the second time. It led me to surmise some other numerical connexion between the two catastrophes. And my expectation was not disappointed, although there is, upon trial, no exact connexion in terms of the measure $7 \times 7 \times 7$ or 70×7 between the 10th Ab in the one case and the same day in the other. The Temple was burned by the Babylonians 10th Ab = 8 August, B. C. 588. § 167. From that day to the 10th Ab = 5 August, A. D. 70, are 657 years *minus* 3 days = 489×490 plus 356 days. This comes so near to the remarkable period 490×490 , or $700 \times 7 \times 7 \times 7$, that we could hardly avoid the conclusion that here was a *fact of a Divine Economy*. At first, I referred the defect to that merciful promise of our Lord, *κολοβωθήσονται αι ημέραι*. But a closer inspection convinced me that the period has a different bearing.

The *City was taken* by Nebuchadnezzar, and an end was put to the kingdom of the House of David, by the capture and execution of Zedekiah, on the 9th day of the 4th month, that is, 9th July 588. Thus it seemed that the promise made to David and his seed came to an end. After a long interval it revived and budded again towards its fulfilment in

the beginning of the New Testament æra. Zacharias, we have seen, entered upon his ministry 2nd October B. C. 6. (Once more let me entreat the reader to bear in mind the process by which that date was obtained). Between these dates, there lies an interval of 582 years, 85 days = 212,660 days, *which make precisely* 434×490 days, or 620×7^3 . In other words, *the interval of suspense between the extinction of the sovereignty in the House of David, and the beginning of its revival in the New Testament, is composed of two of Daniel's periods reckoned as days.*

But 490×490 end, as we have seen, in the year A. D. 70. Measured from 9th July 588, they end 17th November A. D. 70, 104 days after the Conflagration of the Temple. And it will be found that this day coincides with a crisis of the history which is by no means unimportant. For it appears from Josephus, that after the termination of the siege Titus solemnized his victory with games and beast-fights, in which great numbers of the miserable survivors perished. Thus the conqueror, as the executioner of Messiah's vengeance, "called forth these His enemies, who would not have Him to be their king, and slew them before Him." The first of these solemnities took place at Cæsarea, on the birth-day of Domitian; *the last, at Berytus, with great splendour, on the birth-day of Vespasian. And the birth-day of Vespasian was this very day, XV Kal. December = 17th November.* Sueton. *Vesp.* 2. Josephus, *B. J.* vii. 3. 1.

§ 346. Of the 56×490 , or 80×343 , which lie between the epoch of Zacharias's ministry and the 17th November A. D. 70, a term of 49×490 , or 70×343 , or 24,010 days, or 66 years *minus* 7 days ends at 27 June A. D. 61. That is:

| | |
|---|------------------|
| From the Babylonian Crisis to Zacharias | 434×490 |
| From Zacharias to 27 June A. D. 61 | 49×490 |
| From 27 June 61, to 17 Nov. A. D. 70 | 7×490 |

which are the three *items* of Daniel's period, but in a different order. Now this 27th June, A. D. 61, is not indeed, so far as I am aware, an *historical* date noted by Josephus or other writers. Nevertheless, it has an impressive "economical" character. For the period of our Lord's life, or $\frac{1}{50}$ of the mystical jubilean cycle, ending at the Crucifixion, is 11,789.82 days,

and from the Crucifixion, 3 P.M. 18th March A. D. 29, to the same hour of 27th June, A. D. 61, are just 11,789 days. So that the whole Mosaic *αιών* measured to 17th November, A. D. 70, is 51 periods of our Lord's life *plus* 10×7^3 . Has then this interesting point of time any historical import? I would not be confident, but I think it has. I have elsewhere (p. 125), *upon ancient authority*, assigned to the year 61 the martyrdom of James the Bishop of Jerusalem, that last outbreak of Jewish hatred against Christ and His Church. But if it be the year of that event, it is therefore the year of Albinus's arrival in Judæa, an event which is distinctly marked as the beginning of the last woes of Jerusalem: τὰ σπέρματα τῆς μελλούσης ἀλώσεως ἐκ τότε τῇ πόλει κατεβάλλετο, *B. J.* ii. 14. 1. Possibly, also, it was the year in which those fearful portents occurred, which our Lord had foretold, and which Josephus has so circumstantially related. The order of his narrative implies that the prodigies preceded the Autumn of A. D. 62. For it was at the feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 62, that Jesus son of Ananus began his denunciation of "Woe to Jerusalem," and this is preceded in the narrative by the others:—the fiery sword which hung over the city, the comet¹, the blaze of light about the altar in the night of the 8th Nisan, the spontaneous opening of the huge eastern gate of the Temple during the Passover, the vision of armed hosts in the clouds on the 21st of the second month, and at the following Pentecost the noise as of a multitude in motion heard within the Temple, and the voice which said, "Let us depart hence!" *B. J.* vi. 5. 3. If these events do indeed belong to the year which I have named, their occurrence at a conjuncture so signally characterized in respect of the scheme of times and seasons is very impressive².

§ 347. The mention of these prodigies leads me to notice a fact connected with the ministry of wrath exercised by Jesus

¹ A comet is mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 22: *inter quæ et sidus cometes effulsit, de quo vulgi opinio est, &c.; ergo permotus Nero, &c.;* this in the year *cons. Nerone iv. Cornelio Cosso.* A. D. 60, and after or during the *quinquennale ludiorum, i. e. the Neronæa.* Comp. Sueton. *Nero.* 36 *Stella crinita*

quæ summis potestatibus exitium vulgo portendere putatur per continuas noctes oriri cæperat. Anxius ea de re, &c.

² It may be further remarked, that the day above-mentioned lies at the beginning of the seven last years of Nero, that great type of Antichrist. He died 9 June, 68.

son of Ananus. Josephus says of him, that, beginning at a feast of Tabernacles, he continued his awful outcry through a period of 7 years and 5 months, to the day of his death, during the siege, when, *ἐργω τὰς κλήδονας ἰδων*, he suddenly exclaimed, "Woe to myself also!" and was struck dead by a stone from the ballistæ. The Feast of Tabernacles thus indicated began 7th October A. D. 62. And from the 8th October to the 13th April A. D. 70 (the Passover, and first day of the siege) are 8 Julian years, *minus* 176 days, or 2744 days, or 8×7^3 precisely. This forms one fifth of the period 40×7^3 noted in § 344. And here I may add, that the first day of the Roman siege is connected with the first of the Babylonian, the day so solemnly recorded by Ezekiel, xxiv. 2. The day is 25th December 590 B. C. (p. 189). Thence to 13th April A. D. 70, are 658 years, 109 days = 240,444 days = 701×343 *plus* one day.

§ 348. Before I leave this part of my subject, I would invite the reader's attention to another numerical relation of periods, which I take to be also connected with Daniel's prophecy.

In the Chronography of our Lord's Life, no date is more unanimously expressed by ancient authorities than the 6th January as the date of His Baptism, the feast of Θεοφανεΐα. Now from this day, A. D. 28, to the day of the Crucifixion, are 437 days: a period so nearly in agreement with the terms of Daniel's prophecy as to suggest a more exact consideration. And to the hour of the Passover we find $437\frac{1}{2}$ days, or $434 + 3\frac{1}{2}$, or *sixty two weeks and half a week, at the end of which half week "Messiah is cut off."*

This period is connected with another which has been mentioned. For, from the day of the Passion to the outbreak of the Rebellion, we have seen a period of 28×490 days, *plus* 3 days. Here then is the other half of the last week: that is to say, from the Baptism, or 6th January, A. D. 28, to the 13th October, A. D. 66, are $434 + 7 + 28 \times 490$ days, or $434 + 7 + 40 \times 7^3$. In other words, the term of our Lord's ministry, from the Baptism to the Crucifixion, is one term in a connected series of periods of seventy weeks each, and is distributed into 62 weeks and 1 week, with the middle of the last week exactly falling at the hour of His Death upon the Cross.

§ 349. To make up the sum of 70 literal weeks, we must suppose a term of 49 days preceding the day of the Baptism, and therefore beginning 18th November A. D. 27. This preliminary term of 7 weeks is not, indeed, expressed in the history; but may not our blessed Lord have been pleased to set apart such a period before the solemn day on which He was to enter upon the work of His sacred ministry? Or, may not these 7 weeks be the term of the Baptist's more enlarged ministry, as related by the Evangelists, when the word of God came to him in the wilderness, and all Jerusalem, &c. went out to him to be baptized, and it was said unto him, "On whomsoever thou shalt see the Holy Ghost descending, He it is that shall baptize with the Holy Ghost?" In this view of the case, this period of seventy literal weeks exhibits an exact fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy. "From the going forth of the decree to restore Jerusalem, to Messiah the Prince, are 7 weeks and 62 weeks. And after the 62 weeks Messiah is cut off. And He makes firm the covenant with many, one week. And in the middle of the week He makes oblation and sacrifice to cease." For at the end of the seven weeks "vision and prophet are sealed," (comp. S. John iii. 33) and "the Most Holy" is "anointed." At the close of the 62 weeks, as at their commencement, the voice from heaven is heard in attestation of the Eternal Son: and the Lord, as the very Paschal Lamb, presents Himself in the Temple: and He confirms the covenant with many, both in a figure (viz. in respect of the Greeks who desired to see Jesus), and in the institution of the New Covenant in His blood, and in His sacrifice and resurrection.

I cannot therefore but think that we have here a true fulfilment of this most memorable prophecy.

§ 350. Again: the same prophecy seems to cast its shadow over the chronography of the nativities, which it has pleased the Holy Spirit to record so minutely in the first chapter of S. Luke.

The terms of days therein enumerated, or implied, are the following:

1. The days of Zacharias's *λειτουργία*, 1 week:
2. From the conception of John the Baptist to the Annunciation at Nazareth, 5 months.

3. To the Nativity of our blessed Lord, 9 months.
4. To His circumcision, 1 week.

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 \text{Or in all,} & 14 \text{ months} & = 427 \text{ days} \\
 & 2 \text{ weeks} & = 14 \\
 \hline
 & 441 & = 63 \text{ weeks.}
 \end{array}$$

And from the recommencement of the sacerdotal cycle, just 7 weeks more (for Abijah was the eighth), making, in all, the period of seventy weeks. We will compare this *primâ facie* estimate with our dates. We have shown that the day of Zacharias's entry upon his week of office, but not necessarily of the vision, is 2 October B.C. 6. Thence to the Nativity, which we assigned upon historical grounds to (about) 8 December, B.C. 5, and more recently, upon mystical grounds, to the night of 7 December, are (from the morning sacrifice of 2 October to 6 P.M. of 7 December) 432 days, 9 hours, whence to the Circumcision, if we allow 7 days, 15 hours, we obtain 440 days, or 62 weeks and nearly one week. It may be that from the day and hour of Zachariah's vision to the instant of the Circumcision, that great type of the cutting off of Messiah, is just the period of 62 weeks *plus* $\frac{1}{4}$ week.

§ 351. I shall presently offer some remarks concerning the typical connexion between the history of the nativities and the prophecy of Daniel. Not to interrupt the recital of numerical facts, we will proceed to indicate some other relations connected with the period of 434 days, or 62 literal weeks, which we have discerned in two important terms of the gospel history.

It has been shown that the commencement of Daniel's 434 years lies at the feast of Tabernacles of the year 410 B.C. Now, from Saturday 3 October B.C. 410, to Saturday 2 October B.C. 6, are 404 years, *minus* 1 day = 147,560 days, which are precisely 340 periods of 434 days each.

Again: the first date which occurs in Nehemiah is "the month Chisleu in the 20th of Artaxerxes," *i. e.* 26 November B.C. 447 = 1 Chisleu § 182. The interval to 2 October B.C. 6, is 441 years, *minus* 55 days, = 161,020, which make 371×434 *plus* 10 days. That is, from the 11th of Chisleu = 6 December B.C. 447, to 2 October B.C. 6, are just 371 such portions of time. But from the 2nd October B.C. 6, to 17 November A.D. 70, we have found $56 \times 490 = 8 \times 3430 = 27,440$ days. And

this period contains the term 434 days, 63 times, with a remainder 98. That is, from the epoch of the New Testament history to a day preceding 17 November A. D. 70 by 98 (or 2×49) days, or, to Saturday 11 August, *the sabbath next after the conflagration of the Temple*, are just 63×434 days. Therefore, from the epoch of Nehemiah to the same 11 August, are $(371 + 63) \times 434$, or *four hundred and thirty four periods of four hundred and thirty four days*.

And since the Nativity is (very nearly) 434 days from the date of Zachariah's entry upon office, this period is divided thus :

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Nehemiah to the Nativity | $372 \times 434 = 6 \times 62 \times 434$ |
| Nativity to the End | 62×434 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 434×434 |

So that the latter period, or the interval between the Nativity and the sabbath after the Conflagration, is precisely the 7th part, or sabbath, of the whole period from Nehemiah to the same crisis.

§ 352. Lastly: since the period after the Resurrection is so peculiarly related to the last half-week of Daniel's prophecy, and this to the apocalyptic period of 1260 days, it is interesting to observe, that from the day of the Resurrection to the 11th August A. D. 70 (the goal of the economy which we have been considering) is precisely 15,120, or *twelve times 1260 days*.

NOTE.

ON THE SYMBOLICAL SENSE INVOLVED IN ST. LUKE'S HISTORY OF THE NATIVITIES.

§ 353. EVERY thoughtful reader of the Bible must have felt how impressively the opening of the Gospel History is connected with the concluding scene of the Old Testament Scriptures. The prophet "Malachi" closes the glorious line of those holy men of God who spake and wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost: in him, the Divine Spirit "seals up vision and prophecy," and utters His voice for the last time; to speak no more in like sort through a long succession of ages. In this parting utterance it is intimated that the *Day* of Old Testament Revelation is about to close, and to be succeeded by a long night of waiting for another and better morning. Such a dawn He promises: "To you that fear My Name shall the Sun of Right-

eousness arise with healing on His wings." But before the "Day" of His coming, He will "send His messenger to prepare His way before Him." So ends the Canon of the Old Testament: and the New takes up that parting word of promise: "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God: as it is written in the Prophets, Behold I send My messenger, and he shall prepare Thy way before Thee." The Church, after her long waiting, rejoices in the coming day, "Through the tender mercy of our God the day-spring from on high hath visited us," and watches intently for the full-orbed rising of that promised Sun of Righteousness, "to give light to them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace."

But beside this general connexion, there seems to be one more intimate and recondite, by which the opening scene of S. Luke's Gospel in particular, is related to that which met our view in the close of the Old Testament: and this connexion becomes the more impressive when one perceives that the epoch of the sixty-two weeks of Daniel's prophecy has its symbolical counterpart in the epoch of the sixty-two weeks of the Nativity, or epoch of the ministry of Zacharias in the Temple.

By the conjoint ministry of Ezra and Nehemiah, the Temple-worship was fully restored, the priests and Levites reformed and set in their courses. These things being ordered, the city rebuilt, the polity re-established, and measures taken for the perpetuation of the Divine worship, the Holy Spirit "seals up vision and prophecy" until the manifestation unto Israel, after sixty and two mystical weeks, of this promised messenger. But first He gives a last charge to the whole Church, and to its clergy in particular, "And now, this commandment is for you, O priests." He rebukes and chastens them, that they should be zealous and repent, be diligent in their liturgy, remember that His covenant was with them ("with Levi") of life and peace, that Levi (the whole Levitical institute) is "*the messenger or angel (Malach) of the Lord of Hosts,*" to impart knowledge and turn many from iniquity. He announces that He will send His messenger (angel) before Him, &c..... and then that Jehovah Himself, even "*the Messenger (Angel) of the Covenant,*" shall suddenly come to *His Temple*, and will sit as a refiner by fire, purifying *the sons of Levi* first. In this remarkable connexion, it is implied that the Levitical priesthood executed the same office as John the Baptist: both were angels of the Lord of Hosts, of "*The Angel of the Covenant.*" The idea of the Levitical institute, as the angel and precursor of Christ, set to teach Israel, to turn many from iniquity, to baptize with divers washings "after the manner of the purification of the Jews," and finally, in its liturgical and sacerdotal functions, to point to the Lamb of God—this idea was to be finally summed up, intensely realized, and as it were impersonated in John the Baptist. The work which all Levi had been doing by the space of 1500 years, unconsciously, as it were, and dreamily and afar off was to be consummated by John, with clear consciousness and energetic reality, proclaiming the advent of God's kingdom, preaching and baptizing into repentance, and delivering up his charge and Levi's to the

Angel of the Covenant. Accordingly, *John the Baptist was a Levitical priest, of pure descent.*

§ 354. Now the scene which meets our view in the gathering twilight of the Old Testament Day is this:—the Temple stands there, with its ministering priests and Levites set in their courses, and the Holy Spirit, speaking for the last time, gives them their charge, and reminds them of their calling to be the angel of the Lord of Hosts to prepare His way before Him. In the opening dawn of the New Testament the same scene lies before us: the Temple is there, and the priests ministering in their ceaseless round and tradition of service; and among these, a certain priest named Zacharias, of the course of Abijah, is ministering in the order of his course. And, in the first place, it is recorded of him and of his wife Elizabeth, who also was of the daughters of Aaron, that “they were both righteous, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord, blameless:” *ἐν πάσαις ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαιώμασι*. Now, compare with this the concluding words of Malachi, that last injunction of the Divine Spirit with which the canon of the Old Testament is sealed up and closed: the precept by which the Church, and the priesthood in particular, are warned in what posture they must be found if Messiah’s coming shall not be to “smite the land with a curse,” (a precept which before the coming of Christ was deemed so momentous, that the Greek translators repeat it at the end of the chapter and the Hebrew scribes call attention to it by a larger size of its first letter.) “REMEMBER the law of Moses my servant, which I ordained unto him in Horeb for all Israel, THE STATUTES AND THE JUDGMENTS” (*הַחֻקִּים וְהַמִּשְׁפָּטִים*), *huqqim-u-mishpatim*, *προστάγματα καὶ δικαιώματα*, or, as S. Luke has it, *ἐντολαὶ καὶ δικαιώματα*.) Such were this righteous pair, as the Holy Spirit in that momentous precept required their whole order and the whole Church to be, in order to a blessed fulfilment of the Promise, “Behold, I send Elijah the Prophet,” &c.

It is further noted of them, that they were “righteous, walking before God, blameless.” In them was realized the righteousness which God required of Levi, “He walked with me in peace and equity,” Mal. ii. 6. They were not as those whom He rebuked by Malachi, “whose words were stout before God: saying, It is vain to serve God, and what profit is it, that we have kept His ordinance, and have walked mournfully before the Lord of Hosts.” Mal. iii. 13.

Again, it is noted, that Zachariah’s wife Elizabeth, “she also was of the daughters of Aaron.” This was an object on which the Holy Spirit earnestly insisted by Malachi, that the priests of the house of Aaron should intermarry only among themselves. “And now, O ye priests, this commandment is for you. If ye will not hear...I will send a curse upon you...and ye shall know that I have sent this commandment unto you, to the intent that my covenant may be with Levi...My covenant was with him...but ye are departed out of the way...ye have corrupted the covenant of Levi.” (Mal. ii. 1—8.) How? In this especially, that the priests married strange wives. “Against the wife

of thy youth thou hast dealt treacherously, yet is she thy companion and *the wife of thy covenant*; i.e. the daughters of the house of Aaron were wronged by this violation of the covenant, which required that the priests should marry them only. With this compare the historical fact with which the inspired *history* of the Old Testament comes to a close. "One of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the high-priest, was son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite, and I chased him from me. Remember them, O my God, because they have defiled the priesthood and the *covenant of the priesthood* and of the Levites. Thus cleansed I them from all strangers, and appointed the wards (*ἐφημερίας*, LXX.) of the priests and of the levites, every one in his business, and for the wood-offering at times appointed, and for the first-fruits. Remember me, O my God, for good." Neh. xiii. *fin*.

We may also observe the terms in which the angel Gabriel describes the office of the precursor, that final impersonation of the idea of the Levitical priesthood in its capacity of the Lord's messenger: *καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπιστρέψει ἐπὶ Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν αὐτῶν*. Compare with this what is said of "Levi" in Malachi, *καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ ἀδικίας*, ii. 6. The preceding clause, as read in the LXX, *ἐν εἰρήνῃ κατευθύνων ἐπορεύθη μετ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ πολλοὺς &c.*, is alluded to in the song of Zacharias, v. 79. "Thou shalt go before the Lord to prepare His ways...to give knowledge unto His people (Mal. ii. 7.)...τοῦ κατευθύναι τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν εἰς ὁδὸν εἰρήνης.

In S. Luke (i. 41) is another fine allusion to Malachi (iii. 20), "To you that fear My name shall arise the Sun of Righteousness...and ye shall leap like young calves, *σκιρτήσετε ὡς μοσχάρια*. Thus John the Baptist, as the impersonation of faithful Israel, was the first, even in the womb, to exult (*ἐσκήρτησεν ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει*) in the dawning of the Sun of Righteousness, the *Ἀνατολὴ ἔξ ὕψους*.—Compare also what the blessed Virgin (the impersonation of the whole Church) says of herself, v. 48, *μακαριοῦσίν με πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαί* with Mal. iii. 12, *μακαριοῦσιν ὑμᾶς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*.

§ 355. Lastly, observe the import of the names Zacharias, Elizabeth, John *Zachar-jah* is compounded of the verb *Zachar*, "remember," and the name of God, and as such means either "Whom God remembereth," or "Who remembereth God." This is very significant in reference to the closing scene of the Old Testament, both in Malachi and in Nehemiah. "Then (i.e. when many, weary of long waiting, were saying in their hearts, It is vain to serve God, &c.) then they that feared the Lord spake often together, and the Lord hearkened and heard it, and a book of *remembrance* (*siccar-on*) was opened before Him, &c. And again, in the concluding precept before referred to, "*Remember* the law of Moses my servant, &c. iii. 22, (*Ziehr-u torath Mosheh*, &c.) Thus the very name of Zacharias marks him as the summary type of those faithful priests who, remembering the law, as witnesses for God and His Christ, are remembered of Him.

With this compare the oft-repeated prayer with which Nehemiah closes the narrative of each of his good deeds in the service of God, and with which the historical canon of Scripture comes to a close, "Remember me, my God, for good (*Zachrah li Elohai l'tobah*)."

The other names, *Eli-sheba*, "God hath sworn," and *Jeho-mnan*, "The Lord hath shewn mercy," have also an evident reference to this beginning of the Gospel dispensation. And indeed, the import of all three names is embodied in the words of Zachariah's hymn of praise. "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who hath looked upon His people...to perform His mercy (*ἐλεος*, *Jeho-mnan*) with our fathers, and to remember (*zachar*) His holy covenant, the oath (*sheba*) which he sware unto Abraham."

The circumstances of the life of this aged pair suggest, of themselves, a typical sense. They were "far gone in their days,"—it was now so long since God for the last time renewed the assurance of His promise—"Yet they had no son":—it seemed as though the oath of God, His remembrance of His people, and His people's remembrance of Him, produced no fruit. From the very instant, too, of the annunciation by the angel in the Temple, Zacharias became *σιώπων καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος λαλῆσαι*: from the last annunciation made in the prophecy of Malachi ("My angel") the tongue of inspiration became mute in Israel.

§ 356. Now we have said that the period of 434 days, from the entry of Zacharias to the Nativity, is the miniature emblem of the period of 434 years in Daniel's prophecy, during which the Church was to be waiting for the Messiah, and, as it were, "travailing in birth" of the promised Christ. The $3\frac{1}{2}$ days which make up the number 437 $\frac{1}{2}$, are typical of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of the preaching of the kingdom of God: the 40 days of purification, in this sense, aptly typify the final period of Jerusalem's probation.

In this way of considering the matter, we discern the typical significance of the history of the presentation in the Temple. It is the type of *that* sudden coming of the Lord into His temple of which it is said, "But who may abide the day of His coming? For he is like a refiner's fire."

§ 357. In the aged Symeon, a man righteous and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel, we may see a just type of the faithful remnant of the Church of Israel. "It had been revealed to him that he should not see death before he had seen the Lord's Christ." It was revealed that the Church and worship, the ritual and polity of Moses should not pass away until Christ's universal Church was established. To that ritual and polity the elect remnant of Israelites, believers in Christ, adhered until the last term of Jerusalem's purification was ended: and then, "the abomination of desolation" being set up, the Church of God forsook the devoted city, knowing that the times of Moses' law were at an end. To this corresponds the hymn of Symeon: "Lord, now Thou dismissest Thy servant in peace, according to Thy word, for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all nations—a light (from henceforth) to lighten the Gentiles, and to be (hereafter) the glory of Thy people Israel." It is not unworthy of remark, that the bishop, and so the head and representative of the Church

of Jerusalem, at the time of its flight into the mountains, was, by the concurrent voice of all antiquity, *Symeon*, the brother of James and kinsman of the Lord.

Thus far extends S. Luke's narrative. The very next event, which here comes in from S. Matthew, carries on the symbolical sense. It is the Visit of the Magi; i. e. as the Church has always symbolized, *the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles*. Symeon announced that "light to lighten the Gentiles:" and here is the star in the east guiding the Gentiles to the Saviour. Perhaps the slaughter at Bethlehem may be drawn within the scope of the symbol, and this would explain S. Matthew's use of the words of Jeremiah. This, however, may be left to the reflection of the reader.

IV. *Times and Seasons relating to the Temple and Daily Sacrifice.*

§ 358. Under this head I have to notice some relations differing, in part, from those which have been mentioned, but not less exact and impressive. They afford a remarkable attestation to the reality of those already described.

We have already noted that the dedication of Solomon's Temple precedes our date of the Vision by just a thousand years. *This is true even to a single day*. Solomon dedicated his Temple at the Feast of Tabernacles 1006 B.C.: and the feast began 14 October. (§ 252.) Thence to 6 Oct. B.C. 6 are one thousand Julian (artificial) years *minus* 8 days: which are *exactly* a thousand true tropical years. (For 1000 Julian years at 365·25 exceed the same number of tropical years at 365·24224 by $1000 \times 0.00776 = 7.76$ days.)

This, remarkable as it is, is not all. The first Temple was destroyed by fire, B.C. 588, 8th August, § 167. The interval from its dedication to its destruction was therefore 418 years *minus* 67 days, or 152,608 days.

The second Temple was completed 3rd Adar, B.C. 513, § 188, i. e. 16 February. And from this date to the day of its destruction, 4 Aug. A.D. 70, are 582 years *plus* 170 days, i. e. 212,744 days.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| So then the first Temple stood | 152,608 days |
| And the second..... | 212,744 |
| Or the two together stood | 365,352 days |

Now the last Passover of Jerusalem, and the siege, began together 113 days before the Conflagration: to *this* crisis then, the number of days is 365,239, that is to say, almost exactly 1000 tropical years (365, 242·24).

So that from the Dedication of Solomon's Temple to the beginning of the days of vengeance, the Lord was worshipped in temples almost precisely a thousand years.

And from the same Dedication to the beginning of the Day of Grace and Visitation in the Gospel, the whole interval is likewise precisely a thousand years.

Hence it follows, that the period during which there was no Temple (8 Aug. 588—16 Feb. 513) is almost to a day commensurate with the period beginning at Zachariah's vision and ending at the last Passover, the first day of the siege (6 Oct. B.C. 6—13 April, A.D. 70.)

§ 359. The Temple, we know, was a type of Christ's body. The day on which He came to it, cleansing it, and declaring the sentence of its reprobation, was the Sunday or Monday before the Crucifixion, 13 or 14 Mar. A.D. 29.

The Temple began to be built on the 20th April 1013 B.C. § 252. From the one of these days to the other are 1041 Julian years *minus* 38 days, or 1040·89 years, which is the square of 32·262 or 32 years, 96 days, which is precisely the period from Christ's nativity to that visitation of the Temple. In other words, *the period from the foundation of the Temple to the day of its visitation is precisely the square of the period from the Nativity to that same day.*

§ 360. The sacerdotal cycle was completed and had just begun afresh when the fatal firebrand was cast upon the Temple, § 33. From the sabbath preceding the Passion to that day are 15,114 + 6 days = 15,120 days, i.e. *precisely ninety complete cycles* (90×168). The same ephemeria, then, and that the first, witnessed the cleansing of the Temple, the price of blood, the rending of the veil—and the fiery judgment of Messiah's avenging advent.

"Forty-six years was this Temple in building, &c. § 72. This was spoken during the Passover of A.D. 28. Now 46 years = 16,802, or a hundred cycles. Thence to the end are 92 or 2×46 cycles. And the whole duration of Herod's

Temple from its foundation to its catastrophe is measured by 192 or 8×24 sacerdotal cycles.

§ 361. "In the midst of the week, He shall cause sacrifice and oblation to cease." Dan. ix. 27.

In its truest sense, this was fulfilled in that hour when the Incarnate Son, having consummated His one sacrifice of Himself, said, It is finished. But after this invisible abrogation the visible daily sacrifice continued to be offered until it ceased for ever in the days of vengeance. The very day of this event is on record: it was the 17th of Panemus¹ = 13 July A.D. 70. Count now the days from the one instant to the other, from the invisible act to its visible sign and seal. The interval from 18 March A.D. 29, to 13 July A.D. 70, is 41 years 117 days = 15,092, or precisely 44 periods of 7^3 days. To this remarkable economy I shall recur in another place; here we may observe, that this mystical term is part of a larger period.

For, from the restoration of the daily sacrifice and sacerdotal courses, 29 Sept. B.C. 536 (§ 34) to the day of the Crucifixion are 205,806 days, which make 600 periods of 7^3 days, and 6 days over (therefore to the recommencement of the cycle, just 600×7^3 , and the number of courses 1225, or 25×7^3): hence from the restoration to the final cessation are $644 \times 7^3 = 92 \times 7^4 = 2 \times 46 \times 7^4$.

And here I remark, for further use, that the final capture of Jerusalem, 1 Sept. A.D. 70, lies just the same length of time after the cessation of sacrifice as does the Pentecost after the Crucifixion. The interval therefore from the day of Pentecost to the taking of the city is also 44×7^3 .

V. *Traces of similar Economies in the earlier periods of the History.*

§ 362. That remarkable period of 490×490 , or 700×7^3 ending 17 November A.D. 70, is part of a larger cycle of the same structure beginning at the Exode itself. For, from

¹ A memorable day on another account; for it was on this day that Aaron and all Israel provoked God in the matter of the golden calf; *supra* § 256.

10 April 1586 to that day are 1655 years, 221 days = 604,710 days, which exceed only by 1 the period 1763×343 .² Hence

From 11 April (15 Nisan) 1586 to 9 July 588 are 1063×7^3

To the Vision of Zacharias 1633×7^3

§ 363. We may remark, that the day on which "the sceptre passed from Judah" lies in the track of this same cycle. For the Temple was taken by Herod, and the line of Asamonean Princes became extinct, B. C. 37, 10th Tisri = 5 October : and thence to 17 November A.D. 70 are 106 years, 43 days = 38,759 days, which make precisely 113×7^3 . That is, from the Exode to the departure of the sceptre from Judah are 1650×7^3 , and thence to the end, 113×7^3 .

§ 364. From the delivery of the Law to the 11th August A.D. 70, the goal of the cycle 434×434 from Nehemiah, are 604,562 days, which are exactly divisible by the same measure, being equal to 1393×434 , or $199 \times 7 \times 434$.

But the Babylonian crisis, 9 July 588, precedes 11 August A.D. 70, by $(490 + 63) \times 434 = 553 \times 434$. Hence the delivery of the Law precedes 9 July 588 by $(1393 - 553) \times 434 = 840 \times 434 = 12 \times 70 \times 434$, or 744×490 . Consequently, from the delivery of the Law to 17 November A.D. 70, are $(744 + 490) \times 490 = 1234 \times 490$.

§ 365. The Promise precedes the Exode by 430 years exactly, therefore the delivery of the Law by 50 days more, making 157,108 days, or precisely 362×434 .

Isaac, the first great type of "Abraham's Seed," was born when his father was 100 years old; and Abraham's 100th year ended in 1993 B.C. Now it will be found that four times the period 434×434 , i.e. 753,424 days, or 2063 years minus 87 days, reckoned back from 11 Aug. A.D. 70, reach up to the 6th of November 1994. So that the time of the conception of Isaac and destruction of Sodom must lie very near the beginning of this remarkable cycle. It follows that this same day precedes the delivery of the Law by $(1736 - 1393) \times 434$, or $7 \times 7 \times 7 \times 434$.

² One term more of 343 days would make $1764 \times 7^3 = 252 \times 7^4 = 36 \times 7^5$.—A period of 1715×7^3 , or 5×7^4 ends 19

October, A. D. 25, i.e. within a month, at most, of the *ἀρχὴ εὐαγγελίου* in the baptism of John.

§ 366. If in virtue of the significance which attends the name of *Peleg* (§ 305) we assign the confusion of tongues to the central year of his life, or about 2227 B.C., from that event to the repeal of the curse on the day of Pentecost are about 2255 years, which make 2401×7^3 (*plus* 96 days): between the curse therefore and its repeal there may lie the precise interval of 2401×7^3 or 7^7 (*i. e.* $7 \times 7 \times 7 \times 7 \times 7 \times 7 \times 7$) days.

§ 367. It seems highly probable that Pharaoh's dream of seven years of plenty followed by seven of famine is symbolical of the destinies of Israel; for that Joseph's history is typical of Christ was never doubted by sound expositors. Now I have assigned the dream and the epoch of the seven years to the year 1812 B.C., p. 316. But the Mosaic age down to the nativity of Christ forms a cycle of 49 times the term of our Lord's life, or seven sabbatic-cycles of mystical years. It is, surely, not a little interesting to find that the year 1812 B.C. (27th April) is the beginning of a cycle of seven such mystical years. For $7 \times 11,789.82 = 82,529$ days = 226 years *minus* 17 days, which reckoned back from the Exode reach to the day which has been mentioned. Here, then, is an economical, accompanying the typical analogy. It might be traced further, but I forbear.

§ 368. If, as the Jews report, the sentence of wandering was denounced on the 9th day of the 5th month, (which would be either 19 July, or 18 August, 1585,) then, since the sentence was taken off in the beginning of the 40th year, 1547, 16 March–14 April, it may have been in force exactly 40×7^3 days, corresponding with the economy noted in § 344. Suppose the sentence passed 490 days after the Exode, *i. e.* on the 12th of August, which cannot be far wide of the truth: then a period of 40×7^3 or 37 years, 206 days, leads to 7 March in the 40th year, about 9 days before the arrival in Kadesh-Barnea, Numb. xx. 7. cf. Deut. i. 2.

§ 369. From 11 April 1586, the morning after the Pass-over in Egypt, to the 17 November A. D. 70, we have found $604,709 = 1763 \times 7^3$ days. But this same period is also a remarkable multiple of the number 777 (composed of $434 + 343$): for it makes 778×777 , with a remainder 203; and therefore makes the remarkable period 777×777 with the surplus $777 + 203$, or 980, or 2×490 . Hence from the day which

lies 490 days after the Exode, which we have supposed the day on which sentence of reprobation was issued in the wilderness, to the day preceding 17 November A. D. 70 by 490 days, the interval is this striking period 777×777 (or $343^2 + 2 \times 343 \times 434 + 434^2$)¹.

§ 370. From the 10th April 1546, precisely 40 years after the Exodus, and 3 days before the passage through Jordan, § 261, to the 9th July 588, are 958 years, 90 days, or precisely the very remarkable period of 350,000, i. e. 500 periods of 700 days: (therefore to 17 November A. D. 70, are 843 such periods).

From the same day to 18 April 606 B. C., which is very nearly the *terminus ad quem* of the two periods of 490 years and epoch of the 70 years captivity, are 490 years 8 days = $343,343 = 1001 \times 7^3 = 143 \times 7^4$.

§ 371. The *Tabernacle* was set up at Sinai, on the first day of the second year, Tuesday 16 March 1585. From the 11 April to the *first sabbath* of the tabernacle are just 343 days (§ 257).

It was erected at *Shiloh* in the year 1539 (p. 280). Suppose the date to have been the 4th or 5th of Nisan, Saturday 23 March, just 46 Jewish years after the first erection: the interval is exactly 49×7^3 , and from the Exodus 50×7^3 .

After seven months' captivity among the Philistines, the *Ark* was restored, during *wheat-harvest*, 1 Sam. vi. 13. The captivity, therefore, occurred in October or November, 1117 B. C. Now from the Exode to 24 October 1117, are just $171,500$ days = 500×7^3 . Assuming, then, these several dates, which cannot be far from the truth, we have—

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| From the Exode to erection of Tabernacle at Shiloh | 50×7^3 |
| to Captivity of Shiloh | 500×7^3 |
| to the Babylonian Crisis | 1063×7^3 |
| to the Roman | 1763×7^3 |

§ 372. If the first cycle of 490 years comprised exactly so many tropical years, it ended 7 or 8 April A. D. 1096. Now from 8 April of that year to the first Christian Pentecost (of

¹ From the *Promise* to the Exode | A. D. 70, is 761,767, or $2 \times 490 \times 777$
being 157,057 days, the sum to 17 Nov. | with a remainder 307.

which the day of Mizpeh was so memorable a type), the interval is 1124 years 30 days, or 410,571 days, or *precisely* $1197 \times 7^3 = 171 \times 7^4$ days¹. Add to this a period of 44×7^3 , and you reach the very day on which Jerusalem was taken by the Roman armies. (*supra* § 361.)

But this economy is yet more extensive. It was *Zechariah* who beheld in vision that pouring out of "the Spirit of grace and supplication upon the house of David and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem," xii. 10, 11, when "they looked upon Him whom they had pierced, and mourned with a great weeping as the weeping in the valley of Megiddon." In its proximate reference, this unquestionably denotes that day of Pentecost, of which the great mourning at Mizpeh, the pouring out of water before the Lord with the tears of the people, and the great grace which followed, constitute a very signal type. We have seen how the type and antitype are connected, the first day of "the Prophets" with the birth-day of "the Gospel." Now observe that the epoch of *Zechariah*, who may be regarded as the leader of the last order of the Prophets, is the 2nd year of Darius, the 8th month, which began 29 or 30 September 518 (§ 188). And from 8 April 1096 to 29 September 518, are 518 years 174 days, which make 616×7^3 or 88×7^4 , agreeing with the former, not only in the smaller measure 7^3 , but in the larger of $7 \times 7 \times 7 \times 7$. Even the coefficient 88 or 2×44 is remarkable: for, from the Pentecost to the capture of the city, the interval is characterized by this same number, *i. e.* 44×7^3 . Now the day of the capture is the antithesis, in respect of the rage and misery of the impenitent, to the day of Pentecost: it is the day of the baptism "with fire," as that of the baptism "with the Holy Ghost." Matt. iii. 11. It is the counterpart to that other great crisis which lies at the goal of *Zechariah's* vision, chap. xii. It was to the impenitent of that *αἰών*, the "day of the battle of Harmageddon," Rev. xvi. 16. (Mount Megiddo,

¹ Moreover to 8 Apr. 1096, from the day above assumed as the date of the ark's captivity, 24 Oct. 1117, B. C. are 7471 days; which is exactly $\frac{1}{21}$ th part of the whole period from the Eisode to the Cap-

tivity. For from 10 Apr. 1546 to 24 Oct. 1117 are 156,891 days = 21×7471 . In other words, the interval of suspense between the judgment and the deliverance is just $\frac{1}{21}$ th part of the period.

the Mount Zion turned into a Megiddon, Zech. xii. 11). So that this economy connects these several terms :

| | |
|--|--|
| Epoch of Samuel and the prophets to epoch of Zechariah | 616×7^3 or $2 \times 44 \times 7^4$ |
| Epoch of Zechariah or prophets of second Temple to} | |
| Pentecost | 581×7^3 or 83×7^4 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 1197×7^3 or 171×7^4 |
| Thence to the Capture of the City | 44×7^3 |

VI. *Further considerations on the Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks.*

§ 373. It certainly seems natural to suppose that the seventy weeks are measured in some sense from the “going forth of the decree” of Cyrus; *i. e.* from the year 536 B. C. But their (proximate) goal is certainly the desolation of Jerusalem by the Roman armies. The interval is not 490 but more than 605 years, *i. e.* the historical interval outruns the prophetic by more than 115 years. I have now to shew that this very excess stands in a marked and impressive relation to the scheme of times and seasons which has been thus far described.

If the decree of Cyrus coincides (as the general scheme requires that it should) with the *Passover* of the year 536, then, the 490 (tropical) years, beginning 13 April of that year, would end 9 or 10 April 46 B. C. Now from 9 April 46, to 8 December B. C. 5 (the Nativity), are 41 years 243 days: precisely the same length of time as the closing period, from the Crucifixion to the 17th November A. D. 70, or close of the 490×490 days, § 337. So that the excess of which we speak, considered as ending at the close of the 490×490 days, is composed of three cycles, 15,218, 11,790, and 15,218 days; or the period of our Lord's life is enclosed between two commensurate periods.

§ 374. Again: this year 46 B. C. lies 1500 years after the *Eisode*. Now from the day of the passage through Jordan, 14 April 1546, to 9 April 46, the interval is 547,870 days: which divided by 13 gives the quotient 42,144 days, or 115 years 140 days, which measured from 9 April 46, lead to 26 August A. D. 70, three weeks after the conflagration of the Temple, and one week before the capture of the city,

(1 September). This is very remarkable. The whole period of Israel's possession of the promised land, from the passage through Jordan to the capture of Jerusalem, being divided into 14 parts, (2×7), the residual period, from the close of the 490 years, as measured from the decree of Cyrus to the capture, is just (within a week) one of these parts. (In another place it will be shown that the first half of the 2×7 parts ends at a remarkable crisis of the kingdom of the ten tribes, and the first term of the second half at Josiah's reformation).

Once more : observe that period 15,218 days leading from 9 April, 46 to the day of the Nativity : *it is an exact and significant measure of the whole period from the passage through Jordan.* For 547,870 days divided by 36, give 15,218 days and a fraction.

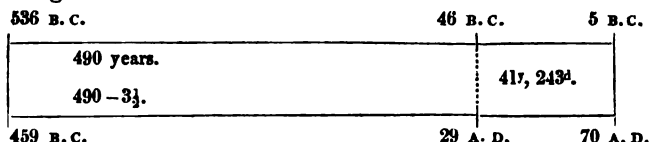
Moreover : this year 46 B. C. lies just 70 years before the year in which the gospel began with the preaching of John the Baptist, and just 40 years before the opening of the gospel history in the vision of Zacharias. And reckoned from the time of the restoration of the altar and daily sacrifice in 536. the scheme of years is exact : viz.

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|
| From Oct. 536 to 46 | 490 years |
| Oct. 46 to Oct. 6, B. C. | 40 |
| To Oct. A. D. 25 | 30 |
| | } 70 |

And lastly : a period of $3 \times 490 \times 490$ days reaches from the year of Abraham's entrance into the promised land to this year 46 B. C., for that period is 720,300 days = 1972 years 27 days.

But what may be the historical import of this year B. C. 46 ? I suppose this : that it is the epochal year of the *Roman Empire*. The power by which the judgment was to be executed was then fully formed : "the armies of the Prince which shall come" are prepared and ready to do His work. In fact, the supremacy of Cæsar is attested by his reformation of the calendar in this very year, well known as "the year of confusion," after which the new account of time began which has continued ever since. Even this is significant. In Judæa, too, just at this conjuncture, we find Herod, emboldened by the support of Rome, defying the whole Sanhedrim, before which he stood as a criminal, and threatening to put every member of it to death, Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 17. *B. J.* i. 8.

§ 375. Now between the two lines on which the prophetical period of seventy weeks runs its course, there is this parallelism, which for the sake of clearness shall be expressed in a diagram :



That is (omitting the final 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ years which are reserved to the end of the world), we have two periods of 490 years, the one ending at the epoch of the *Romanum Imperium*, or Third Empire of Prophecy, the other at the cutting off of Messiah: each followed by a period of 15,219 days, leading, the one to the *personal*, the other to the *mystical* nativity of "the man-child which should rule all nations with a rod of iron." For it should be observed that there is a *mystical nativity* of Christ, as well as the nativity of incarnation. That mystical nativity lies in the end of the world, and is the subject of the vision in the Apocalypse, xii. 1, and is hinted at in the Old Testament Prophets, as Micah iv. 10. But the end of the Mosaic Age is the type and pledge of the consummation of all things: Christ ruling invisibly, the earnest of Christ reigning personally: the Holy Catholic Church, the image and figure of Messiah's kingdom which is to come, the *σκιαγραφία* of the promised Palingenesia. It is natural therefore to suppose, that in the crisis of the former *αἰών* there lies some figure and token of that mystical nativity of which we speak. And the figure I take to be this: the *birth*, namely, of the Catholic Church (Christ's Body), its complete delivery and extrication from the womb of the elder Church and theocracy. And the language of Scripture favours this representation. The woes of Jerusalem are spoken of by our Lord as the birth-pangs of her child-bearing, ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων ταῦτα. Christ was fully formed in particular Christians, S. Paul implies, when their hearts and consciences were fully delivered from the law of types and shadows. For so he writes to those Galatians who would passionately cling to the old dispensation, "My little children, of whom I travail anew in birth until Christ be formed in you." Gal. iv. 19. And the grand historical fact, which cor-

responds with the subjective birth of Christ in the inner man, is the passing away of the old dispensation, in the fiery judgment of its visitation, and the coming forth of the Catholic Church of Christ as a body distinct from the Church of Moses. And as I read the Apocalypse (like the Lord's prophecy on the Mount) in a twofold sense, I take this which has been mentioned for the first, or initial and typical, import of the vision of "the woman"—who is evidently the Jerusalem which is above and the mother of us all, the Church of the Patriarchs and Prophets—travailing in birth to be delivered, and bearing the male child which should rule all nations. For the initial import of the preceding chapter of the Apocalypse is, doubtless, the crisis of that economy. When the literal Jerusalem was become as Sodom and Egypt, when it was given to be trodden down forty and two months, when in that great earthquake the tenth part of the city fell, when the last trump of that former world sounded, then, concurrently with these events, was seen the sign in heaven, the "woman travailing in birth and ready to be delivered."

VII. *Times of Antiochus Epiphanes, or, Last Days of the Second Empire.*

§ 376. The economical arrangements which have thus far occupied our attention reach from particular critical events of the *canonical* history of the Old Testament to like events in the times of the New Testament: *e.g.* from the Exode to the Passion, and to the catastrophe of the Mosaic Dispensation. In particular, we have seen that the entire last term of this period, reaching from the catastrophe of the first to that of the second Temple, exhibits a wondrous adjustment of its parts, proceeding according to the numerical law of Daniel's great prophecy. A bridge, as it were, of marvellous structure, overarches the chasm between the two "days of the Lord." But between these great catastrophes there lies a crisis of sin, judgment, and mercy, which was also revealed to "the man greatly beloved," the apoclypt of the Old Testament. The futurity which lay before his divinely instructed view involved, though as yet blended in its perspective, the crises of those three great empires which were successively to arise after the dissolution of the first; which, when Babylon had done her appointed task

of judgment, were to be raised up for the like office. The last of these is yet to come: three woes are past, the fourth will follow in its season known only to God. The Antichrist will wield that fourth and last tyranny which shall be destroyed by the Lord at His coming. We have seen in what manner the visions of Daniel reach forward from the crisis of the third to that of the fourth empire. The predestined interval has, doubtless, its law, its measures, its economy: but they are not revealed; it is reserved for the Providence of God alone to reveal them by events: and "when the mystery of God shall be finished," His servants will discern here also, intuitively, it may be, and not through laboured processes of the calculating understanding, the riches of that deep and manifold wisdom which is displayed in God's "plan of the ages," Eph. iii. 11. Meanwhile "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the angels in heaven, but the Father only." We will not dare to speculate (as some, even good men, have done, and alas! many rash and irreverent) concerning the law of the times and seasons which the Father hath put in His own power. The secret things belong unto the Lord our God: the things revealed are for us and for our children. Our concern in this enquiry is with the times and seasons which He has revealed in the past course of His providence, that thence gathering (if it may be) a livelier faith in the reality of His wonders in the days of old, we may confirm our souls in the awful faith of that which is to come. I could not forbear to reiterate this my earnest protest against all application of the processes here described to the pretended calculation of times future; an attempt, which, notwithstanding the melancholy fact that this vain curiosity has been indulged or sanctioned by some¹ whom I would reve-

¹ The reader will understand that I allude here to such men as Joseph Mede, and Henry More. I might perhaps add even greater names from earlier times. But I think the ancient Fathers are not chargeable with precisely this kind of extravagance. They believed, on other grounds, that the end of the world was near at hand: and they thought they had found a confirmation of their faith in the chronology of the

world's history. They had a tradition, namely—adopted from the Jews—of six millennia, to end at the second coming of Christ; and their faulty chronology, derived from the Septuagint, led them to imagine that full five of these mystical days, and a considerable part of the sixth, were elapsed at the first advent. Moreover, they applied to their consideration of the residue which was yet to run its course, that saying of our

rence for their piety and wisdom, I feel it my bounden duty to reprobate, as, in itself, alike futile and profane. One would think the analogy of the Church's past experience might alone have taught the true lesson in this respect. It was not until near the close of the seventy years foretold by Jeremiah, that even Daniel "knew by the books" the purpose of God concerning the desolations of Jerusalem. And what man comprehended, before the event, the meaning and the bearings of the mysterious revelation, which then ensued, of the seventy times seven? And when that prediction reached its proximate goal, and Messiah was cut off, what mortal foreboded the measure of the time which was yet to elapse to its next subsequent goal, the compassing about of Jerusalem with armies? Which of the ancient prophets knew ought of the "times of the Gentiles," that great mystery which lay suppressed in deep silence from the beginning of the ages? (Rom. xvi. 25.) All these purposes of Divine Providence the event alone has disclosed, and to that alone we must look for the disclosure of the laws and measures and economies under which our present αἰών is constituted.

§ 377. To return, however: We have seen what economies connect the last times of the first and of the second Temple, or, the crises of the judgment severally executed by the first empire and the third. Does then any like economy reach from the first crisis to the *second*, and thence to the third?

The latter times of the Syro-Grecian empire, especially of Antiochus Epiphanes, are pourtrayed in Daniel's vision with an extraordinary precision of detail. The historical chronology of that period has been examined in a former chapter of this work: our concern now is with its prophetical bearings. Certain definite periods of time connected with the Maccabean history were revealed to Daniel: namely, a period of "a time, times and

Lord, *κολοβηθήσονται αἱ ἡμέραι*: and thus retained the practical impression designed in that other warning, *Of that day and hour*, &c. As to the modern scheme, the device of men deeply imbued with heresy, and from them thoughtlessly adopted for purposes of Protestant controversy by modern interpreters of prophecy, it was far from the imaginations of the Christian fathers. I assert

only what has been amply and incontrovertibly proved, as every impartial person who has read Mr. Maitland's various writings on this subject is very well aware. See his *Prophetical Tracts on Antichrist*, &c., and the interesting series of papers in the *British Magazine*, entitled, *Antichrist in the thirteenth Century*. Vol. xvi.—xviii.

a half," of 1290, 1335, and 2300 days: we are to enquire, in the first place, how these predictions were fulfilled. But since there is reason to believe that the four great crises connected with the four empires of prophecy, are related to each other by a law of times and seasons, we are further to consider whether any such law is visible in respect of the times of the three former empires. What manner of economy may connect all three with the fourth, I say again it is not for us to speculate. "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the angels in heaven." Our concern is with the things revealed in the course of times past. Ὁ ἔχων νοῦν ψηφισάτω τὸν ἀριθμὸν.

§ 378. In the first place, the Syrian crisis is connected with the Babylonian by an economy which belongs to the prophecy of the seventy weeks. For, if from the epoch of the seventy years of Jeremiah, 606 B. C., we reckon $62 \times 7 = 434$ years, we shall find them ending at 172 B. C., and 7 years more lead to 165 B. C. And if for the epoch of the seventy years and of the 434 years, we take that crisis of Jehoiakim's sin in burning the roll, which was in the 9th month of his 4th year, Jer. xxxvi. 1, 22, 23, the economy is probably exact; extending, namely, from Nov. 606 B. C. to 22 November 165 B. C., the Maccabean purification. And the latter moiety of the last 7 years will be the "time, times, and dividing of a time," which are prophetically assigned to the persecution of the Syrian Antichrist¹.

¹ I mention this economy first, because I think it real, and that Daniel's prophecy was so worded as to suggest comfort to the faithful in that dire time of apostasy and persecution. They might say, "Our deliverance cannot be far distant, for the sixty-two weeks of Daniel, including the seventy years of Jeremiah, are come to an end." And the event confirmed their hopes, though not in the way they supposed. This is the answer to those commentators who in their interpretation of this prophecy are so far in the right as they take this, or somewhat like it, to lie within the scope of the prediction, but err in making this its whole and sole scope, agreeably to their hypothesis of the Maccabean

origin of the Book of Daniel. This notion is abundantly refuted by the contents of the present chapter. It may serve to give the reader a clear conception of the kind of attacks upon the divine origin of the canonical prophecies, against which the facts urged in this chapter are specially useful, if I extract the substance of the interpretation lately given by Ewald, *die Propheten der Alten Bunde*, ii. 560 ff., which I do the rather, as Ewald's exegesis, while by its earnestness and almost devout enthusiasm, it rises far above the tone of ordinary scepticism, yet at the same time is based altogether on the hypothesis of a purely human uninspired origin of the whole volume of Scripture, and the whole system of Jewish

§ 379. Of the periods of days we will first consider that of the 2300 days, or, as it is in the Hebrew, "evening-mornings."

Jewish and Christian belief. In this respect, it represents the most dangerous of those more refined forms of unbelief against which the Church has to contend in these last days.

It is assumed, then, that the Book of Daniel was written by a devout Jew during the Antiochian persecution, with the intention of reviving the dejected spirits of the faithful. With this view, the writer personates Daniel, to whom he refers a number of predictions and symbolical stories, all alike pointing to the disastrous times of Antiochus Epiphanes. Thus, the four kingdoms, in the vision of the Image and of the Beasts, are those of the Chaldeans, the Medes, the Persians, the Grecians—or possibly of the Assyrians, the Chaldeans, the Medo-Persians, the Greeks. The visions of the Ram and Goat, and the Scripture of Truth plainly terminate in the crisis which then was. In the prophecy of the seventy weeks all the lines of the author's plan converge to a point: it fixes the time of the crisis. Now Jeremiah had foretold a period of seventy years of Chaldean servitude, at the end of which he doubtless represented to himself that Messiah would appear in His kingdom. That period came to an end, yet no Messiah appeared. The Maccabean personator of Daniel would remove this stumbling-block. Accordingly he represents Daniel, as pondering, in deep concern, at the close of that period, on the disappointment of the nation's hope, and then in answer to his prayer, receiving from an angel a revelation of the true import of the prediction. Namely, he is made to understand that the seventy years denote not so many years but weeks or sevens of years, at the end of which Messiah would appear. And the writer's meaning is, that the close of the seventy weeks, and the coming of Messiah, lay close at hand in the times when he wrote,

i. e. during the Syrian persecution. It is true, he was much mistaken in thinking that 490 years from the beginning of the Babylonian Captivity were then run out, for the interval from 606 B. C. to 168 B. C. was but 438 years: but what need is there to suppose this Maccabean Jew any better informed as to the true chronology? He thought it was 490 years, and that is enough.

In this way, then, he represents the order of the times in his pretended prediction:

"From the going forth of the decree to rebuild Jerusalem," i. e. from the promise made by Jeremiah of Jerusalem's future restoration and glory, "to an Anointed, a Prince," i. e. to Cyrus "are seven weeks," 49 years; not seventy years, as was more commonly supposed. "And during 62 weeks (more) the city shall be rebuilding, with street and conduit, but in straits of the times: and after the 62 weeks shall an Anointed be brought to nought, and have no man:" meaning Seleucus IV. Philopator, who came to a violent end, B. C. 176, leaving no child to succeed him. "And the people of the prince," i. e. Antiochus Epiphanes, "which shall come overflowing with his army, shall destroy city and temple—yet even to the end of the war is fearful decision," i. e. from heaven at last. "He will make covenant with many, one week long:" Antiochus dealt leniently with the Jews during the first seven years of his reign: "And for the half week he will abolish sacrifice and oblation—and that, because of the fearful height of abominations (viz. of our sins), but until destruction and decision be poured forth upon that fearful" (pile of abominations). This last half week is supernumerary to the seventy, and is the identical period marked in the other prophecies of this book. "In short, it is the actual now of the author, the darkly

In the vision of the Ram and He-goat, which manifestly relates in its primary sense to the empire of the Greeks, it was foreshown that a king of that empire should prosper against the holy people, and cause the daily sacrifice to cease for a time. Dan. viii. 11. "Then I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain saint [or, *wonderful numberer*, or *numberer of secrets*. Heb. *Palmoni*. Marg.] which spake, How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? And he said unto me, Unto 2300 days; [Heb. *evening-morning*]; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed [Heb. *justified*]."

There seem to be but two events in the history of the Maccabees which can be regarded as constituting the *terminus ad quem* denoted by the words, "the sanctuary shall be cleansed,"

louring time when all abominations and calamities had come to such a height that it seemed as though Messiah could not possibly delay his coming; the 1290 days which the faithful must patiently endure unto the end, xii. 11, or (somewhat to enlarge this prophetic round number for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years) the 1335 days, xii. 12, or (somewhat shortened) the 2300 days and nights, i. e. 1150 days, viii. 14 (which, as being the least, is mentioned first, and after it the numbers rise to $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, 1290 days, 1335 days, as though the author would hint that men must not faint if the time of waiting were prolonged). And when it is considered that the climax of abominations, the idol in the Temple, according to 1 Macc. i. 54, was set up just two years after the first seven, one perceives the emphasis of the circumlocution by which the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years are given as $2+1+\frac{1}{2}$, vii. 25. xii. 7." [I scarcely need pause to remark that the order is $1+2+\frac{1}{2}$, and that the idol was set up B. C. 168, at most 8 years after Antiochus's accession, not *nine* as Ewald supposes].

"Nothing can be plainer, then, than that the book was written B. C. 167-6. The end of Antiochus is announced as

near and certain, yet in every part of the book, his overthrow, with which Messiah's advent coincides, appears as futurity and pure foreboding. Even after the longest series in which the past deeds of the tyrant are accurately described, xi. 21-45, the rumours which reached Antiochus of disturbances in the East (Parthia) and North (Armenia), are the last actual occurrences down to the time of the composition of the book. Now if Antiochus had been already dead, and especially if the particulars of the very remarkable manner of his end had been known, the line between the disguised and the actual future would certainly have been drawn elsewhere, and the tenour of that part which is pure foreboding would have been very different. It is likely, however, that the favourable reception which this book speedily obtained was very much aided by the circumstance" [mere accident, of course] "that Antiochus came to his end at the time predicted—not indeed exactly at the close of the given number of days, for that mattered not, since the author himself has stated the number sometimes a little higher, sometimes a little lower, but at all events not far wide of the mark."

or, "justified." These are, the Maccabean dedication, 25 Kasleu = 22 November 165 B. c., and the victory over Nicanor, 13 Adar B. c. 161 = 5 March (§ 206). This latter event constitutes so momentous a crisis of the history, that at this point the author of the Second Book of Maccabees brought his narrative to a close with the remark that from this day forth "the city was made strong by the Hebrews." "And they all blessed the Lord, saying, Blessed be He who hath kept His place undefiled. And they decreed that this should be a marked day for ever." 2 Mac. xv. 1 Mac. vii. Comp. Josephus *Ant.* x. 12. 5. It is noted that the day in question was ἡ πρὸ τῆς Μαρδοχαϊκῆς ἡμέρας, the day before the anniversary of the deliverance under Esther and Mordecai.

On the former supposition, 2300 days, reckoned back from 22 November 165, lead up to 7 August B. c. 171, which is not a marked date of the history.

But 2300 days, reckoned back from 5 March 161, do lead to a very important crisis, no other, indeed, than the profanation itself; for, from 17 November 168 to 5 March 161, are just 2300 days, and 17 November is but 8 days before the day of the profanation, 25 Kasleu 168 = 25 November. That is, if we reckon 2300 days from the very day of the profanation, they terminate 13 March, B. c. 161, eight days after the victory over Nicanor.

But the same conjuncture is memorable on another account also. For, after the victory, Judas Maccabæus entered into a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive *with Rome*: the first compact the Jews had ever made with that fateful nation. And as the rise of Antiochus was to be "*in the latter times of the empire of the Greeks*," Dan. viii. 23, it may be surmised that at this conjuncture "the times" of the second empire came to a close, and the Third Empire, in the eye of prophecy, began to run its course¹.

§ 380. The other periods occur in the prophecy called the Scripture of Truth, Dan. xi. xii., which is manifestly the ex-

¹ So Winer, (*Real-lex.* Römer.) who, as a rationalist, had of course no thought of illustrating prophecy. "With the Jews, the Romans first came into political contact by a league which they

made with Judas Maccabæus...renewed by Jonathan, and by Simon. Thus the Jews attained to the perilous honour of being called *Amici et Socii* of the Roman people."

pansion of the vision of the Ram and He-goat, and relates to the times of the Grecian empire, yet with a further reference to the times of the Fourth Empire and the last Antichrist.

“He held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, that [to the end of these wonders] shall be a time, times, and an half: and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished...And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be 1290 days. Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the 1335 days.”

Of the period described as a time, times, and a half, I shall speak presently. If the term of 1290 days is to be measured from the cessation of the daily sacrifice, it must terminate at or after the time of the Maccabean dedication. Now the dedication took place 25 Kasleu = 22 November 165 B. C., exactly 3 Jewish years (about 1093 days), as the history relates, after the final profanation or setting up of the idol, the abomination of desolation. This period therefore seems to end at some critical event after the dedication.

It has been shown in its place (§ 204), that the rage of Antiochus against the Jews, after his expulsion from Egypt (Dan. xi. 30), began July or August B. C. 168. Hence to the dedication is “a period of time, times, and the dividing of a time,” if we understand by that expression a period of 3 years with part of a fourth. As the history does not express the exact time at which the daily sacrifice ceased, which may have been before the return of Antiochus from Egypt, it is possible that the interval between that event and the dedication, *i. e.* the time during which the Temple was defiled or the daily sacrifice ceased, may have been exactly 1290 days. If so, it began 15 May 168. This, however, is not an historical date. It seems more likely that the 1290 days end after the “time, times, and a half:” *i. e.* at some signal victory of the Maccabees. This point we must leave undetermined. The following consideration will serve, I think, to adjust the other periods with great precision.

§ 381. If from the 5th March B. C. 161, we count back a period of 7×7^3 days, or 2401 days, we shall find it begin 8 August 168: and this date coincides as nearly as possible with the

time of Antiochus's return from Egypt, and the beginning of his "great rage" against the covenant, § 204. We may remark in passing, that it is precisely 420 or 6×70 years from the Babylonian burning of the Temple, and 5×70 from the epoch of the prophesying of Haggai and Zechariah. Now in this period of 7×7^3 , or "seven times," the day of the dedication, 22 November 165, lies precisely at the bisection, or at the end of "a time, times, and the dividing of a time." The other moiety of course ends at 5 March 161, *i. e.* at the end of the 2300 days.

§ 382. We have seen that a period of 2300 days ending at the day of the great deliverance, the defeat of Nicanor, 5 March B. C. 161, begins at 17 November B. C. 168, 8 days before the day of the setting up of the idol. I infer then, that this 17 November was the day on which the daily sacrifice ceased. If the reader will look back to a former paragraph (§ 361) he will find there a remarkable economy connecting these three terms:

1. The re-establishment of the daily sacrifice B. C. 536.
2. Its spiritual abolition in the sacrifice of the death of Christ, as foretold in Dan. ix. 27.
3. Its actual cessation in the days of vengeance.

The 2nd and 3rd are connected in Daniel's prophecy, and they are connected by a remarkable economy with each other and with the 1st. But the cessation of the daily sacrifice under Antiochus is also, in the prophecy, perspectively blended with the succeeding crises, and it is likewise connected with both by the following impressive measure of time:

1. From 17 Nov. 168 to 13 July A. D. 70, the interval is 236^7 238^4 = 86,437 days = 252×7^3 (*plus* 1 day) = 36×7^4 .
2. Consequently from 5 October 536 to 17 Nov. 168 are 56×7^4 = 8×7^5 days: and from 17 Nov. 168 to the Crucifixion, 208×7^3 .

So that the events predicted by Daniel in reference to the daily sacrifice—its restoration by the decree of Cyrus; its profanation and suspension by the Antichrist of the Second Empire; its spiritual and invisible abolition in the death of Messiah the Prince; its outward and final abrogation in the last days of the Levitical Church; all these are bound to each other by an economy of times and seasons, as impressive, perhaps, as any that we have hitherto noticed.

Hence I have no hesitation in defining,

1. That the 2300 days begin 17 November 168 B. C., and end 5 March 161 B. C.

2. That the "time, times, and dividing of a time" are the moiety of a term of 7×7^3 days, beginning 8 August 168, and ending 5 March 161 B. C., so that the first moiety, or $3\frac{1}{2} \times 7^3$, ends 22 November B. C. 165, *i. e.* at the Maccabean restoration.

§ 383. The time of the vision in which the Prophet received this "Scripture of Truth" is noted with a precision of which there is no other instance in the Book of Daniel; his dates on other occasions give only the years, but here the very day is named: it was in the 3rd year of Cyrus, on the 24th day of the first month. I have before noted (p. 197) a symbolical sense connected with the time of Daniel's fasting: now it naturally occurs to ask whether the day, thus conspicuously marked, stands related to the economy which has been unfolded? The year is B. C. 534, the day, 30th April. On this day it was that Daniel's inspired gaze looked through the long vista of the times of the Second Empire, terminating in the great crisis of the Syrian Antichrist, which lay perspectively blended both with the Roman crisis, and with the catastrophe which is yet to come. And there does seem to be a connexion such as we look for. From that day to the 8th August B. C. 168 (§ 381) are 366 years, 100 days, or 133,782 days, or 390×7^3 (*plus* 12 days). That is, the interval exceeds the remarkable period, 390×7^3 (Ezekiel iv. 5) by 12 days only. But again: from this same day to the 13th Oct. 66, the epoch of "the time, times, and a half" of the Roman judgment, the interval is 599 years 166 days, or 218,951 days. Divide this by the number 1335, the last noted in this prophecy; the quotient is 164 with a surplus of 11 days, *i. e.* the interval exceeds 164×1335 by 11 days only—which surplus may fairly be regarded as identical with that of 12 days in the preceding period.

Hence, from 12 May 534 to 8 Aug. 168 are 390×7^3

| | | |
|---------------|--------------------|---|
| to 5 Mar. 161 | 397×7^3 | } |
| and | $102 \times 1335.$ | |

And, from 5th March 161 B. C., the goal of the 2300 days, and of the 7×7^3 days, to the same 13th Oct. A. D. 66, are

226 years *plus* 222 days, or 82,768 days, *i. e.* within two days only, 62 periods of 1335 days, for $62 \times 1335 = 82,770$. So that of the 164×1335 days, 102 periods end 5th March 161, and the remaining 62 at 13th Oct. (or 15th Oct.) A. D. 66. The last of the 102 periods ending 5th March 161, begins 9th July 165, which is a day not marked in the history, but may be the epoch of the Maccabean victories. The last of the 62 periods may, perhaps, denote the time of Nero's persecution of the Christians, which came to an end when Judæa was in revolt. And it is remarkable how, in the early apocryphal literature of the Jewish Christians, this period of 1335 days is connected with Nero considered as Antichrist. See the *Anabaticon Esaiæ Vatis*, iii. 13 ff. and "Note on the Apocalypse" at the end of the essay On Prophecy. S. Clement of Alexandria finds both periods, that of 2300 and that of 1335 days, fulfilled in the last times of Jerusalem. His interpretation, which is a good deal confused, is as follows: (καὶ κεῖνα τῇ χρονογραφίᾳ προσαποδοτέον, τὰς ἡμέρας λέγω ἃς αἰνίττεται Δανιὴλ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρμωσέως Ἱερουσαλὴμ, τὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἔτη ζ' μῆνας ζ'). "To our chronography we must add the days which Daniel obscurely signifies, from the desolation of Jerusalem, the 7 years 7 months of Vespasian. The two first, added to the 18 months 8 days of Galba, Otho and Vitellius, make the 3 years 6 months, which are *the half of the week*, as spake the prophet Daniel. He speaks also of 2300 days, reaching from the time when the abomination was set up by Nero in the Holy City (?) to its overthrow: for this is the meaning of the passage, *How long* &c. (Dan. viii. 13 ff.) Now 2300 days make 6 years 4 months, one-half of which went to Nero's reign and formed half of the week; the other half goes to Otho, Galba, Vitellius and Vespasian. Therefore, Daniel says, *Blessed is he that cometh to the 1335 days*. For until that number of days the war lasted, but then it ceased." *Strom.* i. § 146. It might be a waste of time to unravel his meaning: it is sufficient to observe that the passage clearly shews how, in very early times, the prophecy relating in its immediate sense to the Syrian, was referred to the Roman crisis.

Lastly: this interesting date is almost exactly central between the epoch of Samuel and the Prophets and the great

Pentecost. For the half of 1124 years 30 days (§ 372), or 562 years 15 days, measured from 8th April 1096, will end at 23rd April 534, only 7 days before the date of the vision.

§ 384. It is, surely, a striking fact, that the very day of the prophecy in which the term of 1335 days is revealed, should be thus connected with the great crises to which that prophecy refers, by an economy based on the term of 1335 days. But scarcely less impressive are the facts about to be shown in respect of the other period of 2300 days. The time of this prophecy (Dan. viii.) lies in the third year of Belshazzar, which according to the canon began between 9th Jan. 553 and 9th Jan. 552, and therefore *may* have occupied most part of 552. Which, in fact, seems to have been the case: for Evil Merodach began to reign about March 561, and from him to Belshazzar, Josephus reckons 2 years + 4 years + 9 months = 6 years 9 months, extending to about Dec. 555, whence the third year of this king began about Dec. 553. Hence there is reason to believe, that the date of this prophecy lies between Dec. 553 and Dec. 552. Now observe the following facts:

1. We have found the period of 2300 days ending at 5th March 161 B. C. Back from that day to 3rd Oct. 552, are (390 years 153 days =) 142,600 days = 62 periods of 2300 days. The day lies in the 3rd of Belshazzar, and *if it be* the day of the vision, the economy which connects it with 5th March 161 is precisely analogous to that which we noted in respect of the other prophecy: there it was 62×1335 , here 62×2300 .

But 2. The Babylonian siege, the date of which is so solemnly left on record by Ezekiel, is B. C. 590, 25th Dec., or possibly a day or two earlier or later. Now, from 25th Dec. 590 to 3rd Oct. 552, are 38 years *minus* 83 days = 13,797 days, which is but 3 days short of the period $6 \times 2300 = 13800$. Hence, from 22nd Dec. 590 to 3rd Oct. 552 are 6×2300 , and thence to 5th March 161, 62×2300 .

And 3. Since the cleansing or vindication of the Sanctuary lies at the close of the term of 2300 days, Dan. viii. 14., it occurs to ask whether Christ's cleansing of the Temple falls within this economy? The *day* of that act was Tuesday in Passion week, = 15th March 29. And from 5th March 161 to this day are 189 years and ten days over, or 69,042 days.

Which period exceeds 30×2300 or 69,000, by 42 days, or 6 weeks. So that from 14th Nov. 552 to 15th March 29 A. D., are $92 \times 2300 = 4 \times 23 \times 2300$ days: and from 22nd Dec. 590, 98×2300 or $2 \times 7 \times 7 \times 2300$, with a break somewhere of 42 days (or from 24th Dec. of 40 days).

But 4. The material Temple was cleansed in the avenging flames, 4th Aug. A. D. 70. To that day from 3rd Oct. 552, are 621 years, *minus* 60 days, or 226,760 days. Divide this by 15: the quotient is 15,117 days and a fraction: *the interval almost to an hour, between Christ's cleansing of the Temple and the instant of its conflagration*: for, from the morning of 15th March 29 to the evening of 4th Aug. 70 A. D., the interval is 15,117 days and a fraction! Or, if this economy strictly cohere with that impressive one of $40 \times 15,115.154$ days, extending from the Exode to the end of the Conflagration, 5th Aug. A. D. 70 (§ 343), then $15 \times 15,115.154 = 226,727.31$, which, measured from the close of 5th Aug. A. D. 70, reach to 7th Nov. B. C. 552. In both regards, but especially the former, it is most remarkable that the two economies should thus closely coincide.

CONCLUSION.

§ 385. THE facts which have been described are either mere chance-work, or the result of a Divine Plan. It seems to me that such exact and manifold numerical relations, so often and so surprisingly converging at one and the same crisis, so significant in their typical and prophetic bearings, cannot be merely fortuitous. Should the reader think otherwise, he can easily divest them of all the importance here attached to them, by taking any other set of dates, suppose Ussher's or Hales's, and deducing from them a series of facts as exact and manifold as these, and as significant in regard of any revealed analogy of persons, events, and numbers. Without thus bringing the matter to the test of actual experiment, it were rash, perhaps irreverent, to dismiss the whole question as idle and "cabalistic." To adopt the language of Bishop Butler—"Men may say with regard to such kind of *collateral* things ... that any odd accidental phenomena without meaning, will have a meaning

found in them by fanciful people; and that such as are fanciful in any one certain way, will make out a thousand coincidences, which seem to favour their peculiar follies. Men, I say, may talk thus: but no one who is serious will [without enquiry] think these things to be nothing, if he considers the importance of collateral things and of even lesser circumstances in the evidence of probability." In the facts which have been described there is nothing more trivial than there is in the way in which Scripture deals with relations of number in general, and with the arithmetic of time in particular. We know for certain, that many great events of the Theocracy befel each in their season, at a conjuncture which was predestined and fixed not merely by the evolution of moral agencies but by astronomical periods: we know, in one instance at least, that the numbers *seven, seventy, sixty-and-two*, are chosen measures of that Divine Chronometry: we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the numbers *seven, twelve, forty*, and others, are perpetually recurring in Divine institutions and in the revealed history of God's dealings with Israel¹. We cannot therefore be surprised, if it appears, on the result of a serious and faithful investigation, that the Almighty has left in the record of His moral government sundry vestiges of that awful Plan—left them, in like abstruse and recondite manner as He has imprinted on the visible world the traces of the

¹ I gladly enrich my pages with the following most apposite passage of Mr. Williams's *Thoughts on the Study of the Holy Gospels*, (p. 202): "This analogy of time in things natural is connected also with what is spiritual and divine by Holy Scripture. As for instance, in the appointment of the sabbath: the seventh day, the seventh year, the seven times seventh. *Nor is it possible to say to what extent this may reach, or how far it may regulate the Divine proceedings*: as was the case in the duration of the captivity being regulated by sabbatical periods of time, "till the land had enjoyed her sabbaths."..... These things would lead one to apprehend that *there may be some law of analogy throughout the spiritual and material world, whereby the development of cer-*

tain events may be according to certain intervals of time...... And we may be able to ascertain sufficient to intimate the existence of a system although perfectly incapable of tracing out that system" If my space allowed (for I add this note as these pages pass through the press) I would transcribe what this devout and eloquent writer has written in p. 207, on particular numbers, ending with the remark: "These three numbers, seven, forty and twelve, may serve as some slight indications of a *hidden analogy of numbers by which successive periods of time may be regulated.*" That which in these thoughtful words is thrown out as hint and surmise is, in kind, precisely what I have undertaken to prove as matter of fact.

Arithmetic whereby He wrought in the beginning, when "He made the weight for the winds, and weighed the waters by measure," when He assigned to sun, moon, and stars, their places, courses, and times, and impressed on every atom of matter its indefectible law of definite numerical proportions.

Until, then, it shall be proved that the relations which have been described are merely accidental, I maintain on the one hand, that the existence of these sundry lines of design completes the proof of our historical deduction: viz. that Abraham received the Promise, Israel came out of Egypt, Christ was born and suffered, &c., in the years and on the days which have been mentioned. I maintain on the other hand, that the fact of the times of these great events being related among themselves and with other known great conjunctures in the ways which have been described, is a fact of Divine Providence, a fresh and unexpected manifestation of the Divine reality of the Sacred History. And this is not to argue in a vicious circle, from the reality of the dates to the reality of the economies, and yet, again, from the latter to the former. The dates were shown to be in a high degree probable before the economies were even discovered: the economies raise that probability to moral certainty. Take a parallel case. Certain portions of a temple, the work of a thoughtful architect, are inaccessible to direct measurement, so that some of the dimensions are known but approximately, and consequently are disputed, especially as the records left by the architect himself are in some points not precise, in others somewhat ambiguous. There is one estimate, however, which on the whole is better attested than any other. On submitting its dimensions to calculation, it appears that they are related by sundry significant numerical proportions, of a kind respecting which the artist was known to have dropt several hints. It would be no vicious circle of reasoning to infer on the one hand, that the numerical relation put an end to the uncertainty about the dimensions; on the other, that the relation of the dimensions was conceived by the mind of the Master as part of his design. And this latter inference is, as was stated in the Introduction, the principal object with a view to which this enquiry was instituted. It was not for the determination of the merely historical chronology of the Scriptures, (important though that object

be), that I set out in this undertaking: but because I saw reason to surmise that there was a higher interest involved in this matter; that the chronology of the Scriptures, as a whole, tended to the same sacred uses as does that one revealed portion of it which is contained in Daniel's prophecy. I have put the reader in possession not only of the results but of the whole process. Let him weigh well the evidence, and judge of its completeness. If I have rightly constructed the system of Scripture Chronology, and if the numerical parallelisms and cycles and measures be such as cannot be deemed fortuitous and unmeaning, it will follow that their meaning is one of an awful interest. For not only do these things constitute a fresh argument for the literal verity and objective reality of that History which our modern sceptics and pantheists would evaporate into national legend, mythus, and symbol: they also minister edification in the faith and fear of God: they help to realize the belief of His all-guiding Providence: they illustrate His truth: they bring Him nearer to us in His marvellous works. "Lo, these are parts of His ways, but how little a portion is heard of Him! but the thunder of His power who can understand?"

The reader may now be requested to consider the following passages in connexion with the preceding facts: *i. e.* bringing with him the matter of fact that the Times and Seasons were measured and defined by a numerical procedure of astronomical time.

Acts i. 7. Οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ γινῶναι χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς οὓς ὁ Πατὴρ ἔθετο ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ.

Acts xvii. 26. Θεὸς ἐποίησεν ἐξ ἐνὸς αἵματος πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων, κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς, ὀρίσας προτεταγμένους καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ὁροθεσίας τῆς κατοικίας αὐτῶν, ζητεῖν τὸν Κύριον. . . Τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους τῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεριδὼν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ νῦν παραγγέλλει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πᾶσι πανταχοῦ μετανοεῖν, διότι ἔστησεν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ μέλλει κρίνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην.

(Eph. iii. 9. motto to Part II.)

1 Cor. x. 11. Ταῦτα πάντα τύποι συνέβαινον ἐκείνοις, ἐγγράφη δὲ πρὸς νοουθεσίαν ἡμῶν, εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντησεν.

Heb. ix. 26. Νῦν δὲ ἅπαξ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων . . . πεφανέρωται.

Gal. iv. 4. Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθε τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. Eph. i. 9. εἰς οἰκονομίαν τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν.

Mark i. 15. Πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς. Luke ix. 51. ἐγενετο δὲ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναληψέως αὐτοῦ. John ii. 4. οὐπω ἔκει ἡ ὥρα μου. vii. 6—8. ὁ καιρὸς ὁ ἐμὸς οὐπω πάρεστιν. . . οὐπω πεπλήρωται. xiii. 1. εἰδὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἐλήλυθεν αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα. xvii. 1. Πάτερ, ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα. Matt. xxvi. 18. Ὁ καιρὸς μου ἐγγύς ἐστιν. Rom. v. 6, ἔτι γὰρ Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν κατὰ καιρόν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανε.

Rom. xvi. 25. τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰ. Χ. κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσιγημένου φανερωθέντος δὲ νῦν.

Heb. i. 1. Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι ὁ Θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν υἱῷ ("at the close of these days," or, "as these days, this dispensation, came to a close"). 1 Pet. i. 20. φανερωθέντος ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων (= ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων: not, in the last times, but "in the end of the times.")

1 Tim. vi. 15. "Christ will be manifested καιροῖς ιδίοις." Comp. *ib.* ii. 6, "Antichrist will be revealed ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ καιρῷ." Luke xxi. 24, Jerusalem shall be trodden by the Gentiles, ἄχρι πληρωθῶσι καιροὶ ἐθνῶν. Rev. ix. 15, The four angels = the hosts of the Gentiles (comp. x. 2.) were prepared, εἰς τὴν ὥραν καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ ἵνατον ("for *that* hour and day and month and year.") Matt. xxiv. 22, εἰ μὴ ἐκόλοβώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σὰρξ· διὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς κολοβωθήσονται αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι.

The Old Testament affords numerous instances of a set, time or term of years allotted to nations and individuals. "The Lord said, My Spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be 120 years." Gen. vi. 3, comp. 1 Pet. iii. 20. "They shall afflict them 400 years." Gen. xv. 13. "After the number of days in which ye searched

the land, even 40 days, each day for a year shall ye bear your iniquities, even 40 years." Numb. xiv. 34. "Within 65 years shall Ephraim be broken in pieces." Isai. vii. 8. "In three years as the years of an hireling shall the glory of Moab be put to confusion." Isai. xvi. 14. "In that day shall Tyre lie forgotten seventy years, according to the time of one king." Isai. xxiii. 15 ff. "The years of their iniquity according to the number of the days, 390 days of the house of Israel, and 40 days of the house of Judah." Ezek. iv. 5. "These nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years." Jer. xxv. 11. Seventy sevens are ordained upon thy people, &c." Dan. ix. 24. Observe also in Daniel, besides the explicit periods, 2300, 1290, 1335 days, "a time, times, and a half," the numerous expressions, "at the time of the end," viii. 17; "in the end of the years," xi. 6; "the end is yet deferred until the time appointed," xi. 27.

The day of vengeance was decreed by Me,
The year of my deliverance was come. Isai. lxiii. 4.

Woe, Ariel, Ariel! to the city where David dwelt!
Add ye year to year: let the festivals come round:
Then will I oppress Ariel. Isai. xxix. 1.

Write the vision, and grave it on the tables,
That he may run who reads therein,
For the vision is yet for the (appointed) time. Hab. ii. 3.

His days are determined, the number of his months is with Thee:
Thou hast appointed his bounds that he cannot pass. Job xiv. 5.

SUPPLEMENT.

TIMES OF THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.

IN this part of my enquiry, I attempt to determine economies connected with events of which the precise date is not known: *i.e.* the year is given, perhaps the time of year, but not the day. In the first place, I assume the *day*, on the ground of some one or more remarkable economies similar to those which have been described; then I trace other and independent economies bearing on the same day. This kind of investigation might be prosecuted to an indefinite extent through the whole of scripture: it is here limited to one part of the Old Testament, the History of the Ten Tribes.

§ 386. The prophecy with which Moses closed his ministry, Deut. xxvii.—xxxii., was addressed to all Israel, and was therefore to be fulfilled in each of the kingdoms into which the nation was divided. What Moses foretold conditionally, the Prophets, beginning with Jonah, denounced absolutely. The destinies of both kingdoms are, therefore, spiritually connected as realizations of one same vision, fulfilments of the same Word of the Lord; and hence it is that the predictions of Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, Micah, relating to the kingdom of Jeroboam, have an ulterior reference to the kingdom of the house of David: the catastrophe of the one is the pledge and pattern of the other, though separated by an interval of eight hundred years. Thus Isaiah's parable of the vineyard, which our Saviour applies to the day of Jerusalem's judgment, is expressly referred to both:

The vineyard of the LORD of Hosts is the House of *Israel*,
And the men of *Judah* are the planting of His delight.
He waited for good deeds, and behold deeds of blood,
For blessing, but behold oppressing.
Come now, and I will tell you what I will do to My vineyard:
I will take away its hedge, &c.

In like manner, Amos, while he seems to speak of the judgment upon Samaria, significantly points his oracles against Jerusalem. Indeed it is essential to a right understanding of the earlier Prophets, to trace this joint reference to the destinies of both kingdoms. So again, the Prophets who lived after the extinction of the Ten Tribes, speak of Samaria as the type of Jerusalem: the cup which she has drained is to be handed to her sister, Ezek. xvi. 51. xxiii. 32.

In this way of considering the matter, we get a hint of the significance of that remarkable prophecy of Isaiah concerning the birth of Immanuel. It was delivered towards the close of the times of Israel. The Prophet speaks of Immanuel as then born, or about to be born: within a few years, while yet the child is an infant, the spoil of Israel and the spoil of Syria shall be carried into Assyria. If this prophecy relates solely to the actual nativity of Messiah (seven hundred years later), this circumstance is inexplicable. For how was this birth "a sign" to Ahaz? But, if it be as we have said, that the destinies of the Ten Tribes symbolize the destinies of Judah, it is natural to suppose that some token in those times would symbolize Messiah's advent. Jewish expositors have apprehended this idea, which they have embodied in an interpretation worthy, no doubt, to be called "monstrous." (Pearson, *On the Creed*, p. 302). "No Messiah," say they, "cometh for Israel, seeing they have already enjoyed their Messiah,—meaning *Hezekiah*, who was born as Isaiah foretold, "Behold, the virgin conceiveth," &c. Now, there is in this a measure of truth. Hezekiah, doubtless, did typify Messiah, and in respect of Israel; especially, inasmuch as by him was issued the last solemn invitation to the Ten Tribes to return to the Lord and to the ordinances of His House at Jerusalem. But Hezekiah (unless there be an error in the text which specifies his age) could not be the child of whom Isaiah spake, for he was then full ten years old. Yet some child was born, for its birth was announced as a sign of an event to follow within a few years. And the prophecy itself seems to intimate who that child was. It was the Prophet's son, to whom, in the presence of two "faithful witnesses," he gave that ominous name, "Haste to the spoil, Rush to the prey." viii. 1. For so he says, v. 17. "Lo, I and the children whom the Lord hath given me, are tokens and types in Israel, from the Lord of Hosts which dwelleth upon Mount Zion." His children are, Shear Jashub, ("the remnant shall be converted,") typifying the effects of Messiah's advent to the elect remnant, and Maher-shalal-hash-baz, who symbolizes the consequences of that advent to the reprobate. This latter is, to Israel immediately, to Judah ultimately, *i. e.* to the impenitent in both generations, "a sign of the Son of Man." In other words, the consequences to Judah and Jerusalem of Messiah's advent are shadowed by the consequences which ensued to Israel and Samaria upon the typical or symbolical advent betokened by the birth of the Prophet's child. And if it shall appear that the probable time of Isaiah's prophecy—the time, namely, when Pekah of Israel, and Rezin of Syria were confederate against Jerusalem—is connected by a significant numerical relation with the time of Messiah's advent in the flesh, this view will be greatly illustrated and confirmed. We shall see presently how far this can be made good. First, however, we will endeavour to ascertain what law, if any, regulates the times of the kingdom of Israel.

§ 387. It will be remembered that Ezekiel, iv. 5, 6, has described the times of the provocation of Israel as reaching through a period of 390 years.

That period unquestionably ends with the catastrophe of the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem, B. C. 588: accordingly, we were led to define the year 978 as the epoch from which the years of the kings of Israel bear date. But Isaiah, in the prophecy to which we have referred, vii. 8, speaks of a term of 65 years, at the end of which Israel should be no more a nation. Now, in the first place, it is to be remarked, that 390 is 6 times 65, and that the first half of the 390 years ends and the second begins in the year B. C. 783. On turning to the history, we find that this was the year of the death of Jeroboam the Second, and, consequently, the last year of Israel's prosperity as a nation, which had enjoyed under this king a second spring and revival: for by him were the coasts of the kingdom restored to the full extent of the Abrahamic covenant, in fulfilment of the word of the Lord by the first of the Prophets, Jonah the son of Amittai. Towards the close of his reign, Hosea and Amos began to denounce impending judgment and reprobation: and at his death commenced that train of calamities, within and from without, which rapidly conducted the nation to its overthrow. We may therefore consider this year as the beginning of the last times of Israel. And if it be the epoch of the 65 years of which Isaiah spake, considered as then running their course and more than half past, the term ends at 718 B. C., about 3 years after the destruction of Samaria and death of the last king of Israel, a time therefore at which Israel had, as it was foretold, ceased to be a nation. Thus, the whole term of Israel's separate existence as a nation, will be 260 or 4×65 years. So that this period of 65 years seems to be an economical measure of time. And this seems the more likely for the following reason:—From the Babylonian to the Roman catastrophe are $588 + 69 = 657$ years $= 10 \times 65$ plus 7 years, and thence a final term of exactly 65 years (A. D. 70—135) brings to that consummation of the Abrahamic *αιών*, the expatriation of Abraham's seed from the promised land, § 331. Now, from the year in which Abraham first set foot in the land of Canaan (2018 B. C.) to that catastrophe are 33×65 plus 7 years. So that from the beginning of Abraham's sojourn to the year 718 B. C. are 20×65 , and from a year seven years later, to the destruction of the Temple—are 12×65 years. Or, from 2018 to the schism 978 B. C., are $1040 = 16 \times 65$ years, and thence to A. D. 63 precisely the same term¹. It seems then, that the term 65 years noted in Isaiah's prophecy is a measure both of Ezekiel's period of 390 years and of the entire Abrahamic dispensation.

If it be asked, what means this intercalation (so to speak) of a term of seven years between the year 718 the end of the 20×65 and 711 the epoch of the 12×65 , the answer may be, that with the latter begins the respite of the house of David and kingdom of Judah. These seven years measure the time of awful suspense during which the existence of Judah

¹ It may be worth while to remark, that of all luni-solar cycles, the most exact is a period of 1040 tropical years, or $379,851.936^d$, which is short of 12863 mean lunations, or $379,851.962641^d$, by no more than 0.026641^d or $38'' 22''$.

as a nation, to man's eye, hung in the balance. One half of the nation is cut off at a stroke, and shall the other be preserved? "The Lord of Hosts causeth the mighty and strong waters of the river to come up against them, the king of Assyria and all his glory: it mounteth over all its beds, it goeth over all its banks. *It presseth even into Judah*, it floodeth and overfloweth, even unto the neck doth it reach, and his wings fill thy whole broad land, O Immanuel!" Isaiah viii. 7—9. It was also revealed, that though Immanuel's birth was the sign of desolation to Judah's enemies, *Israel* and Syria, ("before the boy learn to refuse the evil and to choose the good, the land shall be desolate, at whose two kings thou art dismayed,") "Yet the Lord bringeth upon thee (Ahaz) and upon thy people and upon thy father's house, days such as have not been since Ephraim fell away from Judah, *the king of Assyria*." vii. 16, 17. Now the judgment was executed upon Samaria to the uttermost: it remained to be seen whether Judah would be overwhelmed in the same flood. It was not to be. The time of Jerusalem was not full come. *Her* elect were reserved for Immanuel; the antecedent judgments were to be wielded by another power than that of Nineveh and Assyria. The great Image of Four Metals was yet to be set up: Nineveh was prepared for the destruction of Ephraim, but for Judah's chastisement only, and as a sign of *Babylon* which was to come. Therefore it was said, in immediate reference to this chastisement, "Fear nothing, my people which dwelleth in Sion, *from Assyria*. With the rod he smote thee, and lifted up his staff against thee as in Egypt. But yet a little while, and the chastisement is past, my wrath shall consume those. Then the Lord of Hosts swingeth the scourge as he smote Midian at the rock of Oreb....He cometh to Aiath, he passeth through Migron, &c....Yet one day's rest this day in Nob, then lifteth he his hand against the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem. But lo! the LORD of Hosts strippeth the branches with might of dismay, they that are lofty of stature are hewn down, the haughty ones are laid prostrate. He heweth with the iron the thick of the forest, Lebanon is laid prostrate with mighty hand. Then sprouteth a rod from the stem of Jesse, a sapling of his roots breaketh forth." x. 24—xi. 1. This was foretold before the time even of Ephraim's visitation was come (for it is part of the prophecy of Immanuel delivered in the reign of Ahaz), and the historical chapters of Isaiah, xxxvi. xxxvii, shew how it was fulfilled in the miraculous destruction of Sennacherib's hosts, when all seemed past help or hope. Now, it is not without a meaning that those chapters are included in the volume of Isaiah. They form the significant close of the entire first part, or roll, of the prophecy. For the book of Isaiah consists of two distinct series of visions: the first, extending from the beginning of his ministry of denunciation against Jerusalem and Samaria, to the crisis when the judgment upon the latter was consummated, and the purposes of God concerning the former, and in respect of Assyria, were made manifest. This whole series, in its primary sense, relates to the Assyrian judgment; it comes to a close with

the history of the manner in which that tempest rolled away when it seemed ready to burst upon Jerusalem. The latter series, from chap. xl. to the end, relates to the futurity of Jerusalem's destinies, in respect of BABYLON and the other powers by which judgment was to be executed upon Judah. Now between these two series, and at the close of the former, stands a history which, in its symbolical sense, denotes the respite and revival granted to Jerusalem, and withal casts a glance into her future destiny in respect of Babylon. "In those days," namely in the 14th year of Hezekiah, when Sennacherib was come up against Jerusalem, (for it was fifteen years before the close of Hezekiah's life, who reigned 29 years in all,) "was Hezekiah sick unto death." Then came the Prophet, and promised him life, even 15 years. And as a sign, the shadow of the degrees went back ten degrees in the sun-dial of Ahaz, by which degrees it was gone down. Further, at this time the king of *Babylon* sends to congratulate Hezekiah upon his recovery; to whom, when he had displayed to the messengers the treasures of his kingdom, *Isaiah* says, "Hear the word of the Lord of Hosts: Behold, the days will come when all that is in thine house shall be taken away, and all that thy fathers have gathered, to BABYLON. And of thy sons which thou begetteth shall they take, and make them servants in the palace of the king of Babylon." The symbolical meaning of this incident is obvious: the respite to Hezekiah denotes the respite granted to his house and kingdom until the time of Babylon, and of those other powers of which Babylon was the head. Jerusalem is sick unto death, in the middle of her days, but she shall be spared. The shadow of her degrees is gone down toward the line of judgment in the sun-dial of *Ahaz*: his sins have brought judgment near: but the shadow shall go back. His fifteen years of sinning and provocation shall be, as it were, obliterated.

Now the respite to the nation was fully established, its former prosperity revived, in the year 711 B. C. For this was the sign: "Ye shall eat this year (713) that which groweth of itself, and the next year (712) that which springeth of the same. And the third year (711) ye shall sow and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof." xxxvii. 30. And from this year, as we saw, to A. D. 70 are $780 = 2 \times 390 = 12 \times 65$ years. Moreover, seven periods of fifteen years (105 years) reach to 606 B. C., the year of the Babylonian judgment, and fifty-two such periods to A. D. 70.

§ 388. The prophecy concerning Immanuel was delivered in the beginning of the reign of Ahaz, B. C. 741, and probably in the spring of the year, for that was the time usually chosen for hostile invasion, "the time when kings go forth to battle." Let us see whether the time thus marked is connected by any conspicuous economy with the time of the birth of Christ.

Now of the *diurnal* economies belonging to the Nativity none is more remarkable than that which is measured by the period 62 weeks or 434 days. We have seen how this appears in the history itself, Luke i. ii.; how it enters into the period of Daniel's prophecy, how it reaches back

to the delivery of the Law, and to the date of the promise to Abraham, § 364, 5. Now, from the 9th July 588 (the epoch of 490×434 days, ending at the vision of Zacharias, Luke i.) back to 28 March 741, are 129×434 . That is to say, from 28 March 741 to the Nativity are $129 + 491 = 620$ periods of 434 years, or *ten times the period of 62×434 , which reaches from the Nativity to the end of the cycle.*

Let us assume for a moment that this is the day of Isaiah's prophecy; and observe whether any other economical characters converge at this same point of time.

First, then: if Ezekiel's 390 years end at 8 August B. C. 588, they begin about the same time of B. C. 978. Now from 4 August 978 to 28 March 741 are 236 years 237 days $= 252 \times 7^3 = 36 \times 7^4$. But this very day, 4 August 978, is itself connected with that important train of economies § 372 beginning at the day of Mizpeh: for, from 8 April 1096 to 4 August 978 are 118 years 118 days $= 43218 = 126 \times 7^3 = 18 \times 7^4$, or just half the period of 36×7^4 reaching from 4 August 978 to 28 March 741.

Again: Hezekiah's passover, the last opportunity of repentance afforded to Israel, was celebrated in the second month of B. C. 725. § 230. Now, from 28 March 741 to 3 May 725, which is the 14th or 15th of the 2nd month, are precisely 12×490 days.

Josiah's passover was celebrated 14 April 623: now to 18 April of that year are 43,120 days, which make precisely 88×490 . And it should be noted that Josiah's passover is *prophetically* connected with the schism of Jeroboam, 1 Kings xiii. 2, and its time *economically* connected with Ezekiel's period. For 18 April 623 lies precisely 390 years after the day of the foundation of Solomon's Temple, 20 April 1013, as this also lies $1040 = 16 \times 65$ years before Christ's first cleansing of the Temple.

Lastly: all these are connected by the same measure, of 70×7 , with the day on which sacrifice ceased for ever. For, from 28 March 741 to 13 July A. D. 70 are 295,959 days, wanting but one day of the period 604×490 . That day is the goal of a period of 36×7^4 § 382: so is 28 March 741. It follows also that this same goal lies $2 \times 390 \times 490$ days from a day later by 196 (or 4×49) than 4 August 978; for $252 \times 7^3 + 604 \times 490 = (1764 + 6040) \times 49 = 7804 \times 490$. In other words, the entire period from our economical epoch of the schism to the final abolition of the daily sacrifice, is twice 390 times 490 *plus* half of 390.

To complete this series, it may be observed that, from the day of the passage through Jordan, 14 April 1546 to 28 March 741 are 805 years *minus* 17 days $= 294,010$ days, which exceed by 10 the remarkable period 600×490 . Therefore, from 24 April, which may have been the first day of the siege of Jericho, to our date is just the period in question, and consequently to 13 July A. D. 70 are $1204 \times 490 = 172 \times 7 \times 490$ and 1720×7^3 or $4 \times 430 \times 343$. Hence the central day of the economy noted § 374, lies 2×490 days after 28 March 741, or at 3 December B. C. 739, which I take to be the time of the crisis noted in Isaiah vii. 16 ("the land shall be desolate, of whose two kings thou art afraid").

Hence, 3 December 739 precedes Josiah's passover by 86×490 , or that passover lies exactly at the close of one *seventh* of the second moiety of the period $2 \times 7 \times 86 \times 490$ or $4 \times 430 \times 7^2$.

§ 389. And as this 28th March 741 is connected with the Nativity and 11 August A.D. 70 and that whole train of periods by the measure 434, and with Hezekiah's and Josiah's passover and 13 July A.D. 70 by the measure 490, and lastly with the day of Mizpeh and epoch of the schism by the measure 7^2 and 7^4 , it is consequently connected with the great events lying in that track, viz.:

With the epoch of Zechariah, $238 \times 7^2 = 34 \times 7^4$.

With the Christian Pentecost, $819 \times 7^2 = 117 \times 7^4$.

And with the day of the Capture of Jerusalem, 863×7^2 .

To this series may probably belong also these events following, each of which is a crisis of deliverance like the day of Mizpeh.

First: Asa's great victory over Zerah the Ethiopian, 2 Chron. xiv. 9. occurred in one of the two first months of 944 B.C. (p. 234.) Now from 4 August 978 to the same day of 944 are 34 years = 12419 days = 36×7^2 plus 71 days, wherefore, to 25 May 944 are just 36×7^2 , i.e. *one seventh* of the period beginning 4 August 978, and ending 28 March 741.

Secondly: Jehoshaphat's great victory over the confederate armies of Moab and Ammon befel in the year 898 B.C., and probably in the spring, (p. 235.) From 4 August 978 to the same day of 898 are 80 years = 292,200 = 85×7^2 plus 65; therefore to 31 May are just 85×7^2 , consequently, just 49×7^2 or 1×7^4 after Asa's victory. (Ahab was slain at Ramoth-gilead in the preceding year; now 22 June 899 is just $84 \times 7^2 = 12 \times 7^4$ from the epoch of the schism, i.e. *one third* of the period ending 28 March.)

Thirdly: Jerusalem's miraculous deliverance from the hand of Sennacherib, occurred in the earlier part of 713 B.C. Now, 365 years = 96,792 = 282×7^2 plus 66 days: hence, from 4 August 978 to 30 May 713 is just that period, the day therefore is 30×7^2 from 28 March 741, i.e. 21×490 , and therefore lies also in the former series of the measure 490. (§ 388.)

But, lastly; there remains yet another crisis of an opposite kind, which seems to belong to the same series. The *day* of Josiah's death is not known, but it certainly befel in the latter part of 610 B.C. It is an event of great prophetic significance: "the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddo" is the pattern of that great lamentation which was to be when "the house of David and inhabitants of Jerusalem" should "look on Him whom they pierced." Zech. xii. 9—11. Now this prophecy relates as well to the remorse and wailings of the reprobate, Rev. i. 7, as to the penitential sorrow of the elect: in both respects it has had its inchoate fulfilment, viz. on the day of Pentecost, when three thousand souls were "cut to the heart" because of their Messiah's sufferings, and in the days of vengeance, when Jerusalem was delivered into the hands of the Gentiles. We have traced the economy by which these two days are connected with the epoch of Samuel and with the epoch of Zechariah:

let us now observe the economical character of the time of Josiah's death. And first, it is interesting that this mournful event occurred, like its great antitype, in the middle of the last week of a cycle of seventy, viz. of the seventy beginning at the day of Mizpeh. Suppose then that the day of Josiah's death lies in September or October 610: from 28 March 741 to the 17th September 610 are 48,020 days = 140×7^3 or 20×7^4 or 98×490 . Hence this day lies 74×7^4 after the day of Mizpeh, 97×7^4 before the day of Pentecost, and 723×7^3 before 1 September A. D. 70. It lies also in the track of the economy proceeding by periods of 70×7 and ending at 13 July A. D. 70, which it precedes by 506×490 days.

§ 390. Lastly: the reality of the economies which have been described is further attested by the following very remarkable coincidence. In the prophecy which we are considering, the deliverance promised to Judah is compared with that great deliverance in the day of *Midian*. The time of that crisis is the year 1273 B. C. And from that year to 783, which we have regarded as the epoch of the *Assyrian* judgment, the interval is precisely 490 years, and from 783 to the year of deliverance from Sennacherib, just seventy years. Here then we have this remarkable parallelism:

| 1273 | | 783 | | 713 B. C. |
|------|---------------------|----------|--------------------|-----------|
| 1096 | (490 ^r) | 606 | (70 ^r) | 536 B. C. |
| 536 | | 46 B. C. | | 25 A. D. |

On the first line lies the deliverance from *Midian*, from the Philistines, from Babylon: on the second, the epoch of the Assyrian, the Babylonian, and the Roman times, § 374: on the third, the deliverance from Assyria and Babylon, and the 'Αρχὴ Εὐαγγελίου in the preaching of John the Baptist: three great acts of the Divine mercy which, it may be, lay blended together in one in the perspective of Isaiah's vision. Now, the day of B. C. 46 is 9 April, (§ 374), and 620×434 or 737 years *minus* 109 days from thence reach up to 27 July 783, which agrees with the cardinal days of the 6×65 years, p. 441. Hence the cardinal day of 1273 should be 620×434 before 13 April 536, i. e. 31 July: and this day, or one very near it, lies in the track of the economy described in § 388: for, from 24 April 1546 to 1 August 1273 are 273 years 99 days = 99,813 = 291×7^3 , consequently to 13 July A. D. 70 are $(1720 - 291) \times 7^3 = 1429 \times 7^3$, and to the Passion $(1429 - 44) \times 7^3 = 1385 \times 7^3$, and to 4 October 536, $(1385 - 600) = 785 \times 7^3$, § 361. Also, since $1429 \times 7^3 = 10003 \times 49 = 1000 \cdot 3 \times 490$, a period of 1000×490 beginning at this day ends 147 days before 13 July, = 16 February A. D. 70.

And now, observe how singularly this economy attests the character which I have assigned to the 28th of March 741, i. e. as being the day of a figurative Nativity of Immanuel. The actual Nativity lies 15,219 days after the exact close of 490 years reckoned from 13 April 536 B. C. And

marvellous it is that 28 March 741 lies precisely this number of days¹ after the close of 490 years (27 July 783) reckoned from that "day of Midian" which in this very prophecy is made the type of the deliverance which it foretels.

But it has been previously suggested, § 375, that the two lines of fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy, or 536—46—5 B. C., and 459—29—70 A. D. are parallel, in respect, namely, of the mystical Nativity at the one, and the actual Nativity at the other goal, the only difference being the suppression, so to speak, of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years in the latter. Now in Isaiah's prophecy, the actual and the mystical Nativity seem to lie blended together, as the First with the Second Advent. In particular, the impending siege of Jerusalem, the time of distress and desolation, the "two faithful witnesses," are common terms to it and the Apocalypse, xi. xii. (relating to the Second Advent, and consequently to the mystical advent of which we speak). Hence, in addition to the parallelism exhibited in the preceding figure, the import of which has been sufficiently explained, we have this further analogy:

| | | | | |
|------|------------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----------|
| 1273 | 490 years | 783 | 741 | 676 B. C. |
| | | | 15,219 ¹ . | 65 years. |
| 459 | (490— $3\frac{1}{2}$) | 29 | 70 | 135 B. C. |

In which scheme, the day of the figurative Nativity in 741 is analogous to the day of the mystical Nativity in A. D. 70. Each is followed by a term of 65 years; at the end of which Judah "ceased to be a nation," A. D. 135, § 331, 341, as Israel did before at the end of the like period measured from the time of Isaiah's prophesying, vii. 8. It is true, we have before supposed that period to bear date from 783 B. C., and to end 718 B. C., when Shalmaneser carried away the bulk of the nation after the overthrow of its kingdom. But this does not forbid our supposing a second fulfilment, as in the case of the two fulfilments of Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years; and this second fulfilment would reach its goal at the time (676 B. C.) when Esar-haddon did truly cause Israel to cease from being a nation, by carrying away the last scanty relics of its population, and peopling their territory with a heathen colony. And this view of the bearings of the 65 years is confirmed like the other, by observing that from 1586 to 741 are 13×65 years, and to 676 B. C., 14 such periods. In *this* parallelism, then, the cardinal day of 783 B. C. is analogous with 29 March A. D. 29. For the spiritual or prophetic import of the analogy we must go to the prophecies of Hosea and Amos. In the one, we find *Gomer* (i. e. first Israel, then Judah) having filled up the measure of her iniquities, redeemed at the price of "thirty pieces of silver," yet visited with this penalty that she is to sit as a widow many days, "without a king and without a prince, without a sacrifice, and without an image, without an

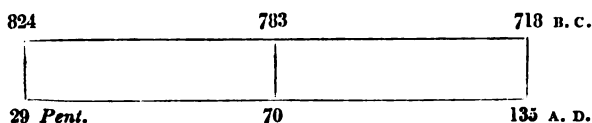
¹ For 620×434 is the measure of both periods, 27 July 783—9 April 46, and 28 March 741 to 8 Dec. 5 B. C.

ephod, and without teraphim," iii. 4. In the other, Amos, the "tiller of the sycomore-fruit," rejected by Jeroboam and his priest, denounces judgment on church and nation : vii. 10. Both, of course, are significant types of Christ's dealings with Jerusalem. On the next line, the cardinal day of 741 is parallel with 17 Nov. A. D. 70. The birth of the child, Maher-shalhash-baz prefigures the judgment in which the Roman armies "rushed to the spoil, flew to the prey." [From 1 Aug. 1273, the epoch of the economy, to 12 Nov. 135, the end (within 5 days) of the 65 years, are 1407 years $104 \text{ days} = 514,010 = 1049 \times 490$.]

The Sign of Jonas the Prophet.

§ 391. It is of the nature of types to repeat themselves in successive ages ; and this is the case with the chronological type which we have been considering. Isaiah's period of 65 years has, it seems, two adjustments ; it lies (783—718) in a cycle of that measure reckoned from 2018 B. C., the year of the call of Abraham, viz. $2018 - 733 = 1285 = 19 \times 65$, and also (741—676) in a cycle reckoned from the Exode, viz. $1586 - 741 = 845 = 13 \times 65$. In both, it is preceded by a period of between 41 and 42 years symmetrical with and typically analogous to the period which lies between the Crucifixion and the *dies ultimus* of Jerusalem. We have considered the latter, and are now to note the other. In the section on Jonah the prophet, in the dissertation on prophecy, I have endeavoured to explain the typical import of the memorable history belonging to this leader and coryphæus of the Prophets of judgment. In connexion with that view, let us note this numerical analogy.

The reign of Jeroboam, which coincides with the revival and after-growth of the Abrahamic covenant as foretold by Jonah, 2 Kings xiv. 25, lasted full 41 years, ending 783 B. C. It began therefore in 824. Suppose, what the typical consistency requires, that the incident of Jonah's resurrection and preaching belongs to that year, being followed, as in the antitype, by the two periods of 41 and 65 years. Now Jonah's preaching is analogous with the event of the great day of Pentecost ; and the parallelism of periods is as here represented :



On the second line what was before said of *Gomer's* rejection is now to be referred to the crisis of actual judgment in A. D. 70. Now the interval, from 8 May A. D. 29 to 17 Nov. 70, is 41 years 193 days. This, measured back from 27 July 783 (§ 390) reaches to 15 January 824. But 23 January, 8 days later, precedes 28 March 741, by the remarkable period 62×490 or 70×434 , consequently precedes Josiah's passover by $62 + 88 = 150 \times 490$, and the assumed day of Josiah's death by $62 + 98 = 160 \times 490$; and 13 July

A. D. 70 by $62 + 604 = 666 \times 490$. (That is, the ministry of the Prophets, beginning with Jonah, extends, to the cessation of sacrifice, through a period of 490 times the number of Antichrist: Rev. xiii. 18.) Hence let us assume that the cardinal day is this 23 January 824, and, consequently, that of 783 the 4 August (exactly the bisection of Ezekiel's 390 years). We then get this further very remarkable cyclical relation, *viz.* that the interval between the parallels is precisely seven times the length of either line (*viz.* from the cardinal day of 718 to 8 May A. D. 29 is seven times the period from 23 Jan. 824 to that day of 718). For, from 23 Jan. 824 to 8 May A. D. 29 are 852 years 106 days = 311,298 days, of which one-eighth is 38,912 days, or 106 years 196 days, which, reckoned from 23 Jan. 824, reach to 718, 7 August (precisely 2×65 before 8 August 588); and from 8 May A. D. 29 to 19 November A. D. 135.

The Two Witnesses.

§ 392. "I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy 1260 days clothed in sackcloth. These are the two olive-trees, and the two candlesticks which stand before the God of the earth. And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth and devoureth their enemies... These have power to shut heaven that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and have power to turn waters into blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will." Rev. xi. 3—6.

Of this passage I hold the catholic interpretation: that Moses (or Enoch) and (certainly) Elijah are meant, and that they will thus execute an awful witness and martyrdom in the end of the world. I hold, further, that John Baptist, the son of Zacharias, was the figure of Elijah, or, the Elijah of the First Advent.

"Then said I, What are these two olive branches, which through the two golden pipes empty the golden oil out of themselves (namely, into the candlestick of seven lamps)? And he answered: These are the two anointed ones, that stand by the Lord of the whole earth." Zech. iv. 11—14.

This vision of *Zechariah, son of Berechiah*, which is taken up into the vision of the Apocalypse, denotes (I think) *the Law and the Prophets*, which in the Apocalypse are impersonated in Moses and Elijah. Let the name and *patronymic* of the seer be borne in mind; observe also the following context concerning the flying roll, and compare it with this of Isaiah:—

"The Lord said unto me, Take thee a great roll, and write in it with a man's pen concerning Maher-shalal-hash-baz. And I took unto me faithful witnesses to record: Uriah the priest, and *Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah*." Isaiah viii. 1, 2, in immediate continuation of chapter vii, the prophecy of Immanuel.

The mutual reference of this and the preceding extract is, one would think, almost too evident to be overlooked. We might learn thus much even of the Jews. They understand the names of these witnesses to be prophetic: the first, of Urijah the priest, who was slain by Jehoiakim shortly before the Babylonian judgment, Jer. xxvi. 20, 23; the other, of Zechariah the

prophet. "Why is Uriah joined with Zechariah? for that was under the first, this under the second Temple. *Answ.* By Uriah it is written, For your sakes Jerusalem shall be ploughed as a field: by Zechariah, As yet old men &c., shall be in Jerusalem. When the prophecy of Uriah is fulfilled, the prophecy of Zechariah shall be also fulfilled." *Bab. Makkoth.* f. 24; see also Chald. in Esai. viii. 1, and Kimchi. Again: "Is it fit the daughters of Israel should eat the fruit of their womb? The rule of justice replied, Is it also fit they should slay a priest and prophet in the temple of the Lord, as ye slew *Zechariah the son of Iddo*, the high priest and faithful prophet, in the sanctuary on the day of expiation?" Chald. in Lam. iii. 20. This passage seems to relate to the death of Zechariah, son of *Jehoiada*, 2 Chron. xxiv. 15.

"Jehoiada waxed old and was full of days when he died: 130 years old was he, when he died.....Now after the death of Jehoiada came the princes of Judah and made obeisance unto the king, then the king hearkened unto them. And they left the house of the Lord God of their fathers, and served idols; and wrath came upon Judah and Jerusalem for this their trespass. Yet *He sent prophets unto them* to bring them again unto the Lord, *but they would not hear.* And the Spirit of God came upon *Zechariah son of Jehoiada*, the priest, which stood above the people and said unto them, Thus saith God: Why transgress ye the ordinance of the Lord that ye cannot prosper? Because ye have forsaken the Lord, He hath also forsaken you. And they conspired against him and stoned him with stones at the commandment of the king, *in the court of the house of the Lord.* And when he died, he said, *THE LORD WILL LOOK UPON IT AND REQUIRE IT.* And it came to pass, at the end of the year, that the host of Syria came up against Jerusalem," &c. And within a few months, or years, Joash was slain upon his bed where he lay in great diseases, after a reign of 40 years B. C. 838. 2 Chron. xxiv. 15.

There can be little doubt that our Lord *alluded* at least to this person. His expressions seem to be taken from the narrative which we have just recited: "I will send them prophets"—"He sent prophets." "It shall be required"—"The Lord will look upon it and require it." Yet certainly He does not mean this person only: for this was the son of Jehoiada, not of Barachiah; this was not the last martyr under the Old Testament, and our Lord evidently means such an one. The allusion, however, is, I suppose, to *this* Zechariah, as he is a *type* of God's last witnesses: a type, because he was the last martyr who suffered before the raising up of the order of the Prophets, I mean the Prophets of judgment, beginning with *Jonah*. This martyrdom occurred not long before 838 B.C., and in or about the year 824 the dispensation of the new order of Prophets was opened by Jonah, the type of the risen Christ, proclaiming, "Yet forty years and Nineveh shall be destroyed." As such, Zachariah son of Jehoiada is a figure, first of John Baptist, son of Zacharias the priest; "I say unto you Elias has come already, and they have done unto him what they listed—even so must the son of man suffer of them." By consequence, this Zacharias is a figure of him whom John prefigured, the Elias which is to come and to seal a tremendous ministry with his martyrdom. For this is the full import, this the supreme goal of Christ's denunciation: He speaks of all the righteous blood which is being shed

(ἐκ χυνομένου), from the blood of Abel to the blood of the two last faithful witnesses, the antitypes of Isaiah's witnesses, Urijah the priest, and Zechariah son of Jeherechiah. But He speaks in the past tense, "whom ye slew," as specially applying this truth to the case of the generation which then was. Doubtless the martyrdom of the spiritual Elias (which is elsewhere imputed to the Jews, not to Herod only,) was in our Saviour's thoughts. And to them who have ears to hear, this was a hint that they should regard the precursor as typically connected, not only with the future dispensation, but also with the past: with the death of the son of Jehoiada at the close of an æra of the dispensation, with the faithful witnesses of the birth of the child of judgment in Isaiah, with the vision of Zechariah the son of Berechiah concerning the same two faithful witnesses (the Law and the Prophets), who himself headed a new order of the latter witnesses, being pre-eminently the leader and *Eponymus* of the Prophets of the second Temple. So that, if we limit the import of the words to the Baptist, they seem to say, "Ye have slain the last witness—ye have done by him as your fathers did by Zechariah son of Jehoiada, whose blood was speedily required—ye have slain him in whom the witness of the Law and of the Prophets is summed up—him who has for the last time subscribed and attested "the great roll, wherein was written with the pen of man, concerning Maher-shalal-hash-baz," "the curse which goeth forth through the land" (Zech. v. 2), "written within and without, lamentation, and mourning, and woe." Ezek. ii. 9. And "from the blood of Abel to the blood of this witness, all shall be required of this generation."

§ 392. Such, it seems to me, is the sense of our Lord's words, with their deep allusions, considered as addressed to *that* generation. The generation which shall be in the end of the world will see the full and final realization of the words themselves, and of the series of types and symbols to which they allude.

And as the last times of the second Temple prefigure that future catastrophe, as a whole, so they exhibit a figure of this mystery of the witnesses. A last martyr for Moses, one righteous according to the law, was then put to death under the precise circumstances of name and place which are intimated in Christ's words. I speak of the death of *Zacharias* the son of *Baruch*, a righteous Jew¹, bearing the prophetic name, in whom the declaration was obviously and literally fulfilled, as a sign or seal of the foregone conclusion, a shadow of the conclusion which will be hereafter.

The time of the martyrdom of Zacharias son of Jehoiada, and that of the death of Zacharias son of Baruch, are not so exactly known that we can trace an economy in this series: but it may be worth while to note that the 20th Aug. B.C. 840, which cannot be very wide of the first-mentioned epoch, lies 105×7^2 or 17×7^4 before 28 Mar. 741, and 343×7^2 or 7^4 before the epoch of Zechariah. It is therefore $(378 - 105) \times 7^2$ or 273×7^2 or 39×7^4 days from the epoch of Samuel the prophet².

¹ See the account of his death in Josephus, *B. J.* iv. 5, 4. 92,000 = 40×2300 days before 9 Aug. 583. "Then was the sanctuary justified."

² The same 20 Aug. 1840, is also

Elijah the Prophet.

§ 393. The "three years and a half" during which the heaven was shut at Elijah's prayer, are an acknowledged type of the like period in the days of Antichrist, as also of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of the preaching of the gospel by *John the Baptist* and Christ himself. But the last times of Jerusalem exhibit this period as the last half-week of Daniel's seventy weeks. Does any economy connect these several terms?

It is not recorded in what year the ministry of Elijah began. We have found, however, that it was in the year 915 B.C. that Jehoshaphat sent Levites throughout Judah to instruct the people in the law (p. 234): and it seems probable that this measure was taken in consequence of the open apostasy which had broken out in the sister kingdom. Let us suppose this to be the year in which the apostasy was consummated and Elijah the Tishbite began his ministry; and observe the facts which are involved in the assumption.

First. From this year to A.D. 66, the beginning of the last $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of Jerusalem, are precisely $980 = 2 \times 490$ years: and of course the same from the close of Elijah's $3\frac{1}{2}$ years to the Passover of A.D. 70.

On the ground of this apparent economy, let us assume that the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of Elijah's ministry began in *October* of the above-mentioned year. Then, *secondly*, from any day of October 915 to the same day of October A.D. 25 (the year, and nearly the month, in which the ministry of *John the Baptist* began) are 939 years = 342,970 days, which want but thirty days to make the remarkable number $343,000 = 1000 \times 7^3 = 700 \times 490$.

Thirdly. From the epoch of Zacharias's *Λειτουργία* 2 October B.C. 6, to the same day of 915 B.C., are 909 years = 332,012 days. Divide this by 434, the measure peculiarly connected with that epoch: the period is found to be 765×434 , with a surplus of only two days. Hence the 4th October 915 lies in the track of the economy which proceeds by periods of 62 weeks. § 351, 364 f., 388. If this be the epoch, the 700×490 days will end 1 November A.D. 25.

The year of Elijah's ascension seems to be 897 B.C., which is 925 years before the ascension of our Saviour. The number of days is $337,856 = 985 \times 343$ plus 1 day. Hence, from 9 May 897 to the Pentecost 8 May A.D. 29, is that period, and to 1 Sept. A.D. 70, 1029×7^3 or 3×7^6 .

Further consideration of Ezekiel's period, 390 + 40.

§ 394. The following facts may serve to shew that the numbers 390 and 430 revealed to Ezekiel are, like Daniel's numbers, economical measures, not only of year but of day-periods.

1. The very terms of Ezekiel's vision carry one's thoughts to the time of the provocation in the wilderness, when sentence of wandering was issued for 40 years, "each day for a year." If that sentence was really issued (as the Jews say) on the 10th of the 5th month (Ab), the day is $354 + 113 = 467$ days from the Exode. If the tradition means that a year and 4

months and 9 days *from the Exode* were elapsed, the time is 481 days from the Exode, consequently just 430 days from the delivery of the law. Now this period is composed of $40 + 390$ days; and the 40 days are the term of Moses's sojourn on the mount, ending on the fatal 17th Panemus, the day on which for the iniquity of Israel in the matter of the calf Moses brake the tables of stone; the day also on which 1655 years later the daily sacrifice ceased for ever. Here then we seem to discern the basis of the number specified in Ezekiel: from the first great provocation to that for which the sentence of reprobation was issued, seems to be just the period of 390 days: and from the delivery of the law, 430 days.

2. The date of Ezekiel's vision (p. 188) is 23 June 594 B. C. (possibly a day earlier or later, for the date is obtained from a rough cyclical calculation). The 17 Panemus 1586 is 10 July (or possibly 11). Now from 10 July 1586 to 22 June (or 11 July to 23 June) are 992 years *minus* 18 days = $362,310$ = precisely 929 periods of 390 days. And from the same 10 July 1586 to 13 July A. D. 70 (17 Panemus) are $1655 \cdot 3^d = 604,492$ days, which want but 8 days of 1550×390 . Hence, to the *end* of Ezekiel's 390 days are $990 \times 390 = 30 \times 31 \times 390$, and to 21 July A. D. 70 are $50 \times 31 \times 390$.—The period of 604,492 days is also $360 \times 39 \times 43$ *plus* 772, i. e. $36 \times 43 \times 390$, or $36 \times 39 \times 430$, *plus* 772.

3. We have already shown (§ 374, 388) that the entire period measured from 24 April 1546 to 13 July A. D. 70, is $4 \times 7^2 \times 430$, and that from its central day 3 Dec. 739 to Josiah's Passover 18 April 623 (the epoch from which Ezekiel dates his prophesying i. 1, 2,), are 86×490 , or $98 \times 430 = 2 \times 7^2 \times 430$, or one seventh of the second half of the entire period. Here then is the number 430 as an economical measure. Now from this 18 April 623 to 8 Aug. 588, are $35 \cdot 112^d = 12,896^d$, which wants but 4 days of $12,900$ or 30×430 days. Hence to 12 August 588, the Friday after the Conflagration², are

From 24 April 1546 ($686 + 98 + 30$) = 814×430 .

And to 13 July A. D. 70 ($1372 - 814$) = 558×430 .

4. But the 390 years end with a *τεσσαρακονταέτης χρόνος* of final visitation, the time of Jeremiah's prophesying, which began B. C. 628, and which may be (in one sense) the term intended in what is said of the "forty days for the iniquity of Judah." The cardinal epoch of these 40 years should lie early in August. And from 24 April 1546 to 2 August 628, are $335,400^d$, or *precisely* 780×430 , i. e. *twice the product of 390 multiplied by 430!*

¹ From the day of Ezekiel's vision to the first day of the Roman siege are 663 years *minus* 71 days = $242,090$ = precisely 563×430 . Now 563 is just the number of days occupied by the Babylonian siege, 25 Dec. 590—9 July 588. The day of the vision precedes the first day of the siege by just $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, and in this respect answers to 14 Oct. A. D. 66, from which it is distant 491×490 days

(*minus* 2).

² This is the *very day* involved in the remarkable economy belonging to the times of the Temple, § 358: it makes the number of days of the First and Second Temple from 14 October 1006 to the Passover of A. D. 70, $365,243$, i. e. *precisely* a thousand natural years ($365,242\frac{1}{2}$).

5. The day of Mizpeh is the boundary between a period of 390 years (the time of the judges) and one of forty years. From this day, 8 April 1096 to 12 August 588 the end of Ezekiel's 390 years, are $508' 126^d = 185,673 = 430 \times 430 \text{ plus } 773$: the remainder is the same that we found in No. 2. To which now add this:

6. From 10 July 1586 to 12 Aug. 588 = $998' 33^d = 364,553 = 847 \times 430 \text{ plus } 1 \times 343$, or $846 \times 430 \text{ plus } 773$. It follows that from the former day, or epoch of the cycle, to the day of Mizpeh, are 416×430 . Hence,

From 10 July 1586 to 24 April 1546 are $32 \times 430 + 773$.

to 8 April 1096 416×430 .

to 12 Aug. 588 $846 \times 430 + 772$.

to 13 July A.D. 70, $1404 \times 430 + 772$.

7. We have already mentioned that from the economical epoch of the schism, 4 Aug. 978 to 13 July A.D. 70, are $2 \times 490 \times 390 \text{ plus half of } 390$, (p. 441.)

8. From the foundation of Solomon's Temple, 20 April 1013, to its dedication, 14 October 1006, are $7' 177^d = 2733 \text{ days} = 7 \times 390 \text{ plus } 3 \text{ days}$.

9. From the dedication to 12 August 588 are $418' \text{ minus } 63 \text{ days} = 152,612$, making $391 \times 390 \text{ plus } 122 \text{ days}$, or $390 \times 390 \text{ plus } 512$; and also, $354 \times 430 \text{ plus } 392$.

10. From the dedication of the first to that of the second Temple, 16 Feb. 513, are $492' 125^d = 179,828^d = 460 \times 390 \text{ plus } 430 \text{ (minus } 2 \text{ days)}$. Now $460 = 390 + 70$, and 70×390 measured back from 16 Feb. 513 leads to 20 May 588, which is 83 days before 12 August. The odd 430 reach to 16 March 589, which is also 83 days *after* the beginning of the siege. So that from Solomon's dedication to this day we have 390×390 , and then a period of 430 enclosed between two terms of 83 days each.

11. Lastly. We found a cycle of 65 years from 588 B.C., of 2×390 from 718, of 1040 from the Schism, and 2080 from the Call, ending A.D. 63. p. 438. Now from the dedication of Solomon's Temple to 19 July A.D. 63 are $390,000 \text{ days} = 1000 \times 390$, and thence to 11 August A.D. 70 just $6 \times 430 \text{ days}$.

APPENDIX.

- I. INSTITUTES OF CHRONOLOGY: a Compendium of the Mathematical and Technical Elements requisite for the Study of Scriptural and Early-Ecclesiastical Chronology.
- II. Remarks on the Scheme of Scripture Chronology constructed by Mr. Greswell, in his *Dissertations on the Harmony of the Gospels*: and more especially on that Writer's Hypothesis of an Interruption in the Julian Calendar.
- III. The Chronographies of the Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Egyptians, examined and compared with the Scriptures.
- IV. Outlines of a Harmony of that Portion of the Gospel History which lies between the Baptism of our Lord and the Martyrdom of John the Baptist.
- V. On the Nature, Intent, and Complex Structure, of Prophecy.

I.

INSTITUTES OF CHRONOLOGY.

SECTION I.—*Preliminary Definitions.*

§ 395. In all measurement of time the proper unit is the *natural day*, or interval between two successive arrivals of the sun on the meridian, that is to say, the time which it takes the earth to complete one revolution on her axis. For all chronological purposes this interval or measure may be regarded as constant and invariable.

§ 396. The time which it takes the sun to return in his apparent motion to any given point in the heavens from which we conceive the motion to have commenced, or, in other words, the time which it takes the earth to complete one revolution round the sun, is called a *natural*, or *tropical*, *solar year*. This is not a constant quantity; the disturbances arising from the attraction of the planets create a variation in one year as compared with another, which may amount to several minutes. The mean of observations taken through many centuries gives as the average length of the tropical year the period 365·24224 days, or 365^d 5^h 48^m 48^s, nearly. For all purposes of historical chronology this is accurate enough.

§ 397. A *lunar month*, in that sense of the expression with which we are concerned in chronology, is the average interval between one new moon and the next, or one full moon and the next: that is, between two successive arrivals of the moon's centre on the line joining the centres of the sun and earth, beyond the earth, or between the earth and the sun. In the former case, the moon is said to be in opposition; in the latter, in conjunction. The mean interval between two successive conjunctions, or oppositions, is called in astronomy a *synodical lunation*: its length, as resulting from the mean of a great number of observations, is 29·530583715 days, or 29^d 12^h 44^m 3^s. The moon's motion is at present, and has been during all the ages with which we are concerned in historical chronology, in a state of acceleration. The following formula will give the mean length of a lunation at any time, which we will call *t* centuries before or after the year 1700: *viz.*

$$29^d 12^h 44' 2'' \cdot 854788 \pm t \cdot 0'' \cdot 028434 \pm t^2 \cdot 0'' \cdot 0000685$$

the sign being + when the time lies before, and – when after the year 1700.

§ 398. In the business of common life, the year is defined by the recurrence of the seasons, as spring and autumn, seed-time and harvest. At a very early period it could not fail to be known that the average length of a cycle of the seasons is somewhere near 360 days. The Egyptians, many centuries

before our æra, estimated it at 365 days. Their year was solar, consisting of 12 months of 30 days, and 5 days added at the year's end. By observation of the star Sirius, they soon found that their estimate was defective, yet down to the time of Augustus they did not choose to reform their calendar.

§ 399. The different phases of the moon afford an obvious measure of time, which must always have been in use in the business of common life. It would soon be ascertained that the interval between one new moon and the next is sometimes 29 sometimes 30 days. This interval was called a *month*. It happens, however, that a lunar month is not an exact measure of a tropical year. Twelve such months amount to 354·66706 days, which falls short of a tropical year by 10·57518 days. Hence, when anything like a regular observance of time became established, the choice lay between a reckoning by the moon and a reckoning by the sun. The Egyptians took the latter alternative; gave the word “month” a more extended signification, independent of the regular recurrence of the moon's phases, namely, one twelfth part of a year of 360 days, to which they soon found they must add 5 more. Other nations, especially the Hebrews, the Babylonians, the Greeks, and Romans before Julius Cæsar, chose to make the lunar month one of their denominations of time, and in order to secure regularity, on the whole, in such civil and religious proceedings as depended on the recurrence of the seasons, contrived that in a given term of years some should have 13 lunar months, the rest only 12.

SECTION II.—*The Julian Calendar*¹.

§ 400. The old Roman year having fallen into such confusion that, as Suetonius expresses it, *neque messium feriæ æstati, neque vindemiarum auctumno competere*, Julius Cæsar, as Pontifex Maximus, in the year of his 3rd consulate = A. U. 708 B. C. 46, undertook a reformation. The calends of January had at that time receded from their original place in the solar year (the *bruma* or winter-solstice), almost to the autumnal equinox. In the year 46 B. C. the winter-solstice for the meridian of Rome occurred (Julian) 24 December at Oh. 9m. Cæsar, it seems, would have assigned the *bruma* to the 1st January: as he wished, however, to retain as much as possible of the arrangement of Numa's old lunar year, he preferred to date the first year of the new reckoning from the new moon next after the *bruma*, which new moon fell in the night between (Julian) 1 and 2 Jan. B. C. 45. Accordingly, he gave to the preceding year, beginning with the old uncorrected calends of January A. U. 708, *i. e.* with (Julian) 13 Oct. B. C. 47, a length of 445 days: whence this year is called the *ultimus annus confusionis*.

In the Julian year the winter solstice was assigned, but erroneously, to the VIII Kal. Jan. = 25 Dec., and the other cardinal points, for the sake

¹ Ideler, *Handbuch*, II. 114. *Lehrbuch*, 308.

of uniformity, to the VIII Kal. of April, July, and October, *i. e.* 25 March, 24 June, 24 Sept.

The first year of the new reckoning, B. C. 45, was to be bissextile, and every fourth year afterwards. As this rule in the original was (probably) expressed *quarto quoque anno*, the unscientific pontifices, to whom the regulation of the Calendar was committed, mistook, after Cæsar's death, the intention of the framer, and for a while intercalated, as Macrobius informs us, *anno quarto non peracto sed incipiente, i. e.* every three years. Thus:

Instead of 41, 37, 33, 29, 25, 21, 17, 13, 9¹,

They intercalated 42, 39, 36, 33, 30, 27, 24, 21, 18, 15, 12, 9, or 12 years instead of 9. This *vitium sacerdotalis festinationis*, as Macrobius expresses it, being discovered, called for a fresh correction. Accordingly, Augustus in A. U. 746 B. C. 8, ordered that for the next 12 years there should be no intercalation, so that the years B. C. 5, A. D. 1, 4 were reduced to common years. The intercalation commenced afresh A. D. 8. Thus the Julian year was brought back exactly into its old track. The new regulation was engraved on a brazen tablet, on which the rule was more clearly expressed, *quinto quoque incipiente anno*. From that time to the present day, says Ideler, the old Julian Calendar suffered no further disturbance.

The intercalary day was placed by Julius Cæsar in the place occupied by the intercalary month of the old lunar year, namely, between the Terminalia and the *Regifugium*, *i. e.* between VII and VI Kal. Mart². And the day thus intercalated was called *a. d. bissextum Cal. Martias*: hence the name *bissextile*.

| Common Year. | | Bissextile. | |
|----------------|--------------|----------------|----------|
| VII Kal. Mart. | 23 Feb..... | VII Kal. Mart. | 23 |
| | ... Bissex. | Kal. Mart. | 24 |
| VI | 24 Feb..... | VI | 25 |
| V | 25 | V | 26 |
| IV | 26 | IV | 27 |
| III | 27 | III | 28 |
| Prid. | 28 | Pridie Kal. | 29 Feb. |
| Kal. | 1 March..... | Kal. Mart. | 1 March. |

In the old Julian Calendar the days beginning with 1 Jan. have the first 8 letters of the alphabet annexed to them in the manner of our dominical letters. Thus 1 Jan. A: 2 Jan. B: 3 C: 4 D: &c. to 8 Jan. H: 9 A: &c. The letters are intended to mark the *nundines*, or market-days. The Roman week, namely, consisted of 8 days: the farmers worked 7 days, and on the 8th (in the Latin idiom, *nono quoque die*) went into the city to

² Hence the true Julian date of the battle of Actium which Dion gives from the contemporary *fasti* as 2 Sept. A. U. 723, is in reality 3 Sept.

³ The structure and nomenclature of

the Roman Calendar, in respect of calends, nones, ides, may be supposed to be familiarly known by every reader of these pages.

market and to acquaint themselves with public affairs. These eight letters therefore answered the like purpose as our seven. It was only necessary to note the letters corresponding to the first *nundine* in the current year to know, at sight, what other days would be *nundines*.

One further remark must be made respecting these *nundines*, in order to anticipate an objection which might be derived from a fact connected with them. It appears that from very ancient times the Romans studied to avoid a concurrence of the *nundinæ* with New Years' Day, or, with the nones of any month, Macrobian *Sat.* i. 13. A case of this kind happened A. U. 714. B. C. 40, in which year, to avoid a concurrence of the *nundine* with the next new-year's day, a day was intercalated *extra ordinem*, which was afterwards balanced by omitting a day in order that the Julian reckoning might remain undisturbed. Such is Dion Cassius's account of the matter: in one passage, however, he says that the *nundines* were transposed. [e. g. to the 7th day or to the 9th.] *Hist.* ix. 24. A. U. 797. Such cases, he remarks, occurred frequently, *ἄλλοτε πολλάκις*. Either way—and the latter surely is the most probable—the interruption was not suffered to be permanent.

SECTION III.—The Egyptian Calendar¹.

§ 401. The ancient Egyptian year, which was in use for many centuries before the Christian æra, consisted of 12 months of 30 days each and 5 additional days at the end of the year ('Επαγόμεναι). Their year, then, was solar, and they did not concern themselves about keeping their months even with the moon's course. (See Herodot. ii. 4).

The Egyptians must soon have found, and it is historically certain they did find, that 365 days are somewhat short of the true length of the tropical year. From a very early period they were led to notice with great precision the heliacal rising of Sirius (by them called *Sothis*), because that event is connected with the rise of the Nile. Hence, they soon perceived that the rising of Sirius fell a day later in their calendar every four years: for four sidereal years = 1461 days nearly, and four Egyptian years = 1460 days. In like manner every fixed festival, as the Feast of Isis, would fall a day earlier in respect of the heavens every four years, so that in course of time it would make the tour of the tropical year. Hence, the old Egyptian year is called *annus vagus*.

The periodical rise of the Nile is a most important event for the Egyptians, as on it depends the fertility of their land, which is seldom visited by rain. It usually begins immediately after the summer solstice, and therefore, some thousands of years ago, coincided with the heliacal rising of Sirius. Attentive as the ancient Egyptians were to all celestial phenomena, they made this the subject of careful observation, as it was the herald and surety of the benefit of the fresh inundation, especially as they thought

¹ Ideler, *Handb.* i. 93. *Lehrb.* 47.

they could foretell the height of the waters and the fertility of the ensuing year from observation of the hue and brightness of the star at its first appearing. For this reason also they consecrated this star to Isis, the personification of fruitful Nature.

By observation of this star it was discovered that in 1461 vague years, the star would again rise on the same day of the vague year as at the epoch: that is, that 1461 Egyptian years were equal to 1460 solar years. This supposes the length of the solar year to be $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, which is not quite correct: but the Egyptians, down to the time of Julius Cæsar, had not discovered the error. True it is, however, that 1461 Egyptian vague years just = 1460 Julian years. This period is called the *Sothiac* or *Canicular Cycle*, the great, or heliacal, year of the Egyptians.

Now there are many circumstances which indicate that the Egyptian year of 365 days, at its first introduction, was made to commence at the heliacal rising of Sirius. The very name of the first month, *Thoth*, implies this: for *Thoth*, *Sothis*, *Seth*, are only varieties of the same name, and that the name of Sirius.

If then we know at what Julian date the star Sirius rose in any given year, we have the means of calculating the earlier epochs of the Sothiac cycle.

Geminus, who wrote in A.D. 238, informs us that in that year the *annus vagus*, which was still used by astronomers, began 7 Kal. July = 25 June, and that in the year 139 A.D. it began 20 July—(for so the passage must be read)—on which day, he adds, *solet canicula in Ægypto facere exortum*. Wherefore, he proceeds, “this present year (238) is the hundredth year of the solar or canicular year.”

By calculation, it is found that Sirius rose in A.D. 139 on the 20th July, at 7 A.M. Therefore Geminus is quite right. Hence the next preceding epoch of a Sothiac cycle was $1460 - 138 =$ B.C. 1322, 20 July. This also is attested by astronomical calculation, which shews that Sirius did rise, heliacally, 20 July 1322 B.C. in the lat. of Heliopolis. The next preceding epoch should be $1322 + 1460 = 2782$ B.C., with which, as it falls more than 300 years before the Flood, we have no concern.

In the year 1322 B.C. the 1st Thoth would be the 20 July (Julian). Hence it is easy to find the Julian date which corresponds to any given Egyptian date of the *annus vagus*.

The same result is given by the epoch 1 Thoth = 29 Aug. in the year B.C. 25, which is the epoch at which the fixed Egyptian year, adapted to the Julian, came into use; or rather, the epoch at which it may be considered to have come into use in respect of the erroneous intercalation of the Julian year which obtained from the year 45 B.C. to 30, in which latter year the fixed Egyptian year came into use at Alexandria. (Ideler, i. 160).

From and after this epoch, the fixed Egyptian year has the following form:—

| | | |
|-------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Thoth | = 29 Aug. | 1 Sept. = 4 Thoth. |
| 1 Phaophi | = 28 Sept. | 1 Oct. = 4 Phaophi. |
| 1 Athyr | = 28 Oct. | 1 Nov. = 5 Athyr. |
| 1 Chœak | = 27 Nov. | 1 Dec. = 5 Chœak. |
| 1 Tybi | = 27 Dec. | 1 Jan. = 6 Tybi. |
| 1 Mechir | = 26 Jan. | 1 Feb. = 7 Mechir. |
| 1 Phamenoth | = 25 Feb. | 1 Mar. = 5 Phamenoth. |
| 1 Pharmuthi | = 27 Mar. | 1 Apr. = 6 Pharmuthi. |
| 1 Pachon | = 26 Apr. | 1 May = 6 Pachon. |
| 1 Payni | = 26 May | 1 June = 7 Payni. |
| 1 Epiphi | = 25 June | 1 July = 7 Epiphi. |
| 1 Messori | = 25 July | 1 Aug. = 8 Messori. |
| 1 Epagomenæ | = 24 Aug. | |

The intercalary day was a 6th Epagomené, which was added to the year which precedes the Julian Bissextile, in which year therefore the 1st Thoth begins 30 Aug. Thus, suppose the Egyptian year to be that which began 1 Thoth B. C. 6. Here, as the preceding year had 366 days,

| | | | |
|-------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| 1 Thoth | = 30 Aug. B. C. 6. | 1 Sept. = 3 Thoth | B. C. 6. |
| 1 Phaophi | = 29 Sept. ——— | 1 Oct. = 3 Phaophi | —— |
| 1 Athyr | = 29 Oct. ——— | 1 Nov. = 4 Athyr | —— |
| 1 Chœak | = 28 Nov. ——— | 1 Dec. = 4 Chœak | —— |
| 1 Tybi | = 28 Dec. ——— | 1 Jan. = 5 Tybi | B. C. 5 B. |
| 1 Mechir | = 27 Jan. B. C. 5 Biss. | 1 Feb. = 6 Mechir | —— |
| 1 Phamenoth | = 26 Feb. | | |
| 2 ——— | = 27 ——— | | |
| 3 ——— | = 28 ——— | | |
| 4 ——— | = 29 ——— | 29 Feb. = 4 Phamenoth. | |
| 5 ——— | = 1 Mar. | 1 Mar. = 5 Phamenoth. | |
| 1 Pharmuthi | = 27 Mar. &c. | &c. as in common years. | |

By means of this table it will be easy to find the Julian equivalent of any given date of the *fixed* Alexandrine year.

To find the Julian equivalent of any given date of the *rague* year, or *vice versa*, the process is as follows:—

Example 1.—*Required the Julian date corresponding to 1 Pharmuthi in the 146th year of the Sothiac Cycle beginning 20 July 1322 B. C.*

In 145 Julian years, beginning at 20 July 1322, are 37 intercalations, for 1177 B. C. is bissextile. Hence 1 Thoth of the 146th year lies 37 days earlier than 20 July 1177, or 77 days earlier than 29 Aug. Hence 1 Pharmuthi lies 77 days earlier than 27 March 1176, i.e. 9 January.

Or thus:—the 146th year began in 1177 B. C. Now 1 Pharmuthi B. C. 24 was 27 March, and thence to the same Julian day of 1176 are 1152 years, of which 288 were bissextile: hence 1 Pharmuthi lay 288 days later, or 77 earlier, = 9 January.

Example 2.—*Required the ancient Egyptian date of 10 April 1586 B.C.*

The 10th April B.C. 24 = 15 Pharmuthi: 1586 – 24 = 1562 Julian years, whereof 391 were bissextile, for B.C. 25 is such. Therefore 10 April 1586 lies 391 days before 15 Pharmuthi of 1585, *i.e.* 26 days before 15 Pharmuthi 1586, therefore 19 Phamenoth.

SECTION IV.—*The Macedonian and Asiatic Calendars*¹.

§ 402. Prior to the Julian reformation the Macedonian year, like the Greek, was lunar. For,

1. Whenever Macedonian months are compared with Attic, *i.e.* lunar, it nowhere appears that they differ in their dimensions or contents. See for instance Demosth. *de Cor.* (*Orat. Græci* i. 280.)

2. Seleucus Nicator, the founder of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, gave orders to affix the Macedonian names to the Syrian months, which were unquestionably lunar.

3. Ptolemy, in his *Almagest*, gives the dates of various eclipses and occultations observed at Babylon between the years B.C. 721 and 229. The three last dates B.C. 245, 237, 229, bear the names of Macedonian months, and by calculation prove that the Babylonians under the Seleucidæ, measured time by lunar months with Macedonian names.

4. The date on the Rosetta stone “IX Ptolemy Epiphanes 18th Mechir = 4th Macedonian Xanthicus,” being reduced, proves the same thing.

5. That the Macedonian lunar months corresponded with the Hebrew is proved by Josephus, who almost constantly designates the Jewish months by the Macedonian names current among the Syrian Greeks for whom he wrote. The month Xanthicus for instance, in Josephus, is absolutely commensurate with Nisan, Lous with Ab, Hyperberetæus with Tisri.

The name of the old Macedonian intercalary month is inferred from 2 Macc. xi. 21. where the date of a manifesto issued by Lysias, general of Antiochus Eupator, is given as 24th Διοσκοριμβίον, but in the vulgate 24 *Dioscori*: and from the Etym. M. we learn that Διόσκορος was the name of a month. A missive of Antiochus, evidently written not much later, is dated 15 Xanthicus. Hence it is inferred, that the place of this intercalary month Διόσκορος was the same as that of the Jewish intercalary month, *i.e.* before Nisan.

Under the Romans, the Macedonian months underwent a transformation whereby they were adjusted to the Julian reckoning. But the adjustment was not everywhere adopted, nor everywhere at once and in the same way. Hence in the different cities and provinces of the old Macedonian empire a manifold variety of calendars obtained. Archbishop Ussher and Cardinal Noris have done much in the task of reducing the variations to fixed principles, and their results have been amply confirmed, and in some few particulars corrected by subsequent discoveries².

¹ Ideler, *Handb.* i. 393. *Lehrb.* 163. | *Mac.* Ussher *de Ann. Asian. et Mar.*

² Card. Norisius *de Epoch. Syro-* | The reader will find an ample collection of

An important document, under the title *Ἡμερολόγιον μηνῶν διαφόρων πόλεων*, came to light early in the last century in a MS. of the Medicæan Library. It contains a complete Roman Calendar, beginning with January, compared with the Calendars of the Alexandrines, Greeks, Tyrians, Arabians, Sidonians, Heliopolites, Lycians, Asiatics, Cretans, Cyprians, Ephesians, Bithynians, Cappadocians. A Hemerologium of the same kind was afterwards discovered in a Leyden MS., containing all the former comparisons except the Cretan, Cyrian, and Ephesian, instead of which it gives those of Gaza, Ascalon, and Seleucia. For the purposes of this work it will be sufficient to notice only the following, out of the numerous varieties of the Julianized Syro-Macedonian Calendar.

1. The *Asian* Calendar, as used by the *Ἀσιανοί*, i.e. the states which formerly composed the monarchy of Attalus, which the Romans designated by the word *Asia* in its restricted sense, or *Asia Proconsularis*.

2. The Ephesian Calendar.

3. A kind of universal Calendar in which the months, for the avoiding of ambiguity, are designated by numerals, with a few slight changes in respect of the epoch of the several months.

4. A Calendar in which the several months are absolutely identified with the Roman months, retaining only the old Macedonian names.—To which we may add

5. The ancient Macedonian Lunar Calendar in the form in which it remained in use in Syria even after the Christian æra. This is the Calendar used by Josephus, being, in fact, the Jewish Calendar with Macedonian names¹.

of passages of ancient authors, respecting the Macedonian months, in Mr. Clinton's Append. c. iv. to Vol. xiii. of F. H. It does not appear that Mr. Clinton was aware, at the time of writing this Appendix, of the existence of the Hemerologia described in the next paragraph.

¹ Scaliger, Baronius and Ussher were

of opinion that the Calendar used by Josephus in the "War," is the Cyro-Macedonian solar Calendar. But all later chronologists have decided that here, as in the "Antiquities," the months are Jewish with Macedonian names. See Mr. Clinton, *F. H.* iii. App. p. 364.

I. ASIAN.

| <i>Name.</i> | <i>Epoch.</i> | <i>Days.</i> |
|---------------------|---------------|--------------|
| Cesarion | 24 Sept. | xxx. |
| Tiberius | 24 Oct. | xxxi. |
| Apaturnus | 24 Nov. | xxxi. |
| Postidon | 25 Dec. | xxx. |
| Lenæus | 24 Jan. | xxix. |
| Hierosebastus | 22 Feb. | xxx. |
| Artemisius | 24 March | xxxi. |
| Evangelius | 24 April | xxx. |
| Stratonicius | 24 May | xxxi. |
| Hecatombæon | 24 June | xxxi. |
| Antæus | 25 July | xxxi. |
| Laodicus | 25 Aug. | xxx. |

In Bisextile (the same year as the Julian) Lenæus has 30 days, therefore Hierosebastus begins 23 February, but Artemisius 24 March.

II. EPHESIAN.

| <i>Name.</i> | <i>Epoch.</i> | <i>Days.</i> |
|---------------------|---------------|--------------|
| Dius | 24 Sept. | xxx. |
| Apelleus | 24 Oct. | xxxi. |
| Andynæus | 24 Nov. | xxxi. |
| Peritius | 25 Dec. | xxx. |
| Dystrus | 24 Jan. | xxix. |
| Xanthicus | 22 Feb. | xxx. |
| Artemisius | 24 March | xxxi. |
| Dæsius | 24 April | xxx. |
| Panemus | 24 May | xxxi. |
| Lious | 24 June | xxxi. |
| Gorpisus | 25 July | xxx. |
| Hyperberetæus | 24 Aug. | xxxi. |

In Bisextile (the year as in No. I.) Dystrus has 30 days, therefore Xanthicus begins 23 February, but Artemisius 24 March as usual.

III. GENERAL.

| <i>No.</i> | <i>Epoch.</i> | <i>Days.</i> | <i>(Bisextile).</i> |
|------------|---------------|--------------|---------------------|
| i. | 24 Sept. | xxx. | |
| ii. | 24 Oct. | xxx. | |
| iii. | 23 Nov. | xxxi. | |
| iv. | 24 Dec. | xxx. | |
| v. | 23 Jan. | xxx. | |
| vi. | 22 Feb. | xxxi. | |
| vii. | 25 March | xxxi. | 24 March xxxi. |
| viii. | 25 April | xxx. | 24 April xxx. |
| ix. | 25 May | xxx. | 24 May xxx. |
| x. | 24 June | xxxi. | 23 June xxxi. |
| xi. | 25 July | xxxi. | 24 July xxxi. |
| xii. | 25 Aug. | xxx. | 24 Aug. xxxi. |

IV. ROMANIZED.

| | | |
|----|--------------------|---------|
| 1 | Hyperberetæus..... | 1 Oct. |
| 2 | Dius..... | 1 Nov. |
| 3 | Apellæus | 1 Dec. |
| 4 | Audynæus..... | 1 Jan. |
| 5 | Peritius..... | 1 Feb. |
| 6 | Dystrus..... | 1 March |
| 7 | Xanthicus..... | 1 April |
| 8 | Artemisius..... | 1 May |
| 9 | Dæsius | 1 June |
| 10 | Panemus..... | 1 July |
| 11 | Löus | 1 Aug. |
| 12 | Gorpiæus..... | 1 Sept. |

(in all years.)

V. SYRIAN AND JEWISH LUNAR.

| <i>Macedonian.</i> | <i>Syrian.</i> | <i>Jewish.</i> |
|--------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Hyperberetæus..... | First Tisri..... | Tisri |
| &c. | Second Tisri..... | Marchesvan |
| | First Kanun | Kisleu |
| | Second Kanun..... | Tebeth |
| | Shebat..... | Shebat |
| | Adar | Adar |
| | Nisan..... | Nisan |
| | Ijar..... | Ijar |
| | Hasiran..... | Sivan |
| | Thamuz..... | Thamuz |
| | Ab | Ab |
| | Elul..... | Elul |

(Tabernacles) New Moon Sept. Oct.

New Moon...Oct. Nov.

Nov. Dec.

Dec. Jan.

Jan. Feb.

Feb. March

paschal New Moon

New Moon April May

May June

June July

July Aug.

Aug. Sept.

The intercalary month lies between Adar and Nisan. The months, usually, are alternately of 29 and 30 days.

SECTION V.—*The Ancient Hebrew Calendar: Principles of Lunar Calculation: Ancient Paschal Cycles*¹.

§ 403. The year of the Hebrews, from the earliest times, was lunar, consisting of 12 months, occasionally 13, of 29 and 30 days alternately. It was ordained at the Exode that the first month of the year, at least, for all religious purposes, should be the month *Abib*, i.e. as the name implies, the month of barley-harvest. For civil purposes, the epoch was still the first day of the 7th month from Abib, afterwards called *Ethanim* and *Tisri*. (On the form of year to which Moses's notices of the Flood are to be referred, see above § 299; 303.)

§ 404. The institution of the *sabbath*, שַׁבָּת *shabbath* = "day of rest" is coeval with the Creation. Evident vestiges of its observance occur in the history of the Flood, Gen. vii. viii. The ordinance was reinforced in the delivery of the Law: the very words of the commandment are thought, with good reason, to imply that it was already known: "*Remember the sabbath to hallow it*" (Comp. Exod. xvi. 5, ff.). The week is called שִׁבּוּעַ from שֶׁבַע "seven" *septimana*. For "weeks" we sometimes find the expression שַׁבְּתוֹת *shabbathoth*, literally "sabbaths," meaning the interval between two sabbaths, Levit. xxiii. 15. Comp. *μία σαββάτων* in the New Testament = "first day of the week."

§ 405. The Hebrew day begins at sunset, and is literally a *νυχθήμερον*, in which the night precedes the day. This arrangement appears in the very history of the Creation, Gen. i. "So the evening and the morning were the first day." It is recognized also in the ordinances of the law, as in Levit. xxiii. 31, 32, where it is ordered concerning the day of atonement, 10 Tisri: "Ye shall do no work on this day, but it shall be unto you a sabbath. *At even* of the 9th day of the month shall ye begin this sabbath, and ye shall keep it from the one evening to the next." Comp. Dan. viii. 11, "unto 2300 *evening-mornings*."

§ 406. The divisions of the natural day are called *morning, noon, evening, midnight*: in the Hebrew בֹּקֶר *boqer*, צֹהָרַיִם *tsoharaim*, "the two lights, or double light," עֶרֶב *ereb*, חֲצִי הַלַּיְלָה *hatsi ha-layilah*, "half of the night." The word עֶרֶב *ereb* seems to denote both the last quarter of the sun's stay above the horizon, i.e. from about 3 o'clock to sunset, and also the first quarter of the night. This is inferred from the expression בֵּין הָעֶרְבַּיִם *bein ha-arbaim*, "between the two evenings," at which time the passover was to be sacrificed, Exod. xii. 6. Numb. ix. 3; xxviii. 4; which same time is called, Deut. xvi. 6, כְּבוֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *k'boha-shemesh* "as the sun is going down."

¹ Ideler, *Handb.* i. 477. *Lehrb.* 198. In this section I have given Ideler's materials in a less abridged form: for the

contents of § 411, 418, 419, 423—434, I am responsible.

The night is divided into "watches" **אַשְׁמוּרוֹת** *ashmuroth*, of which in the Old Testament times there seem to have been *three*. The first is not named; "the middle watch" is mentioned Judges vii. 19, and "the night-watch of the morning" Exod. xiv. 24. 1 Sam. xi. 11. In the New Testament we find mention of four watches: Matt. xiv. 25.

§ 407. Of the *months*, none are mentioned by name in the Pentateuch except the first, which was previously the seventh. This is called the month **אֲבִיב**, **חֹדֶשׁ הָאֲבִיב** *hodesh ha-abib*, "month of the corn in the ear:" a name which sufficiently indicates its place in the tropical year. But this is further defined by the ordinance Lev. ii. 14; xxxiii. 10, 11, which required that on the 16th day of the month, being the second day of unleavened bread, the first-fruits of the barley-harvest of the year should be offered to the Lord. The offering is called **עֹמֶר** *omer*, and consisted, as we learn from Josephus and various passages of the Talmud, of a cake or mass of the first-ripe corn roasted or parched.

In this ordinance the Hebrews possessed a simple and most effective method of preserving the adjustment between their own lunar year and the solar tropical year. All that was necessary was, towards the end of the twelfth month to inspect the harvest fields in the warmer parts of the country, that it might be seen whether there was a sure prospect of sufficient ripe barley for an *omer* by the middle of the next month. If it appeared that this was the case, the ensuing month was kept as the first of the year: if not, it was added to the current year as a 13th or intercalary month. "Moses," says Aben Ezra, "nowhere enjoins whether we are to keep 12 or 13 months. He simply ordains that we are to begin our year with the earliest month in which ripe ears of corn are to be had: this month is to be the first, whether the year have 12, or whether it have 13." *Comm. in Exod. xii. 2.*

It appears from the accounts of travellers in Syria and the Holy Land that the barley becomes fully ripe in the warm plain of Jericho by the beginning of our April, i.e. within 10 days of the vernal equinox. Hence, in calculating the place of Nisan in any given Julian year, we must have respect to the time of the equinox. The 15th Nisan must not be placed, at the utmost, earlier than a week before the equinox. After a mild winter the barley may be sufficiently ripe for an *omer* of green ears by that time, but not earlier.

§ 408. The months began with the first observed phasis of the new moon, which in the clear atmosphere of Palestine would ordinarily follow within 18 hours of the actual conjunction. No scientific calculations were necessary, or to be expected; but, in the nature of the case, it could not fail to be known that the months thus observed proceeded by alternate lengths of 29 and 30 days, with occasionally two contiguous months of the greater length. The more effectually to secure the regular observation of the moon's phases, on which all the great festivals of the year depended, the new-moon **רֹאשׁ הַחֹדֶשׁ** *rosh ha-hodesh*, "head of the new (month)," was

hallowed by a stated sacrifice. (Numbers xxviii. 11; xxix. 6). It is supposed by the Talmudists that each month began, by public proclamation, as soon as the Sanhedrim received intelligence from two credible witnesses that the new moon had been seen by them. Whatever may have been the method in use, there is no reason to doubt that the new moons of Nisan and Tisri at least were observed with such precision as renders our astronomical calculations of the dates of Passovers and Tabernacles in any given year absolutely correct. The only doubt may be, in certain rare cases, whether the paschal full moon preceded or followed the equinox.

§ 409. It has already been intimated that before the Exode the Hebrew year began with the month called Tisri. Such was always the regulation of the Syrian year, perhaps we may say that it was the rule of the Semitic nations generally. Thus St. Jerome remarks, *Apud orientales populos post collectionem frugum et torcularia October erat primus mensis*. (Comm. in Ezek. i. 1). Under the second Temple, this was the epoch of the Jewish civil year (as it is now), probably for convenience of intercourse with their Syrian neighbours: while the 1st Nisan was still the epoch of the sacred or ecclesiastical year, and indeed of the historical year. That the former arrangement, as the more ancient one, held place along with the latter, is indicated by numerous circumstances. Thus, the festival of the vintage is appointed to be kept **בְּצֵאת הַשָּׁנָה** *be-tzeth ha-shanah*, "at the end of the year:" the feast of trumpets on the 1st Tisri indicates the beginning of a year: the sabbatical year and the jubile or year of release, were proclaimed and commenced in that month: Job speaks of the days of his autumn, or seed-time, meaning "the days of his youth," or, as we should say, "the spring-time of life." xxix. 4.

In the Pentateuch only one of the months receives a distinctive name, i.e. the month Abib. The rest are designated by the ordinal numbers. In the historical books we find the second month named *Ziv* זִיב 1 Ki. vi. 1, 37; the 8th *Bul* בּוּל, *ibid*: the 7th *Ethanim* אֶתָנִים, viii. 2. The meaning of the names is supposed to be, "month of brightness," "month of rain," "month of flowing rivers."

§ 410. The ordinances of the festivals, as instituted by Moses, will be found in the following passages: Ex. xii. xxiii. 14—16. Lev. xxiii. Numbers xxviii. 16 ff. xxix. Deut. xvi. Their names are, *Pascha* or *Passover*, *Feast of Weeks* or *Pentecost*, *Feast of Trumpets*, *Day of Atonement*, *Feast of Tabernacles*.

1. The *Passover*, פֶּסַח *Pesach*, from a root, meaning "to pass by and spare." The name *pesach* is given to the lamb, which in memory of the destroying angel and of the mercy granted to the Israelites, was to be killed on the 14th day of the month, **בֵּין הָעֶרְבַּיִם** *bein-ha-erbayim* i.e. in the middle of the afternoon, about 3 P.M. The lamb was to be eaten after sunset and before midnight of the same day, i.e. in the Hebrew reckoning in the first six hours of the 15th Nisan. Nothing was to be left of it until the

morning: whatever remained was to be burned with fire. From the 15th to the 21st, inclusive, the festival is called the Feast of Unleavened Bread, *חג המצות*, *hag ha-matzoth*, *festum azymorum*. The 15th and 21st were celebrated as sabbaths extraordinary. On the 16th the *omer* was dedicated, as the first-fruits of barley-harvest.

§ 411. With a view to exact chronological calculations, it must be observed, that the night following the 14th or Passover-day, the night in which the Passover was eaten, was always the night of full moon: in other words, the *νυχθήμερον* in which the moon comes to the full, is always the 15th *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan. Thus, if the moon came to the full at any hour between sunset of the Julian 5th April and sunset of the Julian 6th April, that interval of 24 hours is precisely the 15th Nisan. Hence in whatever paschal calculations great accuracy is required, it is necessary to determine with minute exactness the time of full moon: this can only be done by means of the best modern lunar tables.

The astronomical discussion of the *year* of the Crucifixion affords a striking instance of the necessity of exact calculation. Mr. Greswell by calculation of the moon's mean motions *only*, finds that in the year 30 the moon came to the full between sunrise and noon of the 6th April. Hence he assigns the Passover, 14th Nisan (the day of the Crucifixion), to the 5th April. But the fact is that the moon did not come to the full till four hours after sunset of the 6th April: therefore the Passover, 14 Nisan, in that year, fell 6th April, the 15th Nisan began at sunset of the 6th and ended at sunset of the 7th April.

§ 412. *Feast of Weeks*. From the morrow after the sabbath extraordinary = 15th Nisan, therefore from the 16th Nisan, seven weeks were to be numbered: these led to the Pentecost: that is, the 50th day from the 16th Nisan (or day on which the *omer* was dedicated) was the day of Pentecost. For example: the 16th Nisan A. D. 29 was Sunday 20 March (the Resurrection-day): of fifty days, whereof 20th March, Sunday, is the first, the fiftieth is the 69th March = 38th April = 8th May, Sunday, which is therefore the day of Pentecost.

This festival is also called *the Feast of Harvest* and *Day of First Fruits*. The latter name it takes from the *omer* or offering of wheat-harvest, which was dedicated on that day. In its reference to the history, it is the anniversary of the giving of the Law.

§ 413. *The first day, or new moon of the seventh month*, is a very sacred day, the sabbath of *νομήναι*, Lev. xxiii. 24. Numb. xxix. 1. It was announced by sound of trumpet, and hence is called the day of Trumpets, *yom thruah*.

§ 414. *The 10th of this month* is the *yom ha-kippurim*, *Day of Atonement*; the only fast-day instituted by Moses. Hence it is called absolutely "the fast."

§ 415. The Feast of Tabernacles, *hag ha-succoth*, *σκηνοπηγία*, begins on the 15th of the seventh month, exactly half a lunar year or 177 days, from

the first day of unleavened bread. It is also called *hhag ha-asiph*, "Feast of In-gathering," namely, of the vintage and oil. The feast lasted eight days in all: the 1st and 8th = 15th and 22nd of the month, were sabbaths extraordinary, and the last day was observed with peculiar solemnity: hence it is called, absolutely, *עֲצֶרֶת* *atzereth*, "assembly," *παραγυρισ*, "the last day, that great day of the feast," John vii. 37.

Such was the regulation of the sacred year of the Hebrews, as we find it in the Pentateuch and historical books before the Captivity.

§ 416. After the Captivity we find the months designated by particular names, which, Aben Ezra says, the Jews brought with them from Babylon, and this is the more credible, as the names are of Chaldee etymology. The names are,

- | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|----------------|-------------|
| 1. Nisan. | 4. Thammuz. | 7. Tisri. | 10. Tebeth. |
| 2. Ijar. | 5. Ab. | 8. Marchesvan. | 11. Shebat. |
| 3. Sivan. | 6. Elul. | 9. Kisleu. | 12. Adar. |

To these it was occasionally necessary to add a 13th, which in the modern Jewish calendar is denominated *Ve-adar*, or second Adar. Some of these names occur in the later canonical books.

Nisan, Neh. ii. 1. Esther iii. 7; where it is called *the first month*.

Sivan is called third month, Esther, viii. 9.

Elul, Neh. vi. 15.

Kisleu, Zech. vii. 1. Neh. i. 1. (1 Macc. i. 57.) In the first of these passages it is called the ninth month.

Tebeth is the name given to the tenth, Esth. ii. 16.

Shebet to the eleventh, Zech. i. 7.

Adar to the twelfth, Esther iii. 7, 13; viii. 12; ix. 1. (2 Macc. xv. 37.)

§ 417. The regulation of the Calendar in the times of the second Temple, is thus described by the Talmudists and Maimonides.

"So long as the Sanhedrim had its seat at Jerusalem, that is, till the destruction of the second Temple, the Jews reckoned the beginning of the new moon as well as they might [*i.e.* without a fixed Calendar such as the Jews have in use now]: but it was always a welcome circumstance when before the announcement of the festival of the new moon, two men of credit appeared before the council and said, At such a time we saw the new moon. If this was announced on the 30th day of the month, the Council declared the month then expired to be *khassar* "defective," and consecrated the new month with the exclamation "hallowed!" which the people repeated twice. But if the 30th day elapsed without any such announcement, that day was annexed to the old month, which was accordingly declared to be *full*—*מלל*, *male*—and the new month began the next day without any particular ceremony of consecration. But as at this rate it might happen in cloudy weather that two or more months consecutively might have 30 days, whereby the Calendar would have been thrown out of its due adjustment to the moon's motions, it became an established rule that no year should have less than four nor more than eight 'full' months.

"On the first day of every month there was to be a particular sacrifice at Jerusalem, and a prayer, also, in all places. Besides, the due observance of the great annual festivals depended upon the new moon. It was therefore necessary to convey the speediest possible intelligence to all parts of the land; and this was done at first by signal fires, but afterwards by posts or messengers."

§ 418. Perhaps this account of the matter will not bear strict criticism. Indeed it is hardly credible that after so many hundred years of attending to the phenomena of the moon, the Hebrews should not be able to determine practically and empirically, without observation, the proper time both of *νουμηνία* and of *πανσέληνος*. The day of full moon, in most months, determines itself: when the sun is setting the moon is rising, and *vice versa*: and it could not fail to be known that lengths of 29 and 30 days alternately would lead to the next *πανσέληνος*. Probably the full moons of the 12th and 6th months were noted with special care, in order to an exact determination of the 15th Nisan and 15th Tisri, and consequently of their *νουμηνίαι*. Besides, if the Jews under the second Temple had no fixed calendar of their own, their Syrian neighbours had¹; and in the New Testament times we have ample evidence, in the writings of Josephus, that the Jewish and Syrian lunar reckonings were coincident. We have also abundant proof that (whatever were the measures taken to secure it) the 15th Nisan *did* always coincide with the Jewish day of the full moon. Thus Philo (*Vit. Mos.* iii. 686) says: "In the first month, about the 14th day, just as the moon is about coming to the full, μέλλοντος τοῦ σεληνιακοῦ κύκλου γίνεσθαι πλησιφαοῦς, the Passover is celebrated. Again, τῆς δ' ἑορτῆς (sc. τῶν Ἀζύμων) διχόμηνος ἄρχει ἡ πεντεκαίδεκάτη, καθ' ἣν σελήνη πλησιφαῆς γίνεται. de Sept. et Fest. 1191. προνοία τοῦ μηδεν εἶναι σκότος κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, *ibid.*—And more fully still: "That not only by day but also at night the world may be full of all-beauteous light, inasmuch as sun and moon on that day succeed each other with no interval of darkness between." (Greswell, i. 275.)

§ 419. It seems, then, to admit of no dispute that the 15th of Nisan and Tisri at least actually coincide with the Jewish *νυχθήμερα* of their full moons: consequently, when the Julian year is known, there can be no doubt about the Julian synchronism of the Jewish day in question—except, perhaps, when the moon comes to the full within an hour before or after sunset. As this case does not occur in any of the paschal dates between A. D. 28 and 38, our table for those years may be implicitly relied upon.

¹ The Callippic period of 4 metonic cycles = 76 years came into use in the fourth century B. C., and was extensively used in Syria and other parts of Alexan-

der's empire. Epiphanius also asserts that about the time of our Saviour the Jews employed a cycle of 84 years. *Hæc.* li. 26.

§ 420. Beside the holy days which have been described, and which are coeval with the giving of the Law, are the following, which had their origin during or after the Exile.

1. "The fasts of the fourth, fifth, seventh, and tenth months." Zech. viii. 19; comp. vii. 2—6. The events to which they refer are—

1). The besieging of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, in the tenth month, namely, as all the accounts shew, on the 10th of the month. 2 Kings xxv. 1; Jer. lii. 4; Ezek. xxiv. 1, 2. And this is the day, 10 Tebeth, on which the Jews still commemorate this event.

2). The capture of the city by Nebuchadnezzar, on the fourth month, ninth day, Jer. xxxix. 2; lii. 6. In the modern Jewish Calendar the fast is put a week later, to 17th Thammuz, being the day on which the daily sacrifice failed (Josephus, B. J. vi. 2. 1; Mishna, t. ii. 7. 392.) in the Roman siege.

3). The burning of the first Temple, which seems to have begun on the 7th of the fifth month (Ab) 2 Ki. xxv. 8, and ended on the 10th, Jer. lii. 12. It was also on the 9th—10th of the same month that the second Temple was burned by the Romans. The modern Jews commemorate both events on the 9th Ab.

4). The fast for the murder of the viceroy Gedaliah (an event in which the Jews saw the extinction of their last hope, 2 Kings xxv. 25. Jer. xli. 1.), is kept on the 3rd Tisri in the modern Jewish Calendar.

§ 421. 2. The fast and festival connected with the history of Esther. The "fast of Esther" is celebrated on the 13th Adar: the "feast of Purim" 14th Adar; comp. 1 Macc. vii. 43. 2 Macc. xv. 36, 37.

3. The feast of the Dedication, חג המצות *éγκαινία*, celebrated on the 25th Kislev in memory of the Maccabean restoration, on that day of the year B. C. 165, after the Temple had been defiled just 3 years before, 25 Kislev B. C. 168, by Antiochus Epiphanes, 1 Macc. iv. 52 ff. i. 57. 62. 2 Macc. x. 5. Joseph. Ant. xii. 7. 6.

§ 422. The ancient Jews, before the destruction of the first Temple, seem to have used no fixed æra in their chronological statements. The only exception is the mention of the interval between the Exode and the building of Solomon's Temple, 1 Kings vi. 1. Elsewhere the year is defined by generations, by the years of a man's life, or by the years of kings. The æra of the Seleucidæ is used in the Maccabean history and in Josephus, and continued in use, under the name *Æra Contractuum*, down to the time of Maimonides. After that time, this æra, though it is still given in the modern Jewish calendars, was superseded by the "æra of the world," beginning 3762 B. C. This was constructed, it is said, by Rabbi Hillel, who flourished in the early part of the 4th century. It may be worth while to notice the procedure by which he obtained his epoch. From the epoch of the *Æra of Contracts*, Autumn 312 B. C., he counted back 112 years to the destruction of the first Temple 424 B. C. (164 years later than the true date), whence by means of positive notes of time in the scriptures, including

that of 1 Kings vi. 1, and with the help of his own interpretations, he obtained the year in question (340 years too late).

The same Rabbi Hillel was the constructor of the modern Jewish Calendar, with which we are nowise concerned in this work. The reader will find a full and lucid description of its principle and construction in Ideler's *Handbuch der Chronologie*, Vol. 1.

§ 423. To translate any given date of the Hebrew year into the Julian reckoning, it is necessary in the first place to know the year. This being given, the first day of Nisan, or what is more convenient, the 15th, or *νυχθήμερον* of the full moon, must be ascertained by lunar calculation. If great exactness is required, there is but one way of proceeding: recourse must be had to the best lunar tables and a somewhat laborious calculation, which cannot be described in this place. For ordinary purposes the calculation may be made on the principle of the moon's mean motions. Even this labour is greatly reduced by means of cycles, the best of which for this purpose is that of 19 years, commonly called the Metonic cycle. The description of this cycle is briefly as follows:

Nineteen Julian years, whereof *four* are bissextile, contain 6939 days: if there be *five* leap-years, 6940 days.

$$\begin{aligned}\text{But 235 mean lunations} &= 235 \times 29.530588715 \text{ days} \\ &= 6939.688348025 \quad \text{---}\end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned}\text{The excess above 6939 days} &= 0.688348025 \\ &= 16^h \ 31^m \ 13''\end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned}\text{The defect from 6940 days} &= 0.311651975 \\ &= 7^h \ 28^m \ 47''.\end{aligned}$$

Hence if the true instant of new or full moon at any given date be known—whether by accurate calculation or by observation—the date of a new or full moon 19 years before or after will be known, by adding or subtracting the excess or defect as the case may require; care being taken to note whether the 19 years contain five leap-years or four.

For instance:

Since the moon came to the full A. D. 30. 6th April 22^h 0^m 52"

The time of *mean* full moon A. D. 11 (19)
years containing 5 leap-years).....} + 7 28 47

is..... 7th April 5 29 39

And in B. C. 9 (19 years containing 4 leap-
years).....} - 16 31 13

6th April 12 58 26

Hence if the time of paschal full moon be known for 19 successive years, the mean full moons may be calculated for any number of years by simple addition and subtraction.

It must always be borne in mind, however, that this calculation deals with only one element of the question: beside this, there are more than a dozen others, amounting in all to a difference of half a day or more, earlier or later than the mean time.

This seems to be the most convenient place for the description of the paschal cycles which were in use among the early Christians, so far as a knowledge of their construction is requisite for the purposes of this work. The reader who wishes for full information on this subject will find it in Ideler's work to which I have so often referred, and in the earlier works from which he has derived his materials.

§ 424. Eight Julian years contain $2 \times 1461 = 2922$ days; and 99 mean lunations = 2923.528282785. The difference, which is more than a day and a half, was not accurately observed by the early Christians in their paschal calculations: it seems to have been taken for granted, especially in the Western Church, that at the end of 8 years from any given epoch the paschal full moon would fall on the same day, and so on, in perpetuity. The reasoning which led to this erroneous assumption is thus described by Epiphanius, *Hær.* 70. 13. "The solar year has a length of 365½ days: 12 lunar months make 354 days. The difference, which is called the epact or epagomené, is 11½ days. This is the epact of the first year. Hence the epact of the second year = 22½ days, of the third, 33½. These 33½ days make one lunar month of 30 days, which is added to the third lunar year as an intercalary or 13th month (ἐμβολισμός), and a remainder or epact of 3½ days. Hence the epact of the fourth year = 11½ + 3½ = 15 days: that of the fifth year = 26½: of the sixth 37½, which gives a second embolism of 30 days with an epact of 7½. The epact, therefore, of the 7th year is 18½, and of the 8th = 18½ + 11½ = just 30, which is the third embolism with no epact remaining.

The error consists in the neglect of the fragment of time by which 12 lunar months exceed 354 days.

The scheme of the octaëteris here described is

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8: |
| | E | | | | E | | E | | E | | | | E | | E |

§ 425. Eusebius, *E. H.* vi. c. xxii., and St. Jerome, *de Script. Eccl.* mention a certain "treatise of the Passover" composed by Bishop Hippolytus, and a paschal cycle of 16 years, constructed by him. Among the extant works of S. Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, one is a Latin Chronicon in twenty sections, extending from the Creation to the last year of the Emperor Alexander, compiled, it is supposed, from a larger work of the Bishop's. The treatise on the Passover is supposed to be lost: of the cycle ascribed to him nothing was known, beyond conjecture, down to the year 1551. In that year a monument was disinterred near the church

of S. Laurence at Rome, a marble statue of an ecclesiastic seated in a chair, in very good preservation. On each side of the chair is an inscription in Greek: on the right side, a paschal *ἐκκαίδεκάετηρος*, beginning at the 1st year of Alexander and preceeding through seven columns, with various notes affixed to certain of the dates: on the left, a table of the corresponding dates of Easter Sunday. That the statue represents Hippolytus is evident from the titles of his works with which the vacant margin of the first table is filled up: of which works, some are extant, and of the rest Hippolytus is otherwise known to have been the author.

This venerable monument is preserved in the Vatican. Scaliger first published the inscriptions, with a hasty and inaccurate commentary. Gruter also has included them in his collection. Bucher gave them in a latin translation with a learned and careful explanation. Three engravings of the monument with exact copies of the inscriptions, and the commentaries of Scaliger, Bucher, Des Vignoles, Bianchini, and others, will be found in the second volume of the works of S. Hippolytus edited by Fabricius (Hamburg, 1716).

§ 426. The Canon has the following exordium or title:

ετους ἁ βασιλειᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρου αυτοκράτορος ἐγένετο ἡ ΔΙ του πασχα εἰδοῖς ἀπριλλιοῖς σαββατῷ ἐμβολιμον μηνὸς γενομένου. ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐτέσιν καθὼς ὑποτετακται ἐν τῷ πίνακι. ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τοῖς παρῳχη-
κοσιν καθὼς σεσημειῶται. ἀπονηστιζέσθαι δὲ δεῖ οὐ ἀν ἐντεσῇ κυριακῇ.

"In the first year of the Emperor Alexander, the xivth of the Passover fell on the Ides of April, Saturday, the preceding year having received an intercalary month. In the succeeding years the day will be as is set down, below, in the table. In the preceding years, it fell as is here marked."

Then follows the Table, in seven parallel columns of 16 years each. The first column contains the Julian date of the 14th day of the paschal moon for 16 consecutive years, with their week-days indicated by the first seven letters of the alphabet. The second, third, &c. columns contain only the week-days, it being assumed that the Julian date will perpetually recur after 8 and therefore after 16 years.

§ 427. The first year of the Emperor Alexander began A.D. 222. According to the Table, the 14th of the paschal moon in that year fell Saturday 13 April. The statement is verified by actual calculation. The purport of the Table translated into our reckoning is as follows:—I add to each column the years A.D. which are intended.

| 14th of the Moon. | A. D. | 1st Cycle. | 2nd. | 3rd. | 4th. | 5th. | 6th. | 7th. |
|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------|------------|--|
| 1 13 Apr. | 222 Sat. | 3 Wed. (<i>Nativity</i>) | 238 Fri. | 254 Thurs. | 270 Wed. | 286 Tues. | 302 Mon. | 318 Sun. |
| 2 2 Apr. | 3 Wed. (<i>Nativity</i>) | 240 Sat. | 9 Tues. | 5 Mon. | 1 Sun. | 7 Sat. | 3 Fri. | 9 Thurs. |
| 3 21, 20 Mar. | 4 Sun. (<i>Hesekiah</i>) | 241 Sat. | 10 Sat. | 6 Fri. (<i>Joshua</i>) | 2 Thurs. | 8 Wed. | 4 Tues. | 320 Mon. |
| 4 9 Apr. | 5 Sat. (<i>Josias</i>) | 1 Fri. | 1 Fri. | 7 Thurs. | 3 Wed. | 9 Tues. | 5 Mon. | 1 Sun. |
| 5 29 Mar. | 6 Wed. | 2 Tues. | 2 Tues. | 8 Mon. | 4 Sun. | 290 Sat. | 6 Fri. | 2 Thurs. |
| 6 18 Mar. | 7 Sun. | 3 Sat. | 3 Sat. | 9 Fri. | 5 Thurs. | 1 Wed. | 7 Tues. | 3 Mon. |
| 7 5 Apr. | 8 Sat. | 4 Fri. | 4 Fri. | 260 Thurs. | 6 Wed. (<i>Joshua, Daniel</i>) | 2 Tues. | 8 Mon. | 4 Sun. |
| 8 25 Mar. | 9 Wed. | 5 Tues. | 5 Tues. | 1 Mon. | 7 Sun. | 3 Sat. | 9 Fri. | 5 Thurs. |
| 9 13 Apr. | 230 Tues. | 246 Mon. | 246 Mon. | 262 Sun. | 278 Sat. | 4 Fri. | 310 Thurs. | 328 Wed. |
| 10 2 Apr. | 1 Sat. | 7 Fri. | 7 Fri. | 3 Thurs. | 9 Wed. | 5 Tues. | 1 Mon. | 7 Sun. (<i>Exodus</i>) |
| 11 21, 20 Mar. | 2 Wed. | 8 Tues. | 8 Tues. | 4 Mon. | 280 Sun. | 6 Sat. | 2 Fri. | 8 Thurs. |
| 12 9 Apr. | 3 Tues. | 9 Mon. | 9 Mon. | 5 Sun. | 1 Sat. | 7 Fri. | 3 Thurs. | 9 Wed. (<i>Passover</i> <i>in the Desert</i>) |
| 13 29 Mar. | 4 Sat. | 250 Fri. | 250 Fri. | 6 Thurs. | 2 Wed. | 8 Tues. | 4 Mon. | 330 Sun. |
| 14 18 Mar. | 5 Wed. | 1 Tues. | 1 Tues. | 7 Mon. | 3 Sun. | 9 Sat. | 5 Fri. | 1 Thurs. |
| 15 5 Apr. | 6 Tues. | 2 Mon. | 2 Mon. | 8 Sun. | 4 Sat. | 300 Fri. | 6 Thurs. | 2 Wed. (<i>Ezra</i>) |
| 16 25 Mar. | 7 Sat. | 3 Fri. (<i>Passion</i>) | 3 Fri. (<i>Passion</i>) | 9 Thurs. | 5 Wed. | 1 Tues. | 7 Mon. | 3 Sun. |

And the paschal date, 14th of the moon, for any year before or after these will be found by inspection of the year which is distant by a multiple of $7 \times 16 = 112$ years from the year of which the paschal date is sought. *e. g.* Required the paschal date for A. D. 29 : $29 \div 2 \times 112 = 29 + 224 = 253$, A. D. Therefore, according to the Table, 25 March, Friday.

§ 428. The notes affixed to some of the dates, as ΓΕΝΕΣΙΣ ΧΤΟΥ, ΠΑΘΟΣ ΧΤΟΥ, ΕΞΟΔΟΣ, ΕΞ. ΚΤΑ ΔΑΝΙΗΛ, refer to remarkable passovers, as the passover of the Crucifixion, of the Incarnation, (i. e. Annunciation), of the Exodus, the first passover in the Wilderness, that of Joshua, Josiah, Hezekiah. For some of these events the Canon gives a double date: one, agreeing with the Chronology of Hippolytus, the other deduced from some exposition of Daniel's Prophecy of the 70 Weeks. Thus by Hippolytus's calculation, the Exode preceded A. D. 327 by an exact multiple of 112 years: i. e. by $17 \times 112 = 1904$ years, or $16 \times 112 = 1792$ years, &c. the first gives the year 1578 B. C., which is about the date deduced from the extant Chronicon of Hippolytus. The other computation placed the Exode $m \times 112$ years before the year 236: suppose $m = 16$, the date is 1792 years before 236 = B. C. 1557: if $m = 17$, the date is 1669.

§ 429. In like manner, it appears that Hippolytus placed the Passover of the Crucifixion $m \times 112$ years before the year 253. Of course m must = 2. Then $253 - 224 = 29$ A. D., the year which the early Western Church almost with one consent assigns to that event. The day of the month is 25th March, which is the date assigned by Tertullian, Lactantius, and by the Western Church generally (*supra* § 76 ff.): and as the day of the week is *Friday*, the indication of the Canon agrees completely with the tradition which was most in vogue at the time. This result was doubtless highly satisfactory to the author of the Canon, who evidently had no suspicion of the inaccuracy of his cycle.

The true dates of paschal full moon in the year 29 are 18th March, 21^h 15^m, or 17th April 3^h 7^m. The difference between these, respectively, and the date assigned by the early tradition, is +7 days or -23 days. The first, or +7 days is just the difference generated by 24 octaëterides = 192 years, which give + 24×1.5282 days = $36\frac{1}{2}$ days = 1 lunation + 7 days. And $29 + 192 = 221$. That is, if in A. D. 221 the paschal full moon fell 25 March, as Hippolytus says it did, and as an exact calculation proves to have been the fact, then in A. D. 29 the full moon fell $36\frac{1}{2}$ days earlier, that is the paschal full moon fell 7 days earlier: but these $36\frac{1}{2}$ days are neglected in Hippolytus's calculation, hence he gives the date 25 March.

It is worthy of remark that Hippolytus makes 18 March his earliest paschal limit. The Alexandrine Church insisted that the paschal full moon must not precede the 21 March, the date of the vernal equinox in that age: and this after the Nicene Council became the rule of the Church generally. That the 18th March was fixed upon for the paschal limit is easily explained by the fact, that this was indeed the very day of the Crucifixion, and actually named as such in the *Acta Pilati* (§ 83).

§ 430. In respect of the week-days, the structure of the Canon is ingeniously contrived. The author might have contented himself with a period of 7 octaëterides, or 56 years, which, as containing 2 solar cycles or $2 \times 4 \times 7$ years, would have answered the purpose of bringing the same Julian dates to the same days of the week. But he perceived that by taking a double octaëteris for his fundamental cycles, he got the week-days

of the successive columns into the natural track of the week, only in the reverse order: thus

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| 1 | Sa. | Fr. | Th. | Wd. | Tu. | Mn. | Su. | Sa. |
| 2 | Wd. | Tu. | Mn. | Su. | Sa. | Fr. | Th. | Wd. |
| 3 | Su. | Sa. | Fr. | Th. | Wd. | Tu. | Mn. | Su. &c. |

&c.

Whereas the order in a period of 7×8 years would be less simple: viz.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| 1 | Sa. | Tu. | Fr. | Mn. | Th. | Su. | Wd. | Sa. &c. |

&c.

§ 431. That the Canon was composed at the time indicated in its date, is placed beyond doubt by various considerations; it may be sufficient to mention the two following:

1. A very short time, two or three octaëterids at most, must have sufficed to shew that its indications were faulty: and when this was discovered, no one would have thought of perpetuating the Canon by engraving it on marble.

2. The dates of the octaëteris preceding the epoch A.D. 222 must have been obtained by actual observation. For these are correct, while the earlier dates are in error in one direction, and the later dates in the opposite direction. *The Canon, therefore, was constructed upon the basis of that octaëteris which extends from 215 to 222.* This will be evident upon inspection of the following table:

| PASCHAL M. | | | | PASCHAL M. | | | |
|------------|-------------------|-------------|------------------|------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| A.D. | By Calc. | By Can. | Error. | A.D. | By Calc. | By Can. | Error. |
| 174 | 4 Apr. | 13 Apr. | + 9 | 223 | 2 Apr. | | 2 Apr. 0 |
| 182 | 22 Mar. = 20 Apr. | 13 Apr. | + 7 | 224 | 22 Mar. | 21, 20 Mar. | - 1 |
| 190 | 7 Apr. | 13 Apr. | + 6 | 225 | 10 Apr. | | 9 Apr. - 1 |
| 198 | 9 Apr. | 13 Apr. | + 4 | 226 | 30 Mar. | | 29 Mar. - 1 |
| 206 | 10 Apr. | 13 Apr. | + 3 | 227 | 19 Mar. | | 18 Mar. - 1 |
| 207 | 30 Mar. | | 2 Apr. + 3 | 228 | 7 Apr. | | 5 Apr. - 2 |
| 208 | 19 Mar. | 21, 20 Mar. | + 2 | 229 | 27 Mar. | | 25 Mar. - 2 |
| 209 | 7 Apr. | | 9 Apr. + 2 | 230 | 15 Apr. 16 Mar. | | 13 Apr. - 2 |
| 210 | 27 Mar. | | 29 Mar. + 2 | 231 | 4 Apr. | | 2 Apr. - 2 |
| 211 | 15 Apr. = 16 M. | | 18 Mar. + 2 | 232 | 24 Mar. | 21, 20 Mar. | - 3 |
| 212 | 4 Apr. | | 5 Apr. + 1 | 233 | 12 Apr. | | 9 Apr. - 3 |
| 213 | 24 Mar. | | 25 Mar. + 1 | 234 | 1 Apr. | | 29 Mar. - 3 |
| 214 | 12 Apr. | | 13 Apr. + 1 | 235 | 20 Mar. | | 18 Mar. - 2 |
| 215 | 1 Apr. | | 2 Apr. + 1 or 0 | 236 | 8, 9 Apr. | | 5 Apr. - 3 |
| 216 | 20 Mar. | 21, 20 Mar. | + 1 or 0 | 237 | 29 Mar. | | 25 Mar. - 4 |
| 217 | 8 Apr. or 9 | | 9 Apr. + 1 or 0 | 238 | 17 Apr. 18 M. | | 13 Apr. - 4 |
| 218 | 29 Mar. | | 29 Mar. 0 | 246 | 18 Apr. | | 13 Apr. - 5 |
| 219 | 17 Apr. = 18 M. | | 18 Mar. + 1 or 0 | 254 | 19, 20 Apr. | | 13 Apr. - 6 |
| 220 | 5 Apr. | | 5 Apr. 0 | 262 | 21, 22 Apr. | | 13 Apr. - 8 |
| 221 | 25 Mar. | | 25 Mar. 0 | 270 | 22, 23 Apr. | | 13 Apr. - 9 |
| 222 | 13 Apr. | | 13 Apr. 0 | | | | |

It will be seen in a subsequent part of this work for what reason I have taken the trouble thus to attest the antiquity of this monument.

§ 432. There is extant a paschal Canon of precisely the same construction, commonly ascribed to S. Cyprian, and published by Bishop Fell in the second volume of his edition of the works of that Father. Archbishop Ussher believes it to be the genuine work of S. Cyprian. The Table which originally accompanied this treatise (*Computus Paschalis*) is lost; but the principle and details are so explicitly given in the treatise itself, that there is no difficulty in constructing a table similar to that of S. Hippolytus.

The epoch is declared to be the 5th year of Gordian, *Coss. Arriano et Papo*, in which year, the writer informs us, the 14th of the moon fell 12 *Kal. April. feria* 3 = 21 March, Tuesday, and Easter on Sunday 7 *Kal. April* = 26 March.

The year thus indicated is 243 A. D.: and with this agrees the paschal date, which, of course, was given from actual observation. In 243 the Passover fell (by rough calculation) 21 or 22 March. From 235 to 254 there is, on the evidence of Mr. Greswell's Tables, no paschal date nearer this than 25 March. Therefore if the year be not 243, it must be earlier than 235 or later than 254, which is historically impossible. I am thus particular about the year with a view to an argument which I shall afterwards have to produce from this Canon also.

The author assigns the Passion to the 16th of Tiberius, by which, if he dates the years of Tiberius from their proper epoch, he means A. D. 30. But from the Passion to his epoch he reckons 215 years. This is a mistake, for the interval 243 - 30 is 213 years: he was misled by the confused statements of the *Fasti Consulares*. Hence his year of the Passion is virtually A. D. 28. The date indicated for the Passover, 215 years before the epoch, is 5 *id. April*, 6 *feria* = 9 April Friday.

As a Chronologist he had persuaded himself that the year preceding his epoch by two years (241 A. D.) was the periodical repeat of the Exodus passover: i. e. that the Exode preceded 241 A. D. by $m \times 112$ years. It appears from the treatise that $m = 16$: whence the date is $16 \times 112 - 240 = 1542$ B. C.

The Table, as constructed from the Treatise, is as follows :

| | | I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. | VI. | VII. |
|-------------------------|-------------|--------|--------|-------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| <i>Caput in Egypto,</i> | 12 Apr. | Mon. | Sun. | Sat. | Fri. | Thur. | Wed. | Tues. |
| 1 | 242 1 Apr. | Fri. | Thurs. | Wed. | Tues. | Mon. | Sun. | Sat. |
| 2 | 243 21 Mar. | Tues. | Mon. | Sun. | Sat. | Fri. | Thurs. | Wed. |
| 3 Biss. Emb. | 4 8 Apr. | Mon. | Sun. | Sat. | Fri. | Thur. | Wed. | Tues. |
| 4 | 5 23 Mar. | Fri. | Thurs. | Wed. | Tues. | Mon. | Sun. | Sat. |
| 5 | 6 17 Mar. | Tues. | Mon. | Sun. | Sat. | Fri. | Thurs. | Wed. |
| 6 Emb. | 7 5 Apr. | Mon. | Sun. | Sat. | Fri. | Thurs. | Wed. | Tues. |
| 7 Biss. | 8 24 Mar. | Fri. | Thurs. | Wed. | Tues. | Mon. | Sun. | Sat. |
| 8 Emb. | 9 12 Apr. | Thurs. | Wed. | Tues. | Mon. | Sun. | Sat. | Fri. |
| 9 | 250 1 Apr. | Mon. | Sun. | Sat. | Fri. | Thurs. | Wed. | Tues. |
| 10 | 1 21 Mar. | Fri. | Thurs. | Wed. | Tues. | Mon. | Sun. | Sat. |
| 11 Biss. Emb. | 2 8 Apr. | Thurs. | Wed. | Tues. | Mon. | Sun. | Sat. | Fri. |
| 12 | 3 23 Mar. | Mon. | Sun. | Sat. | Fri. | Thurs. | Wed. | Tues. |
| 13 | 4 17 Mar. | Fri. | Thurs. | Wed. | Tues. | Mon. | Sun. | Sat. |
| 14 Emb. | 5 5 Apr. | Thurs. | Wed. | Tues. | Mon. | Sun. | Sat. | Fri. |
| 15 Biss. | 6 24 Mar. | Mon. | Sun. | Sat. | Fri. | Thurs. | Wed. | Tues. |
| 16 Emb. | 7 12 Apr. | Sun. | Sat. | Fri. | Thurs. | Wed. | Tues. | Mon. |

By comparison of these dates with the calculated dates of Passover above given it will be seen that *the fundamental cycle, of actual observations, must have been that which extends from the year 228 to the year 243.* Before this term of years, the dates given by the Canon are regularly too late, and after it regularly too early. The Canon, therefore, was indisputably composed at the time indicated by its date.

In the interval between 222 and 243 it had sufficiently appeared that the Canon of Hippolytus was in error. But the fact itself, that our computist adopted the selfsame period of 7×16 years, shews that he was not yet aware of the source of the error, namely, the wrong estimate of the length of the lunar year.

§ 433. That the octaëteris was the cycle most commonly used in the early Church (except, perhaps, at Alexandria), surprising as it may seem—for the Metonic cycle and Callippic period had long been known—is proved by the statement of Epiphanius in the chapter from which we have before quoted. He is there arguing against the Audiani, and prefers to rest his argument on the supposed nature of the octaëteris, rather than on that of the Metonic cycle: for this reason, namely, because the Audiani rejected the Metonic cycle as an innovation. They objected to the Catholics that, from the time of the Nicene Council, they had forsaken the custom of the fathers in respect of the celebration of Easter. That is, the Audiani maintained that the octaëteris was the *paterna consuetudo*.

Even as late as Venerable Bede there were some, it appears, who adhered to the old octaëteris. *Verum etiam nunc sunt qui solis octo annos totidem*

annis lunaribus putant dierum æqualitate componi: a fallacy which Bede thinks it necessary to refute. *De Rat. Temp.* c. 44.

It was doubtless owing, in part, to the use of this and other faulty cycles, that the Christians even of the first three centuries lost the true calendar date of the Passion, 18th March. Tertullian makes it 25 March, on the authority of the *Acta Pilati*, i. e. of the copies which he had seen, *for other copies preserved the true date.* § 83. Hippolytus in A. D. 222 was led to Tertullian's date by the accumulated error of his octaëteris; Cyprian, only 22 years later, was led to reject Tertullian's date, as it was not brought out by his cycle. And it is likely that the persons who in the second century, before Tertullian's time, altered the reading from 18 to 25 March, were induced to do so by the circumstance that the paschal calculations then in vogue in the Western Church indicated only the latter date for the passover of the 15th year of Tiberius. Another source of error was the defective and confused chronology of the second century. We have seen that Cyprian in the third century erred two years in his estimate of the interval between the 16th of Tiberius and the 5th of Gordian. A similar error committed by a computist in Tertullian's time would just lead to the date 25 March: namely, as in A. D. 31 the Jewish passover fell 26 March, it would fall on the same day in A. D. 183. Possibly, in the vague reckoning of that age in the Western Church, it might be considered as falling 25 March, and an error of two years in the estimate of the interval (29–183) would give 25 March as the paschal date of the year supposed to be the 15 Tiberius. In whatever way the notion originated, it found the more ready acceptance as it was recommended by a kind of natural fitness for the occasion; the 25 March being at that time accounted the day of the vernal equinox, besides being the supposed date of the Annunciation.

It appears that a cycle of 84 years was used in the Western Church before that of 112, (which in the nature of the case must soon have been discovered to be worthless). S. Cyril, of Alexandria, is express to this point: speaking of the two cycles, 84 and 112, he says of the latter, *max pejus aliquid addiderunt*, which is true, for 84 years being a Callippic period of 76 years plus one octaëteris, its error very little exceeds that of one octaëteris only. When the 112-year's cycle was found to be incurable, the Western Church resumed the 84-year cycle. There is extant a paschal canon constructed on this cycle, and bearing date A. D. 298.

The Alexandrine Church alone, in the first three centuries, possessed the science which was requisite for the calculation of paschal dates, past or future. Hence the Council of Nice commissioned the bishops of Alexandria to determine on what day of each ensuing year Easter should be celebrated. *Cum his igitur atque hujusmodi dissensionibus* (says S. Cyril, *Prol. pro Cyclo xcv. annorum*) *per universum orbem paschalis regula turbaretur sanctorum totius orbis synodi consensione decretum est, ut, quoniam apud Alexandriam talis esset reperta ecclesia quæ in hujusmodi scientia clareret, quota Calendarum vel Iduum, quota luna, pascha deberet celebrari, per*

singulos annos Romanæ ecclesiæ literis intimaret: unde apostolica auctoritate universalis ecclesia per totum orbem diffinitam paschæ diem sine ulla disceptatione cognosceret. The yearly definitions issued by the Bishops of Alexandria were forwarded in epistles, which we find mentioned under the name of ἐπιστολαὶ ἑορταστικαὶ (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 20); some of which are extant. I shall have occasion hereafter to appeal to their contents. There can be no doubt that the Alexandrine computations, after, if not before, the Nicene Council, were made with the Metonic cycle. But it does not appear that this admirable cycle was used for that purpose even at Alexandria earlier than the middle of the third century. Eusebius, in the passage just referred to, names Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria (A.D. 248—265), as the author of two ἐπιστολαὶ ἑορταστικαὶ, in the one of which he used the octaëteria. The Metonic cycle, so far as appears, was first introduced by Anatolius, a native Alexandrine, who became Bishop of Laodicea about A.D. 270. (Ideler. ii. 226.)

The octaëteris was of course not used by Dionysius in that crude form which we find described by Epiphanius, and used by the framers of the 112-year cycle. Doubtless this learned Bishop was well acquainted with the improvements which this cycle had received from Eratosthenes and others. His estimate of the lunation was probably that which we find set down by Geminus, viz. $29\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{100}$ days, i. e. 29·530303, &c. days, which differs from the true length by no more than 0·0002856 days, which in 160 years amounts to only 0·56563 days, or 13½ hours in defect.

Clement of Alexandria records thus the dates of the Crucifixion which preceding writers had obtained by calculation: "Some say 25 Phamenoth in the XVIth Tiberius, others 25 Pharmuthi [just one lunation later], others again 19 Pharmuthi." If the numbers are correctly given, I cannot explain by what process a computist of the second century could get them, except on the supposition either of very inaccurate lunar reckoning, or of a very erroneous chronology. For the dates are 21 March, 20 April, 14 April: not one of which days in any of the years 29—33 was at once the Jewish Passover and a Friday. This will be evident from the following Table:—

| A. D. | 21 Mar. | 20 April. | 14 April. | Passover. |
|-------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| 28 | Sun. | Tu. | Wed. | 28 Mar. Sun. |
| 29 | Mon. | Wed. | Thurs. | 16 Apr. Sat. 18 Mar. Fri. |
| 30 | Tu. | Thurs. | Fri. | 6 Apr. Thurs. |
| 31 | Wed. | Fri. | Sat. | 26 Mar. Mon. |
| 32 | Fri. | Sun. | Mon. | 13 Apr. Sun. |
| 33 | Sat. | Mon. | Tu. | 2 Apr. Thurs ¹ . |

¹ According to Euseb. *H. E.* v. 23. comp. *Bed. de Equinoct.* the synod of Cæsarea in Palestine A.D. 195, issued a synodical letter, in which it was resolved, *passum esse Dominum ab xi Kal. Apr. i. e. 22 March.* This is remarkable for

its near coincidence with the first result mentioned about the same time by St. Clement. I have no doubt it was the result of faulty calculations, but of what kind I cannot explain.

SECTION VI.—*Chronological Æras and their Epochs.**The Olympiads.*

§ 434. THE first Olympiad began in the summer of B.C. 776, the second 772, third 768, and so on; and the m^{th} in $776 - m - 1 \times 4$ B.C. Consequently the year B.C. in which any given Olympiad began will be found by deducting from 776 B.C. 4 times the number $m - 1$. For example: the Battle of Salamis occurred in Boedromion of Ol. 75. 1. From 776 deduct $75 - 1 \times 4 = 296$, which is the number of years elapsed from Ol. 1. 1. to 75. 1: the remainder is 480. Hence Ol. 75. 1. began in summer of 480, and ended in summer of 479; and since Boedromion lies in the first half of the Olympian year, the date of the Battle of Salamis is 480 B.C. Again: the Varronian epoch of the foundation of Rome is Ol. 6. 3. *spring*. Here we have $776 - 5 \times 4 = 756$ for the beginning of Ol. 6. 1. Consequently 754 for the beginning of Ol. 6. 3, and the spring of Ol. 6. 3 lies in 753 B.C.

If the sum of Olympian years is greater than 776, the negative remainder shews how many years of the æra A.D. were elapsed at the beginning of the given Olympiad, e. g. Ol. 254 began $776 - 253 \times 4$ B.C. = $776 - 1012 = -236$. But 236 years were elapsed in A.D. 237. Hence Ol. 254 began in the summer of 237 A.D.

The Olympiad, and year of Olympiad, corresponding to any given year B.C. or A.D. will be had by laying out the interval from 776 B.C. to the given years in Olympiads. Thus, if the given year be m B.C., the interval is $776 - m$, and this divided by 4 shews how many entire Olympiads were elapsed. E. g. Socrates died in 399 B.C. *spring*. Since the Olympian year began in the summer, deduct 400 from 776, the remainder divided by 4, or $\frac{376}{4} = 94$, shews that 94 Olympiads were elapsed, or Ol. 95. 1. began in the summer of B.C. 400. If the given year be n A.D. the interval is $776 + n - 1$. Thus, to find the Olympian year to which the Crucifixion, 18 Mar. A.D. 29, must be referred: $776 + 28 = 804$, or 201 Olympiads, ending in the summer of A.D. 20. Consequently Ol. 202. 1. began A.D. 29 summer, and 18 Mar. A.D. 29 lies in Ol. 201. 4.

The Æra Urbis Condita.

§ 435. The estimates, made by different ancient writers, of the Olympian year of the building of Rome vary to the amount of 142 years. The æra adopted by chronologists is that of Varro, 21 April B.C. 753. The Roman historians who use this æra take no account of the difference between its epoch and the epoch of the consular year, which is also the epoch of the Julian Christian year.

The Catonian æra begins a year later, 752 B.C. This is the æra used by Eusebius in his *Chronicon*. The other was sanctioned by the Emperor Claudius, and is regularly followed by the best writers after that age, Pliny, Tacitus, Dion Cassius. (Ideler, II. p. 165.)

The year B.C. or A.D. corresponding to any Varronian year U.C. will be found by remembering that

1. U.C. = 753 B.C. Therefore 754 U.C. = B.C. 0, i.e. A.D. 1.

That is, the year U.C. deducted from 754 gives the year B.C., and the year U.C. minus 753 gives the year A.D. For example,—

$$\text{U.C. } 750 = 754 - 750 = 4 \text{ B.C.}$$

$$\text{U.C. } 759 = 759 - 753 = 6 \text{ A.D.}$$

Vice versâ,—

the year B.C. deducted from 754 } gives the year U.C.
and the year A.D. added to 753 }

$$\text{E.g. } 29 \text{ A.D.} = 753 + 29 = 782 \text{ U.C.}$$

$$5 \text{ B.C.} = 754 - 5 = 749 \text{ U.C.}$$

*The Consular Reckoning*¹.

§ 436. The designation of the year by its Consuls continued in use down to A.U. 1294, A.D. 591. The most complete and accurate lists of the Consuls is given by Theod. Jansen v. Almeloveen *Fastorum Romanorum Consularium libri duo*: for the later years, after A.U. 898, in Reland's *Fasti Consulares ad illustrationem Cod. Justinian. ac. Theodos.*

Before the 7th century, the epoch of the consular year varied. In the earliest times the Consuls entered upon office *Kalendis Sextilibus ut tunc principium anni agebatur*, Liv. III. 6. In the time of the Decemviri, on the Ides of May, *Id.* III. 36; afterwards on the Ides of Dec. and Ides of March, IV. 37. v. 9. 11. (A.U. 331—352) XXII. XXVI. XXXII. (A.U. 474—537.) But from and after A.U. 601 the Consuls regularly entered upon office on the 1 January. Cassiodor. *Chron.* p. 681. The 1 Jan. was thenceforth the first day of the Roman year. (Comp. Cic. *de Legg.* II. 21; Ovid, *Fast.* I. 79.)

*The Æra of Nabonassar*².

§ 437. This Æra begins with the accession of the Babylonian king Nabonassar. Its epoch, as defined in the Astronomical Canon of the ancients, is the 1st Thoth = 26 February of the year 747 B.C. The dates connected with this era are always those of the vague year of the Egyptians. To reduce any such date to the Julian reckoning, the rule is as follows:

The year 747 B.C. is the year 3967 of the Julian period. Hence, on the 26 February 747 B.C., there were elapsed of the Julian period

$$\begin{array}{r} 3967 \text{ Julian years} + 56 \text{ days} = 991 \times 1461 = 1,447,851 \\ + \quad \quad \quad 731 \quad \quad \quad 731 \\ + \quad \quad \quad 56 \quad \quad \quad 56 \\ = \quad \quad \quad 1,448,638 \end{array}$$

¹ Ideler, *Handb.* II. 145.

² Ideler, *Handb.* I. 109. *Lehrb.* 54.

This we will call the *Absolute Term*.—Now each year of the æra of Nabonassar contains 365 days. Therefore, multiply the number of years elapsed in the æra down to any given date, by 365, and add to the product the number of days elapsed in the months of the current year. Add the sum to the Absolute Term, and the result is the number of days elapsed from the epoch of the Julian period down to the given date. These days are to be laid out in Julian intercalary periods by dividing them by 1461. And as the 1st, 5th, &c. years of the Julian period are bissextile, therefore the first year of the remainder is bissextile and the rest common.

Ex. To find the Julian date of the 29th Thoth of the 27th year of the æra of Nabonassar.

| | |
|-------------------------------|------------|
| Elapsed of the æra 26 years = | 9,490 days |
| Days in Thoth | 28 |
| Absolute Term | 1,448,638 |
| Sum..... | 1,458,156 |

This divided by 1461 gives 998 and remainder 78. And $998 \times 4 = 3992$ years. Therefore the given date corresponds with the year J. P. 3993, and the 79th day, which, in bissextile, is the 18th March. And J. P. 3993 = B. C. 721.

§ 438. Connected with the æra of Nabonassar is the so-called *Astronomical* or *Regal Canon*, which was used by the ancient astronomers for the purpose of recording the dates of astronomical phenomena. The Canon consists of the names of the several kings of the Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman empires, with the length of reign in complete years. It is proved beyond all doubt, that the principle on which the length of reign of the Roman emperors is assigned, is the following:—the epoch of each reign is the 1st Thoth immediately preceding the proclamation, even if the date of the proclamation lies toward the end of the year. Eckhel says: *Hæc doctrina adeo vera est, adeo solidis argumentis et exemplis stabilita, ut jam a nemine in dubium vocetur*. This being the Egyptian usage in respect of the Roman emperors, it is highly probable that the Egyptian reigns are dated on the same principle: i. e. that the years of the Ptolemies are reckoned complete from the 1st Thoth immediately preceding each accession. Whether the earlier reigns, Babylonian and Persian, are reckoned in the same way, may perhaps be questioned: certain it is, however, that the years are counted complete at 365 days each, and that each reign begins 1 Thoth. Of course therefore, the date cannot, in every instance, be that of the accession, but is probably the 1st Thoth of the year in which the accession took place.

The Canon is divided into four sections. To some of the names I affix the Julian date of the nominal epoch, or 1 Thoth.

BABYLONIANS.

| Name. | Length of Reign. | Years of Era elapsed at beginning of Reign. | Julian equivalent ¹ . |
|------------------------|---------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| Nabonassar | 14..... | 0..... | Feb. 26 747 B. C. |
| Nadius..... | 2..... | 14..... | 23 733 |
| Chinzer & } Porus } | 5..... | 16..... | 22 731 |
| Ilulæus..... | 5..... | 21..... | 21 726 |
| Mardokempad | 12..... | 26..... | 20 721 |
| Arkean..... | 5..... | 38..... | 17 709 |
| 1 Interregnum | 2..... | 43..... | 15 704 |
| Bilibus..... | 3..... | 45..... | 15 702 |
| Aparanadius | 6..... | 48..... | 14 699 |
| Regebel..... | 1..... | 54..... | 13 693 |
| Mesesimordak..... | 4..... | 55..... | 12 692 |
| 2 Interregnum ... | 8..... | 59..... | 11 688 |
| Asaradin..... | 13..... | 67..... | 9 680 |
| Saoduchin | 20..... | 80..... | 6 667 |
| Kiniladan..... | 22..... | 100..... | 1 647 |
| Nabopollassar..... | 21..... | 122..... | Jan. 27 625 |
| Nabokolassar | 43..... | 143..... | 21 604 |
| Iluoradam | 2..... | 186..... | 11 561 ² |
| Nerikasolassar..... | 14..... | 188..... | 10 559 |
| Nabonadius | 17..... | 192..... | 9 555 |

PERSIANS.

| | | | |
|--------------------|---------|----------|------------------|
| Cyrus..... | 9..... | 209..... | Jan. 5 538 B. C. |
| Cambyses | 8..... | 218..... | 3 530 |
| Darius I. | 36..... | 226..... | 1 522 |
| Xerxes | 21..... | 262..... | Dec. 23 486 |
| Artaxerxes I. ... | 41..... | 283..... | 17 465 |
| Darius II..... | 19..... | 324..... | 7 424 |
| Artaxerxes II. ... | 46..... | 343..... | 2 405 |
| Ochus..... | 21..... | 389..... | Nov. 21 359 |
| Arognus | 2..... | 410..... | 16 338 |
| Darius III..... | 4..... | 412..... | 15 336 |

¹ The month-date may be verified by dividing the number in the preceding column by 4, and deducting the quotient from 26 Feb. = 57 Jan. = 88 Dec. = 118

Nov. &c.

² I perceive that an error of a few days had crept into my calculation of the epoch of this king in p. 166.

GREEKS.

| Name. | Length of Reign. | Years of Æra elapsed at beginning of Reign. | Julian equivalent. | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-----------|
| Alexander | 8..... | 416..... | Nov. 14 | 332 B. C. |
| Philip Aridæus... 7..... | | 424 (0) | Nov. 12 | 324 |
| Alexander II. ...12..... | | 7..... | 10 | 317 |
| Ptolemy Lagi.....20..... | | 19..... | 7 | 305 |
| Philadelphus.....38..... | | 39..... | 2 | 285 |
| Euergetes I. ....25..... | | 77..... | Oct. 24 | 247 |
| Philopator .....17..... | | 102..... | 18 | 222 |
| Epiphanes .....24..... | | 119..... | 13 | 206 |
| Philometor.....35..... | | 143..... | 7 | 181 |
| Euergetes II.....29..... | | 178..... | Sept. 29 | 146 |
| Soter .....36..... | | 207..... | 21 | 117 |
| Dionysius.....29..... | | 243..... | 12 | 81 |
| Cleopatra.....22..... | | 272..... | 5 | 52 |

ROMANS.

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|----------|---------|----------|
| Augustus | 43..... | 337..... | Aug. 29 | 30 B. C. |
| Tiberius | 22..... | 359..... | 20 | 14 A. D. |
| Caius | 4..... | 363..... | 15 | 36 |
| Claudius | 14..... | 377..... | 14 | 40 |
| Nero..... | 14..... | 391..... | 10 | 54 |
| Vespasian | 10..... | 401..... | 7 | 68 |
| Titus | 3..... | 404..... | 5 | 78 |
| Domitian | 15..... | 419..... | 4 | 81 |
| Nerva..... | 1..... | 420..... | July 31 | 96 |
| Trajan..... | 19..... | 439..... | — | 97 |
| Hadrian | 21..... | 460..... | 26 | 116 |
| Ælius Antoninus ..23..... | | 483..... | 21 | 137 |
| Marcus & Commodus32..... | | 515..... | 15 | 160 |
| Severus | 25..... | 540..... | 7 | 192 |
| Antoninus | 4..... | 544..... | 1 | 217 |
| Alexander | 13..... | 557..... | June 27 | 221 |
| Maximin | 3..... | 560..... | 24 | 234 |
| Gordian | 6..... | 566..... | 23 | 237 |
| Philip | 6..... | 572..... | 22 | 243 |
| Decius | 1..... | 573..... | 20 | 249 |
| Gallus | 3..... | 576..... | — | 250 |
| Galenus..... | 15..... | 591..... | 19 | 253 |
| Claudius | 1..... | 592..... | 15 | 268 |
| Aurelian | 6..... | 598..... | — | 269 |
| Probus | 7..... | 605..... | 14 | 275 |
| Carus..... | 2..... | 607..... | 13 | 282 |
| Diocletian..... | 20..... | 627..... | — | 284 |

ends 9 June 304

§ 439. It is needless for chronological purposes to pursue the Canon any further. At the reign of Diocletian begins the **DIOCLETIAN ÆRA**, which was much used in the Paschal calculations of the Alexandrines. Its epoch is B. C. 284, 13 June in the vague reckoning, or 29 August in the fixed calendar. The latter alone is used in ecclesiastical chronology.

The Canon, we see, divides the whole interval between Nabonassar and Diocletian into two æras, of which the first is called the **Æra of Nabonassar**, the other, the **Philippine Æra**, beginning with the 1st Thoth of Philip Aridæus, 12 November B. C. 324.

The Æra of the Seleucidæ.

§ 440. "Seleucus, afterwards called Nicator, at the second distribution of the provinces of Alexander's empire, became possessed of Babylon. He had maintained himself in possession of his dominions for some years, when the fear of the powerful and ambitious Antigonius, who, after conquering Eumenes, had grasped to himself the greater part of Asia on both sides the Taurus, compelled him to quit his territory and to betake himself to Ptolemy Lagi in Egypt. This prince, upon his solicitation, invaded Syria and made himself master of the territory by the victory which he obtained at Gaza over Demetrius Poliorcetes son of Antigonius. Seleucus now, with an army which Ptolemy raised for him, marched upon Babylon, defeated Nicanor, the general of Antigonius, and in consequence of this victory became master of Susiana and Media. From this event, Ol. 117. 1. as Diodorus says, i. e. between the summers of 312, 311 B. C. the æra of the Seleucidæ bears date,—not, as some chronologists suppose, from the founding of the empire of the Seleucidæ in Syria, which occurred 11 years later. Antigonius, after the defeat at Gaza, hastened back into Syria and drove Ptolemy into Egypt, whereupon followed a succession of events which ended in a confederacy of Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus against Antigonius, and in the defeat and death of the latter at Ipsus in Phrygia. This occurred Ol. 119. 1. B. C. 304. The conquerors partitioned his territories between them. Seleucus who, following the example of the other generals, had already for some years assumed the title of king, received for his share Upper Syria, and made it the centre of a great kingdom extending from the Indus to the Hellespont. Cœlesyria, Phenicia, and Palestine for the present formed part of Ptolemy's dominions, but eventually fell to the Seleucidæ.

"Thenceforth it became the custom in that part of Syria which was subject to Seleucus, to count the years from the battle of Gaza and his recovery of Babylon, in which event he laid the foundation of his great power, although at that time he did not bear the name of king. This is the famous æra of the Seleucidæ which the Syrians used, and of which the Jews, under Syrian masters, availed themselves.....By it, the years are counted in the Books of Maccabees, under the name *ἐτη τῆς βασιλείας Ἑλληνῶν*.

§ 441. "That this æra began neither earlier nor later than the autumn of 312 B.C. is proved, *inter cætera*¹, by two Syrian coins bearing the effigies of Hadrian and Caracalla. On the reverse of the one is ΤΡΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΗΚΥ "year of the Tripolitans 428." Hadrian's accession occurred 11 August u.c. 870 = 117 A.D. Hence the æra in question cannot have begun earlier than August 442 u.c. 312 B.C. The other bears the inscription ΕΜΙΣΩΝ ΚΟΛΩΝΙΑΣ ΗΚΦ "528 of the colony of the Emisenes." Caracalla became emperor 8 April 970 u.c. 217 A.D. Therefore if part of the year 528 Ær. Sel. belongs to him, the æra cannot have begun later than 8 April u.c. 443. B.C. 311."

[That is, the year 1 Ær. Sel. includes 8 April and 11 Aug. of the year u.c. 443 = B.C. 311: namely,

| | | |
|-----------|--|-------|
| | u.c. 970 (April 8) - 971 = in part, Ær. Sel. 528 | |
| | 527 527 | 527 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| whence | 443 (April 8) - 444 = | 1 |
| and | u.c. 870 (Aug. 11) - 871 = in part, Ær. Sel. 428 | |
| | 427 427 | 427 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| therefore | 443 (Aug. 11) - 444 = | 1 |

Hence 1 Ær. Sel. cannot have begun earlier than u.c. 442 Aug. 11; for if it did, the first of Hadrian would fall in the 429th year of the æra, namely,

| | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| if 1 Ær. Sel. began..... | 1 Aug. u.c. 442 |
| then 428 | 869 |
| and 429 Ær. Sel. began | 870 |

Again, 1 Ær. Sel. cannot have begun later than 8 April u.c. 443.

| | |
|--|-----|
| For if 1 Ær. Sel. began (say) 2 April u.c. 443 | |
| then 528 | 970 |

at which rate the 8 April u.c. 970 would lie in the year 527 Ær. Sel.]

"Again: in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon the Nicene Confession is introduced with the following date: '*Coss. Paullino et Juliano* in the year after Alexander 636 (i. e. year of the Seleucidæ), on the 19th Dæsius of the Greeks or XIII. Kal. Jul.'" The year of these Coss. is A.D. 325. The Syro-Macedonian year to which this date refers begins Hyperberetæus = October 324 A.D. Hence the first year of the æra, 635 years complete from Oct. 324, begins Oct. 312 B.C."

That is, it is probable that the years of the Seleucidæ bear date from the same month-epoch as the Syro-Macedonian year itself, namely from

¹ [See a fuller collection of the proofs in Mr. Clinton's App. p. 369 ff. to *F. H.* Vol. III.]

October; and if so, then from Oct. 312 B.C.¹ Ideler proceeds thus to a more exact determination of the epoch:—

“Ulug Beig, who reigned and wrote about 430 A.D. at Samarcand, says in the fourth chapter of his work on Epochs, ‘the Grecian æra begins 340,700 days earlier than the Arabian, and 344,324 earlier than the Persian.’ He has said before that it counts by solar years of 365½ days. Count 340,700 days back from 15 July A.D. 622, which is the epoch of the Arabian æra, and 344,324 from 16 June A.D. 632, and we get 1 Oct. 312 B.C. = 4402 Jul. Per. as the epoch of the æra of the Seleucidæ.”

“The æra of the Seleucidæ is called by the Jews ‘the æra of contracts,’ in reference, no doubt, to the use they made of it in mercantile transactions. By most of the rabbins, its epoch is rightly given as the beginning of 3450 of their mundane æra = autumn 312 B.C.” (*Ib.* i. p. 531.)

§ 442. “This is the æra, as was before remarked, by which the years are numbered in the History of the Maccabees: where, however, it occurs under circumstances which call for further elucidation.

“In the first place, it is to be remarked, that in these books the months, as everywhere else in the Old Testament, are reckoned from Nisan. *E. g.* 1 Macc. iv. 52. ‘On the 25th of the 9th month which is called Kislev:’ x. 21. ‘in the 7th month, at the Scenopogia:’ 2 Macc. xv. 37. ‘the 13th of the 12th month, which the Syrians call Adar.’ It is not indeed a necessary inference that the *years* also bear date from Nisan; nevertheless, it is unquestionable that in the First Book, at least, this is actually the case. This is proved by the whole context of events. *E. g.* in the 10th chapter it is related that Alexander Balas in the 160th year came against Demetrius. The latter, a declared enemy of the Jews, was compelled to sue for favour with Jonathan, and accordingly gave him leave to raise a military force: Jonathan thereupon began to rebuild Jerusalem, which was left in a state of devastation by the former wars: meanwhile Jonathan was appointed high-priest by Alexander (who likewise wished to ingratiate himself with him), and in that capacity was presented with a purple robe which he put on at the Feast of Tabernacles in the 7th month of the 160th year.” It is incredible that all these events could have taken place within the space of 14 days, as Sanclemente and others are obliged to suppose, who make the 160th year begin 1 Tisri².

“But in the Second Book, which was the work of a different author, there is nothing to forbid the supposition that the years bear date as usual from the autumn: especially as there are discrepancies between the two books, which are best explained by the supposition of a difference in the epochs. Petavius, Cardinal Noris and others, are also actually of opinion that the Second Book follows the customary epoch, while the first retrodates the years from 1 Nisan 312 B.C. But a difference of half a year is not enough. Let the reader judge for himself. Antiochus Epiphanes

² Mr. Clinton, who advocates the | books, appears not to have noticed this
1 Tisri as the epoch of the year in both | argument.

died on an expedition against the Parthians in the year 149. 1 Macc. vi. 16. He was succeeded by his son Antiochus Eupator, of the age of 9 years, under the guardianship of Lysias. Hereupon the old war broke out afresh with increased violence; and as it terminated unsuccessfully for the Syrians, Lysias and Eupator offered terms of peace in despatches dated 24 Dioscorus and 15 Xanthicus in the year 148¹. 2 Macc. xi. 16. Now if this last year bears date as usual from Oct. 312 B.C., the date of those overtures must lie in the spring of 164 B.C.; at which time, according to 1 Macc., Antiochus was but just dead. But the assumption of a difference of epochs amounting to a year and a half, viz. that 1 Macc. dates its years from 1 Nisan 312 (half a year earlier), and 2 Macc. from 1 Tisri 311 (a year later than the true epoch), solves this difficulty without giving rise, so far as I can see, to another. Amid the variety of æras which were current in Syria, a discrepancy of this amount between writers perhaps considerably remote in place and time is not at all surprising, especially when it is considered that the years of the Seleucidæ in what is called 'the Chaldean æra' do in fact bear date from this same 1 Tisri 311 B.C." (Ideler, I. 531—534.)

The Julian Period¹.

§ 443. As this period is frequently used by Scripture chronologists, and is for some purposes attended with greater convenience than any other æra, its construction shall be briefly described.

The object is to have a connected æra which shall include the whole of the period with which we can be concerned in historical chronology, and whose epoch shall be independent of the contested question concerning the true epoch of the Creation. Besides this convenience, the æra is to be so constructed that by simple division any given year shall announce its place in the solar and lunar cycles, and in the cycle of the Indiction. Therefore, as these three cycles consist of 29, 19, and 15 years respectively, a cycle compounded of these, or $28 \times 19 \times 15 = 7980$ years, will answer the purpose, if it be attached to a year (beginning 1 Jan.) in which each of the three cycles was beginning: for then the remainder which results from the division of any given year by 28, 19 or 15 will give the place of the year in the three cycles; e.g. J.P. 6538 thus announces itself to be the 14th year of the solar cycle, the 2nd of the lunar or Metonic cycle, and the 13th of the Indiction. Such being the structure of this period, the next question was, how it should be attached to the Christian æra. In A.D. 1 the solar cycle was 10, the Golden Number 2, the Indiction 4. From these data it was required to ascertain what year of the Julian Period should coincide with A.D. 1. The problem is one of Indefinite Analysis, and its solution is as follows.

[¹ As the months Dioscorus and Xanthicus are both referred to the same year, 148, it is plain that a new year did not

begin at 1 Xanthicus = 1 Nisan.]

² Ideler, *Handb.* I. 76, 587.

Let the year of the Julian Period which shall coincide with A.D. 1 be x ,

then $\frac{x}{28}$ gives a remainder 10,

$$\begin{array}{rcl} \frac{x}{19} & & 2, \\ \frac{x}{15} & & 4. \end{array}$$

Hence

1) Suppose $\frac{x}{28} = A + \frac{10}{28}$ or $\frac{x-10}{28} = A$: therefore $\frac{x-10}{28}$ is a whole number, and $x = 28A + 10$.

2) $\frac{x-2}{19}$ (which in like manner is integral) = $\frac{28A+8}{19} = A + \frac{9A+8}{19}$: therefore $\frac{9A+8}{19}$ is integral: call this B : then $A = \frac{19B-8}{9} = 2B + \frac{B-8}{9}$: therefore $\frac{B-8}{9}$ is integral: call it C : then $B = 9C + 8$: whence $A = 19C + 16$, and $x = 532C + 458$. But

3) $\frac{x-4}{15}$ or $\frac{532C+454}{15}$ or $35C + 30 + \frac{7C+4}{15}$ is integral: therefore $\frac{7C+4}{15}$ is integral. Call it D : then $C = 2D + \frac{D-4}{7}$: therefore $\frac{D-4}{7} = E$ is integral, and $D = 7E + 4$.

But $C = 2D + \frac{D-4}{7} = 15E + 8$;

$$\begin{aligned} \text{and } x = 532C + 458 &= 532 \times 15E + 8 \times 532 + 458 \\ &= 7980E + 4714. \end{aligned}$$

In this equation let $E = 0$: then $x = 4714$: i.e. A.D. 1 = 4714 Jul. Per.

Hence to reduce a year B.C. into its equivalent year in the Julian Period, subtract from 4714: to reduce a year A.D., add 4713. *E.g.* B.C. 6 = 4708 J.P. and A.D. 29 = 4742 J.P. To reduce a year J.P. to the Christian era, subtract the year from 4714 if it be less; or subtract 4713 from it, if it be greater. Thus $4714 - 4708 = 6$ B.C., and $4742 - 4713 = 29$ A.D.

The Solar Cycle: Calculation of Week-days.

§ 444. Since it is certain that the sabbatical or weekly cycle must have proceeded regularly down to our times from a time long anterior to the Christian era, it follows that if the date of any event be known, we can always ascertain the week-day with which it synchronized. For the date being known, the number of days is known by which the event preceded some known day of a given month coincident with a given week-day. This number of days divided by 7 will indicate the week-day by its remainder. Thus if to-day be Sunday, a day 45 days hence will be $6 \times 7 + 3$ days hence, or three whole days after the beginning of a Sunday, therefore a Wednesday: and a day 45 days ago will in like manner be Thursday. In this direct mode of calculation, it should be born in mind that the enumeration starts from

Oh. Om. of the given week-day. Thus, if it be required to find the day of the week corresponding with the 5th April A. D. 30, Old style. We know that 5 April A. D. 1840 was Sunday. The interval was 1810 years of Julian and Gregorian enumeration. But 1810 years of Julian enumeration at 1461 days constantly to every 4 years, make 452 periods of 4 years and 2 years over. Of these two years, one, namely 5 April 1839 to 5 April 1840, was bissextile, of 366 days. But in 1752, at the alteration of the style, eleven days were dropt, and in 1800 one day = 29 February was dropt. Hence the calculation stands thus:

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 400 \times 1461^d & = & 1600^y \dots\dots\dots = 584,400 \text{ days} \\
 50 \times 1461 & = & 200 \dots\dots\dots = 73,050 \\
 2 \times 1461 & = & 8 \dots\dots\dots = 2,922 \\
 1 \times 365 & = & 1 \dots\dots\dots = 365 \\
 1 \times 366 & = & 1 \dots\dots\dots = 366
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 1810 \text{ Julian years} & \dots\dots\dots & = 661,103 \text{ days} \\
 \text{Deduct days dropt in 1752, 1800} & & \underline{12}
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 & & 661,091 \\
 \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Days actually enumerated from 5 April} \\ \text{A. D. 30 Old style to 5 April A. D. 1840} \\ \text{New style} \dots\dots\dots \end{array} \right\} & & \begin{array}{l} 94,441 \text{ weeks} \\ \text{plus 4 days.} \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

Consequently, 5 April A. D. 30 was 4 days earlier than a Sunday, i. e. it was a *Wednesday*.

§ 445. This is the ultimate reduction in every case, but in the case of such remote dates as A. D. 30 it is not actually necessary to resort to it when we possess a simpler rule. And such is the following.

It is ascertained, by direct calculation, that 1 January A. D. 1 was a Saturday. Every 4th year of the Christian era is leap-year. Hence if m be the numeral of the year A. D., $m-1$ divided by 4 will give the number of periods of 1461 days, and the remainder so many of 365 days. Add to their sum the number of days from 1 January to the given day of the month, *both inclusive*. The sum is the ordinal numeral of the given date; i. e. Saturday 1 January A. D. 1 being the *first*, the given date is the x -th. But in this series, the 1st, 8th, 15th, &c. are Saturdays: therefore the number x divided by 7 will shew, by its remainder, the current week-day of the given date. Namely,

If the remainder be 1 2 3 4 5 6 0.

The day is Sa. Su. Mo. Tu. W. Th. Fr.

For example:—Required the week-day of 5 April A. D. 30.

Here $m = 30$, and $\frac{30-1}{4}$ gives $7 \times 1461 = 10,227$ days

plus $1 \times 365 = 365$

1 January to 5 April inclusive..... = 95

Or 5 April was (from 1 Jan. A. D. 1) the $\frac{10,687}{7}$ th day

1,526: 5th day.

Therefore 5 April A. D. 30 was Wednesday.

If the given date lie before A.D. 1, the rule may be thus modified. Since every 4 years have 1461 days, every 28 must have 7×1461 days, or 1461 weeks. Hence the 1st of January of the year preceding A.D. 1 by 28, 56, 84, 112, &c. years will fall on the same day of the week as 1 Jan. A.D. 1, i.e. will be Saturday. Take therefore that multiple of 28 which next precedes the given year, say $m \times 28$; from this deduct the numeral of the year and proceed precisely as before.

Ex. Required the week-day of 2 October B.C. 6. Here the calculation may start from 1 January 28 B.C.

$$\begin{aligned} 28 - 6 &= 22' = 5 \times 1461 = 7,305 \text{ days} \\ 2 \times 365 &= 730 \\ \text{Ordinal of 2nd October} &= \underline{275\text{th}} \text{ day of year} \\ \text{Ordinal of 2 Oct. B.C. 6} &= 8,310\text{th day of cycle} \\ 7 \overline{) 8,310} & \\ 1,187 &: 1\text{st day} \end{aligned}$$

i.e. 2 October B.C. 6 is Saturday.

But here it must be noted, that one of the single years in the remainder may be leap-year: and allowance must be made accordingly.

Required the week-day of 8 Dec. B.C. 5.

$$\begin{aligned} 28 - 5 &= 23' = 5 \times 1461 = 7,305 \\ 3 \times 365 &= 1,095 \text{ (B.C. 8, 7, 6)} \\ \text{Ordinal of 8 Dec.} &= \underline{343\text{rd}} \text{ day of a leap-year B.C. 5.} \\ 7 \overline{) 343} & \\ 49 &: 0. \end{aligned}$$

Therefore the day was Friday.

§ 446. But the trouble of calculation is spared by the following contrivance.

Since any 4 consecutive Julian years = 1461 days, therefore any 28 consecutive years = $7 \times 1461 = 1461$ weeks: therefore in the 29th year current from any given epoch, the week-days will fall just as in the first. Now let the days of every year be marked successively with the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G; the 1st January being always A. As January has 4 weeks and 3 days, 1 February will be D: therefore 22 February, D. In leap-years, since 24 February is the intercalary day, the letters proceed thus:

| In common years. | |
|------------------|-----------|
| 22 Feb. D | 22 Feb. D |
| 23 ... E | 23 ... E |
| 24 ... F | 24 ... F |
| 25 ... G | 25 ... G |
| 26 ... A | 26 ... A |
| 27 ... B | 27 ... B |
| 28 ... C | 28 ... C |
| 29 ... D | 1 Mar. D |

Thus, whether the year be common or bissextile, the 1 Mar. is always D, and the intercalation makes no difference in the arrangement of the letters, except from 26—29 February. It is easy to see that in any common year, if A for instance be the Sunday letter, *i. e.* if 1 Jan. be Sunday, it will be the Sunday letter throughout the year: but in a leap year, the Sundays after the intercalary day will fall one letter earlier, *i. e.* G. Thus every leap-year has two Sunday letters, one before 24 Feb., and one after.

And as the common year has 365 days = 52 weeks and 1 day, the Sundays of the following year will fall one letter earlier, and after a leap-year two letters earlier.

§ 447. Hence if we assume a year, which shall be bissextile, and in which the 1st January is Monday, therefore Sunday letter = G, F, and make this year the first of the cycle, the Sunday letters of the following years will lie in the following order:

| <i>Year of Solar Cycle.</i> | <i>Dom. Let.</i> | <i>Year of Solar Cycle.</i> | <i>Dom. Let.</i> |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| b. 1 | G. F. | 15 | C. |
| 2 | E. | 16 | B. |
| 3 | D. | b. 17 | A. G. |
| 4 | C. | 18 | F. |
| b. 5 | B. A. | 19 | E. |
| 6 | G. | 20 | D. |
| 7 | F. | b. 21 | C. B. |
| 8 | E. | 22 | A. |
| b. 9 | D. C. | 23 | G. |
| 10 | B. | 24 | F. |
| 11 | A. | b. 25 | E. D. |
| 12 | G. | 26 | C. |
| b. 13 | F. E. | 27 | B. |
| 14 | D. | 28 | A. |

Of the years which answer to the description above given, one is the year B. C. 9. Hence the following rule: *To the numeral of the year A. D. add 9, and divide the sum by 28. If the remainder be 0, the year of the Cycle is the 28th; if 1, the first; if 2, the second; &c.*

For example: A. D. 1841.

$$\frac{1841 + 9}{28} = \frac{1850}{28} = 66 \text{ with a remainder } 2.$$

The year then is the second of the cycle, and the Dominical letter is E: viz. *in the Old Style.*

For the years B. C. *Take that multiple of 28 which added to 9 will be the epoch of the Cycle next before the date sought; to the difference between this and the year-number add 1, this is the year of the cycle.*

Example: B.C. 165.

$$6 \times 28 = 168$$

$$+ 9$$

B.C. 177 = 1st year of a cycle.

$$165$$

12 years of cycle elapsed.

therefore 165 is the 13th of the cycle, and its Dom. let. is F, E.

Description of the following Tables.

§ 448. TABLE I. is so constructed as to give by an easy calculation the time of mean paschal full moon through a course of 24 Callippic periods or 96 Metonic cycles: 24×76 or 96×19 years.

A period of 76 Julian years = 27,759 days exceeds 940 mean lunations by 0.2466079 days, i.e. $5^h 55^m 69^s$. It consists of 4 cycles of 19 years, three of which comprise 6940 days each, and the other 6939 days. If the period be made to begin at the paschal full moon of a bissextile year, its *first* cycle will be that of 6939 days, which is short of 235 mean lunations by $16^h 31^m 13^s$. Each of the other three exceed the number of lunations by $7^h 28^m 47^s$. Hence, if the time of mean paschal full moon at the epoch of the first *period* be t , it will be

$$\text{at the epoch of the 2nd period, } t - 5^h 55^m 7^s$$

$$\dots\dots\dots 3\text{rd} \dots\dots\dots t - 2 \times \{5 \ 55 \ 7\}$$

$$\dots\dots\dots 4\text{th} \dots\dots\dots t - 3 \times \{5 \ 55 \ 7\}$$

and so on.

Again, if the time of mean paschal full moon at the epoch of the 1st cycle of a given period be c , it will be

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{at the epoch of the 2nd cycle} \dots\dots\dots c + 16^h 31^m 13^s \\ \phantom{\text{at the epoch of the 2nd cycle} \dots\dots\dots} - 7 \ 28 \ 47 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} \dots\dots\dots 3\text{rd} \dots\dots\dots + 9 \ 2 \ 26 \\ \phantom{\dots\dots\dots 3\text{rd} \dots\dots\dots} - 7 \ 28 \ 47 \end{array}$$

$$\dots\dots\dots 4\text{th} \dots\dots\dots + 1 \ 33 \ 39$$

And since 365 days exceed 12 mean lunations by $10^d 15^h 11^m 25^s$

and are short of 13 mean lunations by $18 \ 21 \ 32 \ 37$,

hence, if the time of paschal full moon in any given year be p ,

in the next year it will be either $p - 10^d 15^h$

or $p + 18 \ 21$;

but if the intermediate February be bissextile, it will be $p - 11 \ 15$

or $p + 17 \ 21$.

Similarly: for the years 1096, 1013, 741, 725, 623, 606, B. C.

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|------------|----------------|------|------------------------|
| B. C. 1149 | Apr. 10. 5. 45 | 1073 | Apr. 9. 23. 50 | 769 | Apr. 9. 0. 9 |
| 1096 | + 0. 9. 2 | 1013 | + 0. 1. 33 | 741 | + 0. 6. 31 |
| 54th yr. | + 13. 15. 0 | 61st | 10. 1. 23 | 29th | 9. 6. 40 |
| B. C. 1096 | Apr. 24. 5. 47 | | - 3. 9. 0 | | - 10. 3. 0 |
| (By calculation, — 23. 17. 0) | | B. C. 1013 | Apr. 6. 16. 23 | 741 | Mar. 30. 3. 40 |
| B. C. 769 | Apr. 9. 0. 9 | 693 | Apr. 8. 18. 14 | 617 | Apr. 8. 12. 19 |
| 725 | + 0. 16. 31 | 623 | + 0. 1. 33 | 606 | |
| 35th | + 13. 15. 0 | 71st | + 6. 9. 0 | 12th | - 0. 21. 0 |
| | Apr. 23. 7. 40 | 623 | Apr. 15. 4. 47 | 606 | Apr. 7. 15. 19 |
| 725 | or 29. 12. 44 | | | | (By actual calculation |
| | Mar. 24. 18. 56 | | | | Apr. 7. 22. 44. 46.) |

Again: to test the accuracy of our Table let us take its indications for the following years:

| | | |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| B. C. 536 in which p. f. m. by calculation fell April 13. 7. 54 | | |
| 455 | — 17. 23. 53 | |
| 161 | — 6. 17. 8 | |
| 4 | Mar. 13. 3. 0 | |
| A. D. 70 | April 14. 6. 54 | |
| 164 | Mar. 26. 8. 0 | |
| B. C. 541 Apr. 8. 6. 24 | B. C. 465 Apr. 8. 0. 29 | B. C. 161 Apr. 7. 0. 48 |
| 536 | 455 | |
| 6th + 4. 21. 0 | 11th + 9. 18. 0 | |
| 536 Apr. 13. 3. 24 | 455 Apr. 17. 18. 29 | |
| (error, — 4 hours.) | (error, — 5 hours.) | (error, + 7 hours.) |
| B. C. 9 Apr. 6. 12. 58 | A. D. 68 Apr. 6. 7. 3 | A. D. 144 Apr. 6. 1. 8 |
| 4 | 70 | 164 + 0. 16. 31 |
| 6th + 4. 21. 0 | 3rd + 8. 6. 0 | 21st 6. 17. 39 |
| 4 Apr. 10. 23. 58 | 70 Apr. 14. 13. 3 | — 11. 15. 0 |
| 29. 12. 44 | | 164 Mar. 26. 2. 39 |
| Mar. 12. 11. 14 | (error, + 7 hours.) | (error, — 6 hours.) |
| (error, — 16 hours.) | | |

§ 450. TABLE II. The day of paschal full moon, or 15th Nisan, being approximately obtained from Table I. or accurately by calculation with astronomical Tables, the julian equivalent for any given day of the Jewish year will be seen by inspection of Table II. Not indeed with absolute precision even when the precise instant of paschal full moon is known; for there is no certainty as to the order of *menses pleni et cavi*. Generally speaking, the order is alternate: whence if the 15th of the 1st month be known, the 15th of the 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th, will be 1 × 59, 2 × 59, 3 × 59, &c. days later: but the 15th of the 2nd may be 30, or may be only 29, days later, and so on.

Example: Required the 17th day of Thammuz and the 9th day of Ab in A. D. 70.

By exact calculation paschal full moon A. D. 70 fell April 14 6^h; therefore (§ 411) 15th Nisan was 14 April.

Hence 1 Thammuz either 28 June or 27 June.

17 14 July or 13 July.

But 1 Ab certainly..... 27 July.

9 4 August.

§ 451. TABLE III. gives the process of calculation by which the exact instant of paschal full moon for the year A. D. 29 was obtained. The Tables used were those of Delambre as given in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Art. *Astronomy*. In the same manner I have calculated the dates of true paschal full moon, for the longitude of Jerusalem, in each of the years A. D. 28—33 inclusive, to one or other of which years the crucifixion is certainly to be referred, § 64.

| | | | |
|----------|--|----------|--|
| A. D. 28 | March 29... 5 ^h 26 ^m 19 ^s | A. D. 31 | March 27...13 ^h 18 ^m 13 ^s |
| 29 { | March 18...21 15 52 | 32 | April 14...11 11 29 |
| | April 17... 3 7 45 | 33 | April 3...16 2 50 |
| 30 | April 6...22 0 52 | | |

And the following dates, in day and hour, or day hour minute and second, of paschal or other full moons:

| | | | |
|------------|--|----------|---|
| B. C. 1586 | April 11... 0 ^h 47 ^m 55 ^s | B. C. 38 | Mar. 28...21 ^h 0 ^m 0 ^s |
| 1096 | April 23...17 0 0 ¹ | 37 | April 15...15 0 0 |
| 606 | April 7...22 44 46 | 5 | Dec. 28...14 0 0 |
| 536 | April 13... 7 54 16 | 4 | Mar. 13... 3 0 0 |
| 456 | Mar. 30... 3 56 55 | A. D. 66 | Mar. 30... 5 6 0 |
| 455 | April 17...23 53 3 | 70 | April 14... 6 54 41 |
| 161 | April 6...17 8 0 | 164 | Mar. 26... 8 0 0 |
| 64 | April 14...19 0 0 | 251 | Mar. 25... 1 0 0 |
| 63 | April 3...15 0 0 | | |

¹ The Tables given in the *Encyclopædia* go back only eight centuries before our *Æra*. Hence for the years 1096 and 1586, there was a necessity for extending the Tables, a rather troublesome task, which, however, it seemed worth while to undertake, as it was of some importance to the object of this Work to ascertain the exact time of the Exodus Passover. The extension proceeded upon the assumption that the several corrections, secular equations, anomalies, &c., follow the same law of progression in the

eight centuries preceding B. C. 800, as in the tract of time comprised in the Tables.—In 1586 (by my own cyclical Table) the mean paschal full moon fell

Apr. 11. 17. 15

+ 0. 16. 31

Apr. 12. 9. 46

later by 33 hours than the result of calculation. Regard being had of the moon's acceleration § 397, the error is not excessive.

§ 452. TABLE IV. gives at sight the dominical letter of any year B. C. or A. D. *old style*.

Seven julian centuries contain 25 solar cycles: ($25 \times 28 = 700$). And 1 century or 36,525 days = 5,217 weeks and 6 days over. Now 1 Jan. A. D. 1 = B. C. 0 was Saturday, therefore dom. let. = B. Hence 1 Jan. in

| | | | |
|-------|--------------------|-------|---------------------|
| B. C. | 100 = Sunday.....A | A. D. | 101 = Friday .....C |
| 200 | Monday .....G | 201 | Thursday.....D |
| 300 | Tuesday .....F | 301 | Wednesday....E |
| 400 | Wednesday ...E | 401 | Tuesday .....F |
| 500 | Thursday.....D | 501 | Monday .....G |
| 600 | Friday .....C | 601 | Sunday.....A |
| 700 | Saturday .....B | 701 | Saturday .....B |
| 800 | Sunday.... .....A | 801 | Friday.....C |

and so on.

My Table is formed by combining this cycle of seven centuries with the common solar cycle of 28 years, the former for the centuries, the other for the tens and units.

Example. Required the dom. let. of 1586 B. C.

In the centurial columns B. C. look out 15, and in the columns of tens and units B. C. look out 86: at the intersection of the column of 15 and line of 86 is D which is therefore the dom. let. of 1586 B. C.

Required the dom. let. of 29 A. D.

The column of 0 centuries A. D. and line of 29 years meet at B, which accordingly is the dom. let. of A. D. 29.

§ 453. TABLE V. Given the year and its dom. let. to find at sight the week-day answering to any given julian calendar-day.

Example. In B. C. 1586 dom. let. D. required the week-day of 10 April.

D coincides with Sunday in col. 5 of week-days, and 10 April coincides with *Friday* in that column.

So: in A. D. 29 the dominical letter B coincides with Sunday in col. 7, and 18 March with *Friday*.

In a bissextile year the day which in this Table is 1 March will be 29th February: 2 March = 1 March, and so on.

Thus: in B. C. 5 dom. let. B. A. required the week-day of 8 December.

In the Table, look out 9 December: then since B coincides with Sunday in col. 7, we have 9 December in a common year = 8 December in bissextile = *Friday*.

Conversely: given the year and the week-day coinciding with a given day. To find the dom. let. of the year.

Ex. 14 February A. D. 378 was Wednesday. Now 14 February coincides with Wednesday in col. 2, and in that column Sunday coincides with G, which is therefore the dom. let. of A. D. 378.

This same Table will also expedite the calculation of intervals from a given day to another. For instance, from 18 March to 4 August. Here

18 March = 77th, 4 August = 216th day of year, $216 - 77 = 139$ days. Again, from 2 October B.C. 6 to 8 December B.C. 5 bissextile: here we have 8 Dec. 342nd - 2 Oct. 275th = 67 days, which added to 366 gives 433 days.

§ 454. TABLE VI. answers the same purpose more expeditiously.

Note, that if the interval includes a bissextile February, 1 must be added to the numbers enclosed within the lines.

Example: 18 Mar. to 4 Aug. = 18 Mar. to 18 Aug. = 153^d
 minus 14

 139 days.

And from 6 Jan. A.D. 28 to 26 Sept. = 6 Jan. to 6 Sept. = 244
plus 20

264 days

§ 455. TABLE VII. To facilitate the reduction of julian years into days, and into cyclical periods of 70 weeks (490^d), 49 w. (343 or 7⁵), and 62 w. (434^d.)

Examples:

1. Required the number of days from 10 April 1586 B.C. to 4 August 70 A.D.

| | | | |
|----------------|------|-----------------------|------------------|
| years B. | 1586 | 10 April to 10 August | 122 |
| years A. | 69 | 4 Aug. to 10 — | 6 |
| 4) 1655 years. | | 10 April to 4 August | 116 ^d |

413. 3: and one of the 3 years (A. D. 68) is bissext.

| | | |
|---------------------|---|----------------------|
| 400 J. P. | = | 584,400 ^d |
| 10 | = | 14,610 |
| 3 | = | 4,383 |
| <hr/> | | |
| 3 y. (1 biss.) | | 1,096 |
| 10 Ap. to 4 Aug.... | | 116 |
| <hr/> | | |
| Sum | | 604,605 days. |

2. From 9 July 588 to 17 November A.D. 70 are 657 years 131 days, or 164 J. P. + 1^y + 131^d.

| | | | | |
|-----|---|----------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| 100 | = | 298 × 490 + 80 | 426 × 7 ³ - 18 | 337 × 434 - 158 |
| 60 | = | 179 × 490 - 50 | 256 × 7 ³ - 148 | 202 × 434 - 8 |
| 4 | = | 12 × 490 - 36 | 17 × 7 ³ + 13 | 13 × 434 + 202 |
| 1' | = | + 365 | 1 × 7 ³ + 22 | 1 × 434 - 69 |
| | | + 131 | + 131 | + 131 |
| | | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | | 490 × 490 + 0 | 700 × 7 ³ + 0 | 553 × 434 + 98 |

TABLE I.

| Period. | Correction. | | | B. C. | Epochal Mean paschal Full Moon. | FIRST CYCLE. | | | SECOND. | | | THIRD. | | | FOURTH. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------|---------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|----|----|----|
| | ⁿ | ^m | ^s | | | ⁿ | ^m | ^s | ⁿ | ^m | ^s | ⁿ | ^m | ^s | ⁿ | ^m | ^s | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | - | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1605 | April 11 | 17 | 15 | 50 | B1 | + | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20 | + | 0 | 16 | 31 | 39 | + | 0 | 9 | 2 | 58 | + | 0 | 1 | 33 |
| 2 | - | 0 | 5 | 55 | 7 | 1529 | 11 | 11 | 20 | 43 | 2 | - | 10 | 15 | B21 | - | 11 | 15 | | 40 | - | 10 | 15 | | 59 | - | 10 | 15 | |
| 3 | - | 0 | 11 | 50 | 14 | 1453 | 11 | 5 | 25 | 36 | 3 | + | 8 | 6 | | 22 | + | 7 | 6 | B41 | + | 7 | 6 | | 60 | + | 8 | 6 | |
| 4 | - | 0 | 17 | 45 | 21 | 1377 | 10 | 23 | 30 | 29 | 4 | - | 2 | 9 | | 23 | - | 3 | 9 | | 42 | - | 3 | 9 | | B61 | - | 3 | 9 |
| 5 | - | 0 | 23 | 40 | 28 | 1301 | 10 | 17 | 35 | 22 | B5 | - | 14 | 0 | 24 | - | 14 | 0 | | 43 | - | 14 | 0 | | 62 | - | 14 | 0 | |
| 6 | - | 1 | 5 | 35 | 35 | 1225 | 10 | 11 | 40 | 15 | 6 | + | 4 | 21 | B25 | + | 3 | 21 | | 44 | + | 4 | 21 | | 63 | + | 4 | 21 | |
| 7 | - | 1 | 11 | 30 | 42 | 1149 | 10 | 5 | 45 | 8 | 7 | - | 5 | 18 | | 26 | - | 6 | 18 | | 45 | - | 6 | 18 | | 64 | - | 5 | 18 |
| 8 | - | 1 | 17 | 25 | 49 | 1073 | 9 | 23 | 50 | 1 | 8 | + | 13 | 3 | 27 | + | 12 | 3 | | 46 | + | 12 | 3 | | B65 | + | 12 | 3 | |
| 9 | - | 1 | 23 | 20 | 56 | 997 | 9 | 17 | 54 | 54 | B9 | + | 1 | 12 | 28 | + | 1 | 12 | | 47 | + | 1 | 12 | | 66 | + | 1 | 12 | |
| 10 | - | 2 | 5 | 16 | 2 | 921 | 9 | 11 | 59 | 48 | 10 | - | 9 | 3 | B29 | - | 10 | 3 | | 48 | - | 9 | 3 | | 67 | - | 9 | 3 | |
| 11 | - | 2 | 11 | 11 | 9 | 845 | 9 | 6 | 4 | 41 | 11 | + | 9 | 18 | 30 | + | 8 | 18 | | 49 | + | 8 | 18 | | 68 | + | 9 | 18 | |
| 12 | - | 2 | 17 | 6 | 16 | 769 | 9 | 0 | 9 | 34 | 12 | - | 0 | 21 | 31 | - | 1 | 21 | | 50 | - | 1 | 21 | | B69 | - | 1 | 21 | |
| 13 | - | 2 | 23 | 1 | 23 | 693 | 8 | 18 | 14 | 27 | B13 | - | 12 | 12 | 32 | - | 12 | 12 | | 51 | - | 12 | 12 | | 70 | - | 12 | 12 | |
| 14 | - | 3 | 4 | 56 | 30 | 617 | 8 | 12 | 19 | 20 | 14 | + | 6 | 9 | B33 | + | 5 | 9 | | 52 | + | 6 | 9 | | 71 | + | 6 | 9 | |
| 15 | - | 3 | 10 | 51 | 37 | 541 | 8 | 6 | 24 | 13 | 15 | - | 4 | 6 | 34 | - | 5 | 6 | | 53 | - | 5 | 6 | | 72 | - | 4 | 6 | |
| 16 | - | 3 | 16 | 46 | 44 | 465 | 8 | 0 | 29 | 6 | 16 | + | 14 | 15 | 35 | + | 13 | 15 | | 54 | + | 13 | 15 | | B73 | + | 13 | 15 | |
| 17 | - | 3 | 22 | 41 | 51 | 389 | 7 | 18 | 33 | 59 | B17 | + | 3 | 0 | 36 | + | 3 | 0 | | 55 | + | 3 | 0 | | 74 | + | 3 | 0 | |
| 18 | - | 4 | 4 | 36 | 58 | 313 | 7 | 12 | 38 | 52 | 18 | - | 7 | 15 | B37 | - | 8 | 15 | | 56 | - | 7 | 15 | | 75 | - | 7 | 15 | |
| 19 | - | 4 | 10 | 32 | 4 | 237 | 7 | 6 | 43 | 46 | 19 | + | 11 | 6 | 38 | + | 10 | 6 | | 57 | + | 10 | 6 | | 76 | + | 11 | 6 | |
| 20 | - | 4 | 16 | 27 | 11 | 161 | 7 | 0 | 48 | 39 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 21 | - | 4 | 22 | 22 | 18 | 85 | 6 | 18 | 53 | 32 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22 | - | 5 | 4 | 17 | 25 | 9 | 6 | 12 | 58 | 25 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 | - | 5 | 10 | 12 | 32 | 68 A.D. | 6 | 7 | 3 | 18 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 24 | - | 5 | 16 | 7 | 39 | 144 | 6 | 1 | 8 | 11 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

TABLE II.

| i. 18th Nisan 30. | ii. 1 Ijar 29. | iii. 1 Sivan 30. | iv. 1 Thammuz 29. | v. 1 Ab 30. | vi. 1 Elul 29. | vii. 1 Tishri 30. | viii. 1 Marchesvan 29. | ix. 1 Kisleu 30. | x. 1 Tebeth 29. | xi. 1 Shebat 30. | xii. 1 Adar 29. | xiii. 1 Veadar 28. |
|-------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| Mar. 15 | Mar. 31 | Apr. 29 | May 29 | June 27 | July 27 | Aug. 25 | Sept. 24 | Oct. 23 | Nov. 22 | Dec. 21 | Jan. 20 | Feb. 18 |
| 17 | Apr. 2 | May 1 | 31 | 29 | 29 | 27 | 26 | 25 | 24 | 23 | 22 | 20 |
| 19 | 4 | 3 | June 2 | July 1 | 31 | 29 | 28 | 27 | 26 | 25 | 24 | 22 |
| 21 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | Aug. 2 | 31 | 30 | 29 | 28 | 27 | 26 | 24 |
| 23 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | Sept. 2 | Oct. 2 | 31 | 30 | 29 | 28 | 26 |
| 25 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 4 | Nov. 2 | Dec. 2 | 31 | 30 | 28 |
| 27 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 4 | Jan. 2 | Feb. 1 | Mar. 2 |
| 29 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| 31 | 16 | 15 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 10 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 5 | 6 |
| Apr. 1 | 17 | 16 | 15 | 14 | 13 | 11 | 11 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 6 | 7 |
| 3 | 19 | 18 | 17 | 16 | 15 | 13 | 13 | 11 | 11 | 9 | 8 | 9 |
| 5 | 21 | 20 | 19 | 18 | 17 | 15 | 15 | 13 | 13 | 11 | 10 | 11 |
| 7 | 23 | 22 | 21 | 20 | 19 | 17 | 17 | 15 | 15 | 13 | 12 | 13 |
| 9 | 25 | 24 | 23 | 22 | 21 | 19 | 19 | 17 | 17 | 15 | 14 | 15 |
| 11 | 27 | 26 | 25 | 24 | 23 | 21 | 21 | 19 | 19 | 17 | 16 | 17 |

| 15 Nisan | 1 Ujar | 1 Sivan | 1 Thammuz | 1 Ab | 1 Elul | 1 Tisri | 1 Marchesvan | 1 Kisleu | 1 Tebeth | 1 Shebat | 1 Adar | 1 Veadar. |
|----------|---------|---------|-----------|---------|---------|----------|--------------|----------|----------|----------|---------|-----------|
| Apr. 13 | Apr. 29 | May 28 | June 27 | July 26 | Aug. 25 | Sept. 23 | Oct. 23 | Nov. 21 | Dec. 21 | Jan. 19 | Feb. 18 | Mar. 19 |
| 16 | May 2 | 30 | 29 | 28 | 27 | 25 | 25 | 23 | 23 | 21 | 20 | 21 |
| 17 | 4 | June 1 | July 1 | 30 | 29 | 27 | 27 | 25 | 25 | 23 | 22 | 23 |
| 19 | 6 | 3 | 3 | Aug. 1 | 31 | 29 | 29 | 27 | 27 | 25 | 24 | 25 |
| 21 | 8 | 5 | 5 | 3 | Sept. 2 | Oct. 1 | 31 | 29 | 29 | 27 | 26 | 27 |
| 23 | 10 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 3 | Nov. 2 | Dec. 1 | 31 | 29 | 28 | 29 |
| 25 | 12 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | Jan. 2 | 31 | Mar. 2 | 31 |
| 27 | 14 | 11 | 11 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | Feb. 2 | 4 | Apr. 2 |
| 29 | 16 | 13 | 13 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 4 |
| 30 | 17 | 14 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 5 |
| May 1 | 18 | 15 | 15 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 6 | 8 | 6 |
| 3 | 20 | 17 | 17 | 15 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 8 | 10 | 8 |
| 5 | 22 | 19 | 19 | 17 | 16 | 15 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 10 | 12 | 10 |
| 7 | 24 | 21 | 21 | 19 | 18 | 17 | 16 | 15 | 14 | 12 | 14 | 12 |
| 9 | 26 | 23 | 23 | 21 | 20 | 19 | 18 | 17 | 16 | 14 | 16 | 14 |
| 11 | 28 | 25 | 25 | 23 | 22 | 21 | 20 | 19 | 18 | 16 | 18 | 16 |

Note, that if the Jewish year extends into a leap year, 1 March of this Table (in *Adar* and *Veadar*) becomes 29 February, and 1 April = 31 March: and so on.

TABLE III.
Calculation of the Time of True Full Moon, March, A.D. 20.

| Time of Mean New Moon. | | | | Mean Anomaly. | | | | Mean Dist. from Ascending Node. | | | | Equations from the several Elements. | | | | | | |
|------------------------|------|----|----|---------------|----|----|----|----------------------------------|----|----|----|--------------------------------------|----|----|----|---|--|----|
| | | | | s. | d. | m. | s. | s. | d. | m. | s. | s. | d. | m. | s. | Plus. | Minus. | |
| | | | | h. | m. | s. | | | | | | | | | | 4 ^h 1 ^m 50 ^s | 0 ^h 45 ^m 32 ^s | |
| 1829..... | Jan. | 4 | 21 | 29 | 30 | | 10 | 18 | 46 | 35 | 0 | 4 | 43 | 49 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 45 |
| 1800..... | | 28 | 0 | 48 | 47 | | 6 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 26 | 38 | 29 | 2 | 3 | 14 | 32 |
| Secular equations | | | | 32 | 22 | 28 | 27 | 16 | 22 | 50 | 37 | 1 | 31 | 21 | 38 | 7 | 15 | 25 |
| | | | | | | — | 1 | 49 | 7 | + | 3 | 15 | 38 | — | 0 | 8 | 45 | 29 |
| 4 lunation | | | | 32 | 20 | 39 | 20 | 16 | 26 | 6 | 15 | 1 | 31 | 12 | 53 | 7 | 14 | 46 |
| | | | | | | 14 | 18 | 22 | 1 | 6 | 12 | 54 | 30 | 0 | 14 | 33 | 10 | 7 |
| Jan. 18 | | | | 2 | 17 | 19 | | 10 | 13 | 11 | 45 | 1 | 16 | 39 | 43 | 0 | 29 | 26 |
| 2 lunations, Feb. 28 | | | | 1 | 28 | 6 | | 1 | 21 | 38 | 2 | 1 | 28 | 12 | 39 | 2 | 1 | 20 |
| Feb. 46 | | | | 3 | 45 | 1 | | 0 | 4 | 49 | 47 | 3 | 14 | 52 | 22 | 3 | 0 | 47 |
| | | | | | | | | Corr. for longitude of Jerusalem | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | 2 | 21 | 16 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mar. 18 | | | | 6 | 6 | 41 | | Astron. time, Jerusalem | | | | | | | | | | |
| i. e. Mar. 18 | | | | 18 | 6 | 41 | | Civil time do. | | | | | | | | | | |
| Corrections | | | | + | 3 | 9 | 11 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mar. 18 th | | | | 21 | 15 | 52 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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IV. TABLE OF DOMINICAL CYCLE.

| <i>Number of Centuries. B.C.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|--|--------------------------------|----|----|----|--------------------------------|----|----|----|
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | | | | | | | | | |
| 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | | | | | | | | | |
| 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | | | | | | | | | |
| 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | | | | | | | | | |
| 35 | 36 | 37 | 38 | 39 | 40 | 41 | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | <i>Tens and Units.</i> B.C. | | | | <i>Tens and Units.</i> A.D. | | | |
| B | A | G | F | E | D | C | | 00 | 28 | 56 | 84 | 01 | 29 | 57 | 85 |
| CD | BC | AB | GA | FG | EF | DE | | 01 | 29 | 57 | 85 | 00 | 28 | 56 | 84 |
| E | D | C | B | A | G | F | | 02 | 30 | 58 | 86 | | 27 | 55 | 83 |
| F | E | D | C | B | A | G | | 03 | 31 | 59 | 87 | | 26 | 54 | 82 |
| G | F | E | D | C | B | A | | 04 | 32 | 60 | 88 | | 25 | 53 | 81 |
| AB | GA | FG | EF | DE | CD | BC | | 05 | 33 | 61 | 89 | | 24 | 52 | 80 |
| C | B | A | G | F | E | D | | 06 | 34 | 62 | 90 | | 23 | 51 | 79 |
| D | C | B | A | G | F | E | | 07 | 35 | 63 | 91 | | 22 | 50 | 78 |
| E | D | C | B | A | G | F | | 08 | 36 | 64 | 92 | | 21 | 49 | 77 |
| FG | EF | DE | CD | BC | AB | GA | | 09 | 37 | 65 | 93 | | 20 | 48 | 76 |
| A | G | F | E | D | C | B | | 10 | 38 | 66 | 94 | | 19 | 47 | 75 |
| B | A | G | F | E | D | C | | 11 | 39 | 67 | 95 | | 18 | 46 | 74 |
| C | B | A | G | F | E | D | | 12 | 40 | 68 | 96 | | 17 | 45 | 73 |
| DE | CD | BC | AB | GA | FG | EF | | 13 | 41 | 69 | 97 | | 16 | 44 | 72 |
| F | E | D | C | B | A | G | | 14 | 42 | 70 | 98 | | 15 | 43 | 71 |
| G | F | E | D | C | B | A | | 15 | 43 | 71 | 99 | | 14 | 42 | 70 |
| A | G | F | E | D | C | B | | 16 | 44 | 72 | | 13 | 41 | 69 | |
| BC | AB | GA | FG | EF | DE | CD | | 17 | 45 | 73 | | 12 | 40 | 68 | |
| D | C | B | A | G | F | E | | 18 | 46 | 74 | | 11 | 39 | 67 | |
| E | D | C | B | A | G | F | | 19 | 47 | 75 | | 10 | 38 | 66 | |
| F | E | D | C | B | A | G | | 20 | 48 | 76 | | 09 | 37 | 65 | |
| GA | FG | EF | DE | CD | BC | AB | | 21 | 49 | 77 | | 08 | 36 | 64 | |
| B | A | G | F | E | D | C | | 22 | 50 | 78 | | 07 | 35 | 63 | |
| C | B | A | G | F | E | D | | 23 | 51 | 79 | | 06 | 34 | 62 | |
| D | C | B | A | G | F | E | | 24 | 52 | 80 | | 05 | 33 | 61 | |
| EF | DE | CD | BC | AB | GA | FG | | 25 | 53 | 81 | | 04 | 32 | 60 | |
| G | F | E | D | C | B | A | | 26 | 54 | 82 | | 03 | 31 | 59 | |
| A | G | F | E | D | C | B | | 27 | 55 | 83 | | 02 | 30 | 58 | |
| 0 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 8 | | | | | | | | | |
| 14 | 20 | 19 | 18 | 17 | 16 | 15 | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Number of Centuries. A. D.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

TABLE V.

To find the Week-day of a given Calendar-day when the Dominical Letter is given; or, given the Calendar-day and Week-day, to find the Sunday Letter.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 | 37 | 38 | 39 | 40 | 41 | 42 | 43 | 44 | 45 | 46 | 47 | 48 | 49 | 50 | 51 | 52 | 53 | 54 | 55 | 56 | 57 | 58 | 59 | 60 | 61 | 62 | 63 | 64 | 65 | 66 | 67 | 68 | 69 | 70 | 71 | 72 | 73 | 74 | 75 | 76 | 77 | 78 | 79 | 80 | 81 | 82 | 83 | 84 | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 | 89 | 90 | 91 | 92 | 93 | 94 | 95 | 96 | 97 | 98 | 99 | 100 | 101 | 102 | 103 | 104 | 105 | 106 | 107 | 108 | 109 | 110 | 111 | 112 | 113 | 114 | 115 | 116 | 117 | 118 | 119 | 120 | 121 | 122 | 123 | 124 | 125 | 126 | 127 | 128 | 129 | 130 | 131 | 132 | 133 | 134 | 135 | 136 | 137 | 138 | 139 | 140 | 141 | 142 | 143 | 144 | 145 | 146 | 147 | 148 | 149 | 150 | 151 | 152 | 153 | 154 | 155 | 156 | 157 | 158 | 159 | 160 | 161 | 162 | 163 | 164 | 165 | 166 | 167 | 168 | 169 | 170 | 171 | 172 | 173 | 174 | 175 | 176 | 177 | 178 | 179 | 180 | 181 | 182 | 183 | 184 | 185 | 186 | 187 | 188 | 189 | 190 | 191 | 192 | 193 | 194 | 195 | 196 | 197 | 198 | 199 | 200 | 201 | 202 | 203 | 204 | 205 | 206 | 207 | 208 | 209 | 210 | 211 | 212 | 213 | 214 | 215 | 216 | 217 | 218 | 219 | 220 | 221 | 222 | 223 | 224 | 225 | 226 | 227 | 228 | 229 | 230 | 231 | 232 | 233 | 234 | 235 | 236 | 237 | 238 | 239 | 240 | 241 | 242 | 243 | 244 | 245 | 246 | 247 | 248 | 249 | 250 | 251 | 252 | 253 | 254 | 255 | 256 | 257 | 258 | 259 | 260 | 261 | 262 | 263 | 264 | 265 | 266 | 267 | 268 | 269 | 270 | 271 | 272 | 273 | 274 | 275 | 276 | 277 | 278 | 279 | 280 | 281 | 282 | 283 | 284 | 285 | 286 | 287 | 288 | 289 | 290 | 291 | 292 | 293 | 294 | 295 | 296 | 297 | 298 | 299 | 300 | 301 | 302 | 303 | 304 | 305 | 306 | 307 | 308 | 309 | 310 | 311 | 312 | 313 | 314 | 315 | 316 | 317 | 318 | 319 | 320 | 321 | 322 | 323 | 324 | 325 | 326 | 327 | 328 | 329 | 330 | 331 | 332 | 333 | 334 | 335 | 336 | 337 | 338 | 339 | 340 | 341 | 342 | 343 | 344 | 345 | 346 | 347 | 348 | 349 | 350 | 351 | 352 | 353 | 354 | 355 | 356 | 357 | 358 | 359 | 360 | 361 | 362 | 363 | 364 | 365 | 366 | 367 | 368 | 369 | 370 | 371 | 372 | 373 | 374 | 375 | 376 | 377 | 378 | 379 | 380 | 381 | 382 | 383 | 384 | 385 | 386 | 387 | 388 | 389 | 390 | 391 | 392 | 393 | 394 | 395 | 396 | 397 | 398 | 399 | 400 | 401 | 402 | 403 | 404 | 405 | 406 | 407 | 408 | 409 | 410 | 411 | 412 | 413 | 414 | 415 | 416 | 417 | 418 | 419 | 420 | 421 | 422 | 423 | 424 | 425 | 426 | 427 | 428 | 429 | 430 | 431 | 432 | 433 | 434 | 435 | 436 | 437 | 438 | 439 | 440 | 441 | 442 | 443 | 444 | 445 | 446 | 447 | 448 | 449 | 450 | 451 | 452 | 453 | 454 | 455 | 456 | 457 | 458 | 459 | 460 | 461 | 462 | 463 | 464 | 465 | 466 | 467 | 468 | 469 | 470 | 471 | 472 | 473 | 474 | 475 | 476 | 477 | 478 | 479 | 480 | 481 | 482 | 483 | 484 | 485 | 486 | 487 | 488 | 489 | 490 | 491 | 492 | 493 | 494 | 495 | 496 | 497 | 498 | 499 | 500 | 501 | 502 | 503 | 504 | 505 | 506 | 507 | 508 | 509 | 510 | 511 | 512 | 513 | 514 | 515 | 516 | 517 | 518 | 519 | 520 | 521 | 522 | 523 | 524 | 525 | 526 | 527 | 528 | 529 | 530 | 531 | 532 | 533 | 534 | 535 | 536 | 537 | 538 | 539 | 540 | 541 | 542 | 543 | 544 | 545 | 546 | 547 | 548 | 549 | 550 | 551 | 552 | 553 | 554 | 555 | 556 | 557 | 558 | 559 | 560 | 561 | 562 | 563 | 564 | 565 | 566 | 567 | 568 | 569 | 570 | 571 | 572 | 573 | 574 | 575 | 576 | 577 | 578 | 579 | 580 | 581 | 582 | 583 | 584 | 585 | 586 | 587 | 588 | 589 | 590 | 591 | 592 | 593 | 594 | 595 | 596 | 597 | 598 | 599 | 600 | 601 | 602 | 603 | 604 | 605 | 606 | 607 | 608 | 609 | 610 | 611 | 612 | 613 | 614 | 615 | 616 | 617 | 618 | 619 | 620 | 621 | 622 | 623 | 624 | 625 | 626 | 627 | 628 | 629 | 630 | 631 | 632 | 633 | 634 | 635 | 636 | 637 | 638 | 639 | 640 | 641 | 642 | 643 | 644 | 645 | 646 | 647 | 648 | 649 | 650 | 651 | 652 | 653 | 654 | 655 | 656 | 657 | 658 | 659 | 660 | 661 | 662 | 663 | 664 | 665 | 666 | 667 | 668 | 669 | 670 | 671 | 672 | 673 | 674 | 675 | 676 | 677 | 678 | 679 | 680 | 681 | 682 | 683 | 684 | 685 | 686 | 687 | 688 | 689 | 690 | 691 | 692 | 693 | 694 | 695 | 696 | 697 | 698 | 699 | 700 | 701 | 702 | 703 | 704 | 705 | 706 | 707 | 708 | 709 | 710 | 711 | 712 | 713 | 714 | 715 | 716 | 717 | 718 | 719 | 720 | 721 | 722 | 723 | 724 | 725 | 726 | 727 | 728 | 729 | 730 | 731 | 732 | 733 | 734 | 735 | 736 | 737 | 738 | 739 | 740 | 741 | 742 | 743 | 744 | 745 | 746 | 747 | 748 | 749 | 750 | 751 | 752 | 753 | 754 | 755 | 756 | 757 | 758 | 759 | 760 | 761 | 762 | 763 | 764 | 765 | 766 | 767 | 768 | 769 | 770 | 771 | 772 | 773 | 774 | 775 | 776 | 777 | 778 | 779 | 780 | 781 | 782 | 783 | 784 | 785 | 786 | 787 | 788 | 789 | 790 | 791 | 792 | 793 | 794 | 795 | 796 | 797 | 798 | 799 | 800 | 801 | 802 | 803 | 804 | 805 | 806 | 807 | 808 | 809 | 810 | 811 | 812 | 813 | 814 | 815 | 816 | 817 | 818 | 819 | 820 | 821 | 822 | 823 | 824 | 825 | 826 | 827 | 828 | 829 | 830 | 831 | 832 | 833 | 834 | 835 | 836 | 837 | 838 | 839 | 840 | 841 | 842 | 843 | 844 | 845 | 846 | 847 | 848 | 849 | 850 | 851 | 852 | 853 | 854 | 855 | 856 | 857 | 858 | 859 | 860 | 861 | 862 | 863 | 864 | 865 | 866 | 867 | 868 | 869 | 870 | 871 | 872 | 873 | 874 | 875 | 876 | 877 | 878 | 879 | 880 | 881 | 882 | 883 | 884 | 885 | 886 | 887 | 888 | 889 | 890 | 891 | 892 | 893 | 894 | 895 | 896 | 897 | 898 | 899 | 900 | 901 | 902 | 903 | 904 | 905 | 906 | 907 | 908 | 909 | 910 | 911 | 912 | 913 | 914 | 915 | 916 | 917 | 918 | 919 | 920 | 921 | 922 | 923 | 924 | 925 | 926 | 927 | 928 | 929 | 930 | 931 | 932 | 933 | 934 | 935 | 936 | 937 | 938 | 939 | 940 | 941 | 942 | 943 | 944 | 945 | 946 | 947 | 948 | 949 | 950 | 951 | 952 | 953 | 954 | 955 | 956 | 957 | 958 | 959 | 960 | 961 | 962 | 963 | 964 | 965 | 966 | 967 | 968 | 969 | 970 | 971 | 972 | 973 | 974 | 975 | 976 | 977 | 978 | 979 | 980 | 981 | 982 | 983 | 984 | 985 | 986 | 987 | 988 | 989 | 990 | 991 | 992 | 993 | 994 | 995 | 996 | 997 | 998 | 999 | 1000 | 1001 | 1002 | 1003 | 1004 | 1005 | 1006 | 1007 | 1008 | 1009 | 1010 | 1011 | 1012 | 1013 | 1014 | 1015 | 1016 | 1017 | 1018 | 1019 | 1020 | 1021 | 1022 | 1023 | 1024 | 1025 | 1026 | 1027 | 1028 | 1029 | 1030 | 1031 | 1032 | 1033 | 1034 | 1035 | 1036 | 1037 | 1038 | 1039 | 1040 | 1041 | 1042 | 1043 | 1044 | 1045 | 1046 | 1047 | 1048 | 1049 | 1050 | 1051 | 1052 | 1053 | 1054 | 1055 | 1056 | 1057 | 1058 | 1059 | 1060 | 1061 | 1062 | 1063 | 1064 | 1065 | 1066 | 1067 | 1068 | 1069 | 1070 | 1071 | 1072 | 1073 | 1074 | 1075 | 1076 | 1077 | 1078 | 1079 | 1080 | 1081 | 1082 | 1083 | 1084 | 1085 | 1086 | 1087 | 1088 | 1089 | 1090 | 1091 | 1092 | 1093 | 1094 | 1095 | 1096 | 1097 | 1098 | 1099 | 1100 | 1101 | 1102 | 1103 | 1104 | 1105 | 1106 | 1107 | 1108 | 1109 | 1110 | 1111 | 1112 | 1113 | 1114 | 1115 | 1116 | 1117 | 1118 | 1119 | 1120 | 1121 | 1122 | 1123 | 1124 | 1125 | 1126 | 1127 | 1128 | 1129 | 1130 | 1131 | 1132 | 1133 | 1134 | 1135 | 1136 | 1137 | 1138 | 1139 | 1140 | 1141 | 1142 | 1143 | 1144 | 1145 | 1146 | 1147 | 1148 | 1149 | 1150 | 1151 | 1152 | 1153 | 1154 | 1155 | 1156 | 1157 | 1158 | 1159 | 1160 | 1161 | 1162 | 1163 | 1164 | 1165 | 1166 | 1167 | 1168 | 1169 | 1170 | 1171 | 1172 | 1173 | 1174 | 1175 | 1176 | 1177 | 1178 | 1179 | 1180 | 1181 | 1182 | 1183 | 1184 | 1185 | 1186 | 1187 | 1188 | 1189 | 1190 | 1191 | 1192 | 1193 | 1194 | 1195 | 1196 | 1197 | 1198 | 1199 | 1200 | 1201 | 1202 | 1203 | 1204 | 1205 | 1206 | 1207 | 1208 | 1209 | 1210 | 1211 | 1212 | 1213 | 1214 | 1215 | 1216 | 1217 | 1218 | 1219 | 1220 | 1221 | 1222 | 1223 | 1224 | 1225 | 1226 | 1227 | 1228 | 1229 | 1230 | 1231 | 1232 | 1233 | 1234 | 1235 | 1236 | 1237 | 1238 | 1239 | 1240 | 1241 | 1242 | 1243 | 1244 | 1245 | 1246 | 1247 | 1248 | 1249 | 1250 | 1251 | 1252 | 1253 | 1254 | 1255 | 1256 | 1257 | 1258 | 1259 | 1260 | 1261 | 1262 | 1263 | 1264 | 1265 | 1266 | 1267 | 1268 | 1269 | 1270 | 1271 | 1272 | 1273 | 1274 | 1275 | 1276 | 1277 | 1278 | 1279 | 1280 | 1281 | 1282 | 1283 | 1284 | 1285 | 1286 | 1287 | 1288 | 1289 | 1290 | 1291 | 1292 | 1293 | 1294 | 1295 | 1296 | 1297 | 1298 | 1299 | 1300 | 1301 | 1302 | 1303 | 1304 | 1305 | 1306 | 1307 | 1308 | 1309 | 1310 | 1311 | 1312 | 1313 | 1314 | 1315 | 1316 | 1317 | 1318 | 1319 | 1320 | 1321 | 1322 | 1323 | 1324 | 1325 | 1326 | 1327 | 1328 | 1329 | 1330 | 1331 | 1332 | 1333 | 1334 | 1335 | 1336 | 1337 | 1338 | 1339 | 1340 | 1341 | 1342 | 1343 | 1344 | 1345 | 1346 | 1347 | 1348 | 1349 | 1350 | 1351 | 1352 | 1353 | 1354 | 1355 | 1356 | 1357 | 1358 | 1359 | 1360 | 1361 | 1362 | 1363 | 1364 | 1365 | 1366 | 1367 | 1368 | 1369 | 1370 | 1371 | 1372 | 1373 | 1374 | 1375 | 1376 | 1377 | 1378 | 1379 | 1380 | 1381 | 1382 | 1383 | 1384 | 1385 | 1386 | 1387 | 1388 | 1389 | 1390 | 1391 | 1392 | 1393 | 1394 | 1395 | 1396 | 1397 | 1398 | 1399 | 1400 | 1401 | 1402 | 1403 | 1404 | 1405 | 1406 | 1407 | 1408 | 1409 | 1410 | 1411 | 1412 | 1413 | 1414 | 1415 | 1416 | 1417 | 1418 | 1419 | 1420 | 1421 | 1422 | 1423 | 1424 | 1425 | 1426 | 1427 | 1428 | 1429 | 1430 | 1431 | 1432 | 1433 | 1434 | 1435 | 1436 | 1437 | 1438 | 1439 | 1440 | 1441 | 1442 | 1443 | 1444 | 1445 | 1446 | 1447 | 1448 | 1449 | 1450 | 1451 | 1452 | 1453 | 1454 | 1455 | 1456 | 1457 | 1458 | 1459 | 1460 | 1461 | 1462 | 1463 | 1464 | 1465 | 1466 | 1467 | 1468 | 1469 | 1470 | 1471 | 1 |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----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| | F. Ja. 13 | Fe. 10 | Mar. 10 | Ap. 7 | May 5 | Ju. 2 | Ju. 30 | Jul. 28 | Au. 25 | Se. 22 | Oct. 20 | No. 17 | De. 15 | | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
|---|-----------|--------|---------|-------|-------|-------|--------|---------|--------|--------|---------|--------|--------|-----|---------|---------|---------|---------|--------|----|-----|
| | | | | | | | 183 | | | | | | | | Fr. Sa. | Su. M. | Tu. W. | Th. Fr. | | | |
| G | 14 | 14 | 43 | 11 | 70 | 11 | 98 | 8 | 126 | 6 | 164 | 3 | Jul. 1 | 210 | 29 | 238 | 26 | 23 | 21 | 18 | 16 |
| A | 15 | 12 | 12 | 9 | 7 | 4 | 2 | 30 | 27 | 24 | 23 | 19 | 17 | | Sa. Su. | M. Tu. | W. Th. | Fr. Sa. | | | |
| B | 16 | 13 | 13 | 10 | 8 | 5 | 3 | 31 | 28 | 25 | 23 | 20 | 18 | | Su. M. | Tu. W. | Th. Fr. | Sa. Su. | | | |
| C | 17 | 14 | 14 | 11 | 9 | 6 | 4 | An. 1 | 29 | 26 | 24 | 21 | 19 | | M. Tu. | W. Th. | Fr. Sa. | Su. M. | | | |
| D | 18 | 15 | 15 | 12 | 10 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 30 | 27 | 25 | 22 | 20 | | Tu. W. | Th. Fr. | Sa. Su. | M. Tu. | | | |
| E | 19 | 16 | 16 | 13 | 11 | 8 | 6 | 3 | 31 | 28 | 26 | 23 | 21 | | W. Th. | Fr. Sa. | Su. M. | Tu. W. | | | |
| F | 20 | 17 | 17 | 14 | 12 | 9 | 7 | 4 | Se. 1 | 273 | 301 | 27 | 24 | 22 | | Th. Fr. | Sa. Su. | M. Tu. | W. Th. | | |
| G | 21 | 21 | 49 | 18 | 77 | 18 | 105 | 15 | 133 | 13 | 161 | 10 | 189 | 8 | 217 | 5 | 245 | 2 | 30 | 28 | 25 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 357 |
| A | 22 | 19 | 19 | 16 | 14 | 11 | 9 | 6 | 3 | Oct. 1 | 29 | 26 | 24 | | Fr. Sa. | Su. M. | Tu. W. | Th. Fr. | | | |
| B | 23 | 20 | 20 | 17 | 15 | 12 | 10 | 7 | 4 | 2 | 30 | 27 | 25 | | Su. M. | Tu. W. | Th. Fr. | Sa. Su. | | | |
| C | 24 | 21 | 21 | 18 | 16 | 13 | 11 | 8 | 5 | 3 | 31 | 28 | 26 | | M. Tu. | W. Th. | Fr. Sa. | Su. M. | | | |
| D | 25 | 22 | 22 | 19 | 17 | 14 | 12 | 9 | 6 | 4 | No. 1 | 29 | 27 | | Tu. W. | Th. Fr. | Sa. Su. | M. Tu. | | | |
| E | 26 | 23 | 23 | 20 | 18 | 15 | 13 | 10 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 30 | 28 | | W. Th. | Fr. Sa. | Su. M. | Tu. W. | | | |
| F | 27 | 24 | 24 | 21 | 19 | 16 | 14 | 11 | 8 | 6 | 3 | De. 1 | 29 | | Th. Fr. | Sa. Su. | M. Tu. | W. Th. | | | |
| G | 28 | 28 | 56 | 25 | 84 | 25 | 112 | 22 | 140 | 20 | 168 | 17 | 196 | 15 | 224 | 12 | 252 | 9 | 280 | 7 | 308 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 356 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 304 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 30 |

TABLE VI.
To facilitate the Calculation of Days by the Calendar.

| To the first day of | Jan. | Feb. | Mar. | Apr. | May | June | July | Aug. | Sept. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. |
|--------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|-----|------|------|------|-------|------|------|------|
| From the preceding first day of Jan. | 365 | 31 | 59 | 90 | 120 | 151 | 181 | 212 | 243 | 273 | 304 | 334 |
| Feb. | 334 | 365 | 28 | 59 | 89 | 120 | 150 | 181 | 212 | 242 | 273 | 303 |
| Mar. | 306 | 337 | 365 | 31 | 61 | 92 | 122 | 153 | 184 | 214 | 245 | 275 |
| Apr. | 275 | 306 | 334 | 365 | 30 | 61 | 91 | 122 | 153 | 183 | 214 | 244 |
| May | 245 | 276 | 304 | 335 | 365 | 31 | 61 | 92 | 123 | 153 | 184 | 214 |
| June | 214 | 245 | 273 | 304 | 334 | 365 | 30 | 61 | 92 | 122 | 153 | 183 |
| July | 184 | 215 | 243 | 274 | 304 | 335 | 365 | 31 | 62 | 92 | 123 | 153 |
| Aug. | 153 | 184 | 212 | 243 | 273 | 304 | 334 | 365 | 31 | 61 | 92 | 122 |
| Sept. | 122 | 153 | 181 | 212 | 242 | 273 | 302 | 334 | 365 | 30 | 61 | 91 |
| Oct. | 92 | 123 | 151 | 182 | 212 | 243 | 273 | 304 | 335 | 365 | 31 | 61 |
| Nov. | 61 | 92 | 120 | 151 | 181 | 212 | 242 | 273 | 304 | 334 | 365 | 30 |
| Dec. | 31 | 62 | 90 | 121 | 151 | 182 | 212 | 243 | 274 | 304 | 335 | 365 |

TABLE VII. *For the Calculation of Cyclical Periods.*

| | | <i>Days.</i> | <i>490 Days.</i> | <i>343 Days.</i> | <i>434 Days.</i> | | |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------------|------------------|------------------|------|------|
| 1 Julian year com. | | 365 | 0 + 365 } or 1 - 125 } | 1 + 22 | 1 - 69 | | |
| biss. | | 366 | 0 + 366 } or 1 - 124 } | 1 + 23 | 1 - 68 | | |
| 2 com. years. | | 730 | 1 + 240 | 2 + 44 | 2 - 138 | | |
| 1 com. 1 biss. | | 731 | 1 + 241 | 2 + 45 | 2 - 137 | | |
| 3 com. years. | | 1,095 | 2 + 115 | 3 + 66 | 3 - 207 | | |
| 2 com. 1 biss. | | 1,096 | 2 + 116 | 3 + 67 | 3 - 206 | | |
| 4 years = | 1 Jul. per. | 1,461 | 3 - 9 | 4 + 89 | 3 + 159 | | |
| 8 | 2 | 2,922 | 6 - 18 | 8 + 178 | 7 + 116 | | |
| 12 | 3 | 4,383 | 9 - 27 | 13 - 76 | 10 + 43 | | |
| 16 | 4 | 5,844 | 12 - 36 | 17 + 13 | 13 + 202 | | |
| 20 | 5 | 7,305 | 15 - 45 | 21 + 102 | 17 - 73 | | |
| 24 | 6 | 8,766 | 18 - 54 | 26 - 152 | 20 + 86 | | |
| 28 | 7 | 10,227 | 21 - 63 | 30 - 63 | 24 - 189 | | |
| 32 | 8 | 11,688 | 24 - 72 | 34 + 26 | 27 - 30 | | |
| 36 | 9 | 13,149 | 27 - 81 | 38 + 115 | 30 + 129 | | |
| 40 | 10 | 14,610 | 30 - 90 | 43 - 139 | 34 - 146 | | |
| 80 | 20 | 29,220 | 60 - 180 | 85 + 65 | 67 + 142 | | |
| 120 | 30 | 43,830 | 89 + 220 | 123 - 74 | 101 - 4 | | |
| 160 | 40 | 58,440 | 119 + 130 | 170 + 130 | 135 - 150 | | |
| 200 | 50 | 73,050 | 149 + 40 | 213 - 9 | 168 + 138 | | |
| 240 | 60 | 87,660 | 179 - 50 | 256 - 148 | 202 - 8 | | |
| 280 | 70 | 102,270 | 209 - 140 | 298 + 56 | 236 - 154 | | |
| 320 | 80 | 116,880 | 239 - 230 | 341 - 83 | 269 + 134 | | |
| 360 | 90 | 131,490 | 268 + 170 | 383 + 121 | 303 - 12 | | |
| 400 | 100 | 146,100 | 298 + 80 | 426 - 18 | 337 - 158 | | |
| 800 | 200 | 292,200 | 596 + 160 | 852 - 36 | 673 + 118 | | |
| 1200 | 300 | 438,300 | 894 + 240 | 1278 - 54 | 1010 - 40 | | |
| 1600 | 400 | 584,400 | 1192 - 170 | 1704 - 72 | 1347 - 198 | | |
| 2000 | 500 | 730,500 | 1491 - 90 | 2130 - 90 | 1683 + 78 | | |
| 2400 | 600 | 876,600 | 1789 + 10 | 2556 - 108 | 2020 - 80 | | |
| 2800 | 700 | 1,022,700 | 2087 - 70 | 2982 - 126 | 2357 - 238 | | |
| 3200 | 800 | 1,168,800 | 2385 + 150 | 3408 - 144 | 2693 + 38 | | |
| 3600 | 900 | 1,314,900 | 2683 + 230 | 3834 - 162 | 3030 - 120 | | |
| 4000 | 1000 | 1,461,000 | 2982 - 180 | 4260 - 180 | 3366 + 156 | | |
| | <i>Days.</i> | <i>Days.</i> | <i>Days.</i> | <i>Days.</i> | <i>Days.</i> | | |
| 1 period | 490 | 343 | 434 | 11 period | 6390 | 3773 | 4774 |
| 2 | 980 | 686 | 868 | 12 | 5880 | 4116 | 5208 |
| 3 | 1470 | 1029 | 1302 | 13 | 6370 | 4459 | 5642 |
| 4 | 1960 | 1372 | 1736 | 14 | 6860 | 4802 | 6076 |
| 5 | 2450 | 1715 | 2170 | 15 | 7350 | 5145 | 6510 |
| 6 | 2940 | 2058 | 2604 | 16 | 7840 | 5488 | 6944 |
| 7 | 3430 | 2401 | 3038 | 17 | 8330 | 5831 | 7378 |
| 8 | 3920 | 2744 | 3472 | 18 | 8820 | 6174 | 7812 |
| 9 | 4410 | 3087 | 3906 | 19 | 9310 | 6517 | 8246 |
| 10 | 4900 | 3430 | 4340 | 20 | 9800 | 6860 | 8680 |

II.

REMARKS on the SCHEME of SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY constructed by Mr. GRESWELL in his "*Dissertations on the Harmony of the Gospels*," and more especially on that Writer's Hypothesis of an Interruption in the Julian Calendar.

§ 456. ON a cursory inspection of the Tables of Dates appended to the "*Dissertations on the Harmony of the Gospels*," it will be seen that the results of Mr. Greswell's investigation differ materially from those at which we have arrived in these pages.

The cardinal dates of the scheme are the following :

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| A. M. 1. = 4004 B. C. (24 April) | |
| Deluge A. M. 1657 = B. C. 2348 | |
| Call of Abraham | 2004 |
| Exodus..... | 1560 |
| David's accession..... | 1054 |
| Solomon's accession... | 1014 |
| Jeroboam's accession... | 974 |
| Seventy years' captivity | 606 |
| Birth of Christ | 4 Apr. 5 |
| Baptism..... A. D. | 27 end of January |
| Passion... .. | 30 "Friday, 14 Nisan, 5 Apr." |

(Vol. iv. 739 ff.)

§ 457. The initial synchronism is identical with Ussher's, yet the other dates make it manifest that it was not obtained by the same process. How then? It was *assumed* in virtue of the "tradition ascribed to Enoch or Elijah" of the six millennia of the world's duration (§ 310). Mr. Greswell accepts the tradition, and interprets it as implying that two millennia are the measure of the period from the Creation to the call of Abraham, and that two more expired at the instant of the Birth of our Saviour. This event he had previously assigned to B. C. 4 April. "Now it is a singular coincidence, that according to the Bible chronology" (i.e. Ussher's), "which certainly was not constructed expressly to produce it, the birth of Christ if placed B. C. 4 is stated exactly at the close of the fourth millennium: for if A. M. 1, the year of the Creation, answers to B. C. 4004, A. M. 4001 at the close of the fourth millennium answers to B. C. 4, the assumed date of the birth of Christ." (Vol. iii. p. 435.)

It is a singular coincidence, and perhaps is not altogether accidental'. Mr. Greswell, however, undertakes to shew, further, that this period of four millennia is distributed into two equal portions, with the Call of Abraham at the bisection, so that the period from the Creation to the Call

¹ Some remarks on this subject, promised in p. 344, *note*, having been accidentally omitted in their proper place,

must be reserved for the *Addenda* at the end of the Volume.

shall exactly verify the "*duo millia inane*;" from the Call to the Nativity, the "*duo millia Lex*;" and from the Nativity to Christ's second Advent and the opening of "*the millennium*" or great sabbath, the "*duo millia Christus*" of the tradition. But the Bible chronology (or Usher's scheme) places the Call at $1491 + 430 = 1921$ B.C. = $4004 - 1921 = 2083$ A.M.: whereas Mr. Greswell's object requires that it should lie at the beginning of A.M. 2001, and that A.M. 2001 should coincide with B.C. 2004. He is concerned therefore to shew that Usher's reckoning is wrong in one or other of its items, viz. $1656 + 427 + 430 = 2513$ years. And it is thus that he proceeds to make out his point.—The year of the Flood is 1657 A.M., and the birth of Terah lies 222 years later, therefore at 1879 A.M. "At 70 years old, it is said that he had begotten Abram, Nahor, and Haran.... I think it most probable that Abram was his second son.... They were all begotten before he was seventy.... The statement of the whole age of Terah, as it stands in the Hebrew text, cannot possibly be correct, and requires to be amended. For though Abram himself had been Terah's youngest son, and born when Terah was seventy, the age of Terah at his death could not be computed as greater than *seventy* in addition to the age of Abram at the time when Terah died. Now Terah was dead when Abram was called into Canaan, and Abram was seventy-five years old when he was called into Canaan; Gen. xi. 28, 31. Acts vii. 4. Gen. xii. 4: the age of Terah, then, before this migration could not possibly have been more than 145 years, at which also it is represented in the Samaritan Pentateuch." (Vol. iii. p. 439—441.) At this rate, i. e. supposing these assumptions and assertions granted, the date of the Call into Canaan would be $1879 + 70 + 75 = 2024$ B.C., which is 23 years later than the assumed symmetry requires. The Samaritan text, therefore, as well as the Hebrew, must be discarded, as our Author proceeds to inform us in these words: "But the true length of the life of Terah, as it appears to me, was neither 205 nor 145, but 135 years. It is not said of him how long he lived after he begot Abram, Nahor, and Haran: his age must have been stated absolutely, viz. that he lived so many years and died, and hence the origin of the mistake. Moses might have written, "the days of Terah were 135 years," which some scribe considering to be distinct from the time before specified, that he lived seventy years and begat &c., added the one to the other as making up the sum total of his life. And this conjecture is greatly confirmed by the result. For $70 + 135 = 205$ ¹. The Samaritan Pentateuch, in like manner, taking Abraham to have been born when Terah was 70, added this to the number specified of 75 years, and so made the age of Terah 145 years. It is not likely that Terah would enjoy a longer life than Abraham himself, who died at 175 years, or than Isaac and Jacob who died, the former at 180 years, the latter at 147 years," p. 441, 2. The proposed alteration of the text might have been

¹ How the "result" confirms "the conjecture" one is at loss to comprehend. The "result" is merely the same thing said over again in figures. This is a specimen of much of the reasoning employed in the Dissertations.

worth considering, had the difficulty been otherwise insuperable. But, in truth, the exegesis needs no such violent remedy. The argument in support of the conjecture, derived from comparison of lives, is fallacious, indeed futile. Whether a man lived more years than his son, grandson and great grandson, is not a question of probability, but of fact. In the same way one might argue, "it is not likely that Peleg, Reu, and Serug, would enjoy a longer life than Nahor and Terah." This is mere trifling, unworthy of the name of argument. In this fashion, however, it is made to appear that the death of Terah lies at $1879 + 135 = 2014$: but this is still 13 years too late, for we require the year to be 2001 A. M. It seems, however, that this inconformity is easily remedied. "It is no unreasonable supposition that before Terah's death and the removal into Canaan, Terah might have been 14 years residing in Charran, and consequently that the original call from Mesopotamia thither, in which he was concerned as well as Abram, took place A. M. 2001." It should have been 13 years, for Terah's death, we have seen, lies at 2014 A. M. For this not "unreasonable supposition," (which were full as reasonable, if instead of 14 we should assume any number of years from 10 to 60), I find no reason alleged except this: that Origen, Julius Pollux, Syncellus, and the apocryphal book of Thara, suppose the *θεογονίαι* of Abram and his removal into Charran to have occurred when he was 60 years old, *i.e.* fifteen years before the removal into Canaan. But, in truth, Origen says nothing of the kind; he places the conversion of Abram 75 years before the Call into Canaan, *supra* p. 320, note: nor does the apocryphal writing; it makes Abram 14 years old (*read* 74) at the first Call, *ibid.* As for Syncellus and Julius Pollux, the matter is as Mr. Greswell represents it: but who dreams of ascribing any authority to unsupported statements of this kind?

§ 458. In this way, then, that is by means of an arbitrary alteration of the Hebrew text, and of a "supposition" equally gratuitous, we get the required dates: Ussher's 427 years are reduced to 357, and the death of Terah and removal into Canaan, which is the epoch of the 430 years ending at the Exode, comes to 2014 A. M., and the departure into Charran, assumed to have taken place 14 [*read* 13] years earlier, is brought to 2001 A. M. Which was the point to be demonstrated.—Hence it follows, that the date of the Exode is $2014 + 430 = 2444$ A. M., or, (in consequence of the error of 1 year above-noted) 2445 A. M. And now it has to be shown that 2001 A. M. coincides with B. C. 2004, and consequently 2445 A. M. with B. C. 1560: in other words, that the year of the Exode is 1560 B. C. That this is the true date Mr. Greswell is confident. "That B. C. 1560 was the year of the Exodus may be shown, as it appears to me, both *à priori* and *à posteriori*, with a strictness and cogency of proof which, under the circumstances of the case, are much more than we might have expected; and which, as we may almost undertake to pronounce, will apply to no year whatever except that: *à priori*, by demonstrating its agreement with the course and succession of events from the Creation to the time of the departure from Egypt; and *à posteriori*, by shewing its agreement with

the course and succession of events from that time to the birth of Christ." Vol. III. p. 433. Demonstrated *à priori*! Yes, if one assumes, what is the very point to be proved, and proved *à posteriori* i.e. in the ascending line, that 1 A.M. = 4004 B.C., if one assumes this, and further assumes that exactly 2000 years from the Creation expired at the Call, and then again assumes that this Call is the Call into Charran, and that it lies just 14 years before the Call into Canaan, then indeed the Exodus will lie at 2445 A.M., which if 1 A.M. be 4004 B.C. will of course be 1560 B.C. But let us see how it fares with the demonstration *à posteriori*; or, in plain words, how it is proved that from the Exode to B.C. 4 are 1556 years, or, what is the same thing, that from the Exode to the 4th of Jehoiakim, which is rightly assigned to 606 B.C., are 954 years.

§ 459. The sum of the years of the kings up to 1 Solomon is made 408: this is possible, § 225, and we will grant the point, for I will not take up the reader's time in commenting upon Mr. Greswell's treatment of this part of the chronology. Hence 1 Solomon = 1014, and 1 David = 1054, and 1 Saul = 1094 B.C. The rule of Samuel occupied not less than 20 years, 1 Sam. vii. 2; "we may allow then (?) for both these periods 60 years in all," p. 447. Hence 1 Samuel = 1114 B.C. "But Samuel succeeded to Eli *as it would seem* in one year's time subsequent to his death and the capture of the ark (1 Sam. vi. 1, 13, 21; vii. 1—3,)" *Ib.* Hence 1115 is the year of the ark's restoration, and 1116 of its capture, iii. 447; iv. 463, 741. But the capture lies at the end of the Philistine servitude of 40 years, which therefore began 1156. Again, these 40 years are the close of a sum of 390 years of servitudes and judges, which therefore should have begun 1506 B.C. The Author, however, reduces these 390 years to 383, for he makes the first servitude to have begun in 1499 B.C.: this he effects by calculating some of the years as current: *viz.* the first servitude lasted only 7, not 8, years: the second 17, not 18: the third 19 years, the fourth 6 years: Tola judged 22, not 23 years: the fifth servitude lasted 17 years: and Ibzan judged Israel not 7, but 6 years:—in this arbitrary way, 7 years are struck off from the 390. Grant all this, still how are we to rise from the year 1499 to the date of the Exode? First, we are to assume, without a shadow of proof, that the interval from the death of Joshua to the first servitude was 5 years. The date of Joshua's death then becomes 1504¹. Secondly, we are to assume, and as before without a vestige of proof, that Joshua outlived the partition of lands 10 years. But the partition of lands took place in the 47th year from the Exode. Hence the year of the Exode is 1504 + 10 + 46 = 1560. And this is the proof *à posteriori* by which "it is shown

¹ The inducements for fixing upon his year in particular are these: 1. it lies a millennium and a half before the birth of Christ: 2. it lies 450 years before the accession of David, and this may be

"in some sense" the meaning of Acts xiii. 20: and perhaps, 3. it lies 390 years before 1114, the 1st year of Samuel.

that B.C. 1560 was the year of the Exode, with a *strictness and cogency of proof*," &c. Marvellous, that any man should mistake such a string of conjectures and suppositions for "demonstration," and end by quietly assuming that which he set out to prove!

§ 460. It is but fair, however, that we should notice a confirmatory argument alleged by Mr. Greswell for the same purpose.

It is taken for granted, and with good reason (see § 275 of this work), that the first sabbatical year commenced with the autumn of the 47th year from the Exode, *i. e.* B.C. 1514 in Mr. Greswell's Chronology. It is further assumed, and I admit it without hesitation, that the cycle proceeded regularly down to the close of the times of the Second Temple. Was then the year B.C. 1514-13 in truth a sabbatical year, as proved by calculating the cycles upward from any known sabbatical year of later times, suppose 163 B.C.? If it was so, we have a partial argument in favour of the assumption which identifies the 47th autumn from the Exode with the autumn of B.C. 1514: an argument amounting to this, that the year 1514 B.C. is one of a series of years which may possibly, in virtue of the sabbatical reckoning, be identified with the first sabbath-year: *i. e.* that 1560 B.C. is one of a series of years which may, so far, be assigned as the year of the Exode. But the argument clearly reaches no further than this: it tells *per se* no more in favour of the year 1560, than in favour of any of the years 1567, 1574, 1581, 1588, 1595, &c. or 1553, 1546, 1539, 1532, 1525, &c. But has the year 1560 B.C. even this amount of evidence in its favour? It has not, as the reader may satisfy himself by consulting the Table of Sabbatic Years in § 275 of this work. But Mr. Greswell assumes, in opposition to all that is known on the subject, that the sabbatical cycle under the First as well as under the Second Temple numbered but 49 years: *i. e.* that the jubilean cycle was wholly independent of the sabbatical: an assumption which no one will grant who has any sound knowledge of the matter in question. It therefore signifies nothing that the year 1514 B.C. is distant from the year 163 B.C. by an integral multiple of seven years. This remark disposes of a great number of pages in the *Dissertations* on the subject of sabbatical years.

The statement therefore that the year of the Exodus is B.C. 1560 is neither more nor less than assumption; a consequence involved in the assumption that the "tradition of Enoch or Elijah" is true, and truly interpreted. The learned Author had determined that the millenary scheme should square with the chronology; and this he has effected by retrenching and curtailing as it suited his purpose.

§ 461. Before I proceed to the New Testament, it is right to notice the object for the sake of which the Author launched out from his proper theme, the Gospel History, into this long, and I must add, futile, discussion of Old Testament Chronology. Upon grounds which we will presently examine, the nativity of our Lord is assigned to the year "4 B.C. 10th Nisan = 5th

of the Julian April and Saturday". In the 11th Dissertation¹ of his Appendix are announced "other coincidences, connected with this conclusion, which the Author thinks it not unimportant nor irrelevant to his general argument to mention" (iii. 430). Foremost among these stands one which is, in substance, as follows:—

It is an ancient opinion that our Lord was born at the time of the vernal equinox. And there is an obvious fitness in such an arrangement: physically, in respect of the time of the year and the course of nature; and typically, in respect of the Passover, the great type of Christ. But the Nativity took place B.C. 4, on the 5th of April, eleven days later than the equinox. This deviation from the symbolical and typical fitness of things requires to be explained. And the explanation is this: "If 5 April B.C. 4 was the true date of the Nativity, either the opinion that our Lord was born at the vernal equinox must be given up, and with it all regard to the analogy above mentioned; or April 5, in some sense or other, must still have been the day of the vernal equinox, or such a day as even then might justly be considered as the day of the vernal equinox." (*Ib.* p. 431).—I pause here to remark the strangeness of the expression. There is but one sense in which any day of past time could be the day of the vernal equinox. If the 5th April B.C. 4 was not the day of the equinox, but eleven days later, it was in no sense whatever the day of the equinox, and could not, except nonsensically, "be considered as such." One might say, with an equal degree of meaning, A certain event ought, in the fitness of things, to have happened on a Sunday. It happened, however, on a Friday: therefore, either all regard to the fitness of things must be given up, or the Friday, in some sense or other, must still have been a Sunday, or such a day as might justly be considered as a Sunday.—But to proceed with the explanation: *If March 24 was the date of the vernal equinox at the time of our Lord's birth, it is easy to shew that in the year 1560 B.C. the equinox fell twelve days later than March 24, i. e. it fell on the 4th or 5th of the Julian April. Hence, though 5 April B.C. 4 was not the actual day of the equinox, it was the anniversary, in the Julian Calendar, of the day on which, in 1560 B.C., the equinox fell. In this sense "it was still the day of the vernal equinox, or such a day as might be considered analogous thereto."* This is the sum and substance of the explanation in pp. 432-3. I am at a loss for words to express my surprise that a scholar, writing volumes upon matters of chronology, should have so little insight into the most elementary considerations relating to Calendars and measures of time, as not to perceive that he was gravely propounding the merest absurdity. For what he says comes, in fact, to this: *In the fitness of things it was requisite that the Messiah should come into the world on the day of the vernal equinox. As the time predestined for this great event was*

¹ "The 11th Dissertation has for its object to render the conclusion respecting the day of our Saviour's birth still more probable, by making it appear,"

&c. Vol. i. xxxiii. This branches out into another Dissertation and a supplement, more than 150 pages in all.

the year B.C. 4, and the equinox in that year fell on the 24th March, that ought to have been the day of Messiah's birth, a day precisely 1556 natural solar years after the vernal equinox of the year of the Exode. But about forty years before this predestined year, Julius Cæsar framed a new Calendar upon an estimate of the length of the natural year, which, as it chanced, was so far erroneous, that 1556 natural years fall short of the same number of artificial Julian years by 11 or 12 days: so that on the day of vernal equinox in B.C. 4, 1556 of these Julian years were not complete. Therefore the time of Messiah's birth was deferred by that number of days. This is the sole intelligible meaning of Mr. Greswell's obscure and perplexed statement: the absurdity of such a representation sufficiently shews that the Writer did not clearly perceive the drift of his own words. Unchecked by any misgiving, he proceeds with much gravity to impress the reader with a due sense of its importance. "To what purpose however is this conclusion? If it can be proved that B.C. 1560, when this was the case, was the true year of the Exodus, and therefore of the first institution of the Passover, I think every one will allow it to be something significant. Our Saviour might be born in the fulness of time on the day which the connexion of the final end of his birth with the original appointment of the Passover had fixed long before; and consequently not on March 24, the date of the vernal equinox B.C. 4, but on April 5, the date of the same time B.C. 1560, if that year was the year of the Exodus from Egypt. That B.C. 1560 was the year of the Exodus might be shewn, as it appears to me, both *à priori* and *à posteriori*," &c. (as above quoted, p. 513). Then follows the argument, nearly eighty pages, which we have before analysed, and then a dissertation of the chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah, sixty pages more. It seems then that this entire discussion of Old Testament Chronology is introduced for the sole purpose of proving that the year 1560 is the year of the Exode; and this, for the sake of making good this "not unimportant coincidence," which, to speak plainly, is pure nonsense.

§ 462. We proceed to the New Testament; and first concerning the time of the Nativity, which, as before mentioned, is referred to 5 April B.C. 4.

Here, in the first place, Mr. Greswell endeavours to set aside the argument derived from the Eclipse, § 26, which is clearly against this date, by remarking: 1. that the calculation of eclipses is so precarious a matter, that even the best computations cannot always be relied upon: 2. that Josephus is a notoriously inaccurate writer; which charge is made out by a long list of his *σφάλματα*.

Secondly: to the argument deduced from the years of Archelaus, § 29, is opposed the assertion that Dion Cassius has noted the deposal of Archelaus under the wrong year.

Thirdly: the argument connected with the year of the deposal of Herod Antipas is met, at an immense expence of historical erudition, with the assumption, for it is simply such, that Josephus was so ill-informed about

notorious facts as to place at Puteoli an incident which, in truth, must have occurred at Lugdunum in Gaul. See § 31, *note*.

§ 463. The *positive* proof is summed up in the one single assumption, that the 34 years of Herod's reign mentioned by Josephus are necessarily years complete. But if so, then, reckoned from the capture of Jerusalem Oct. B.C. 37, they were not complete till Oct. B.C. 3: if from Nisan B.C. 37, not complete till Nisan B.C. 3 [at which time, accordingly, Mr. Clinton also places the death of Herod]. To this inference I am content to oppose Mr. Greswell's own admission in another place: "There is hardly a single date examined by us above which does not exemplify the principle of Josephus's mode of reckoning *by current years as often as by complete*." (i. 207.)

§ 464. Having, however, satisfied himself that the death of Herod occurred Nisan B.C. 3, Mr. Greswell thus proceeds to ascertain the *day* of the Nativity. Vol. i. 328-378 (381-437. Ed. 2).

It is assumed, as proved in another Dissertation, that the year 26 A.D. is the 15th of Tiberius in Luke iii. 1, and that the statement *ὡς εἰς ἑτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος* by the most strict necessity asserts our Lord's age at His baptism to have been not more than 30, but rather less. And, lastly, as above, that Herod's death occurred early in B.C. 3. Hence the Nativity must be placed at some time in B.C. 4: for as the 15th of Tiberius began Aug. A.D. 26, our Lord was baptized between Aug. A.D. 26 and Aug. A.D. 27. The Nativity therefore must be placed between Aug. B.C. 5 and Aug. B.C. 4. For if we place it *e. g.* Dec. B.C. 4, our Lord's age at baptism *before* Aug. A.D. 27, suppose at the very end of the 15th Tiberius, would be 3 or 4 months short of the age of 30, which, we are assured, would not agree with S. Luke's expression.

§ 465. But in what way is the month-date "5 April" B.C. 4 ascertained? The reply shall be given in the writer's own words. "*I advance it as a conjecture*, which to pious minds may not appear improbable (*though it must still be regarded as a conjecture*), that the true date of the Nativity is the 10th Nisan." (p. 390.) Namely, because it was typically fit that our Lord should be born on the day on which at the original institution of the Passover it was commanded that the paschal lamb should be taken up and set apart. That the Nativity must have occurred at or about the time of the vernal equinox, Mr. Greswell thinks, is "proved" by the argument from analogy in reference to the facts of our Saviour's history in general (p. 386). For "all the cardinal points in the transactions of His own part in the Christian scheme are determined to the vernal quarter of the year. . . . No special distinction is conferred, during His life-time, on any feast but the Passover. . . . *It is just as probable* that He would be born at one passover, as that He would suffer at another: and if the paschal lamb was the most expressive type of the great Christian sacrifice, it was not less agreeable to the analogy of the type that the true paschal victim should have been born at one passover, than that He should suffer at another" (p. 386). To this argument he adds another, in the analogy of several historical events: he contends, namely, that Isaac, Pharez, Moses, Solomon, were born in the

spring: the tabernacle was set up on the 1st Nisan: Saul appointed king about the Passover: Solomon's reign began in the spring, &c. But after all, "the knowledge of the actual day on which the Nativity took place may justly be ranked among the mysteries or secrets which are known to God alone." Nevertheless, (adds Mr. G.), "I have advanced a conjecture that it might possibly be the 10th Nisan, and I have somewhat still to say in support of this conjecture, which I have purposely reserved for the last." (p. 399.)

§ 466. Now as we read in the *Prolegomena in Harmoniam*, p. 135, that the birth of our Lord on the 5th April B.C. 4, *jam antea a nobis per innumera fere argumenta probatum est*, we must needs infer that the "conjecture" is exalted into certainty by force of the arguments here reserved for the last. They are these which follow: As the 10th Nisan B.C. 4 began at sunset 5 April and ended at sunset 6 April, so the same day in A.D. 27, "when our Lord began his ministry," began at sunset 4 April, and the 14 Nisan A.D. 30 (the day of the Crucifixion) began at sunset 4 April. That is, the Crucifixion occurred on the Julian anniversary of the Nativity (if this be 10 Nisan B.C. 4), and in the first year of our Lord's ministry the Julian and Jewish anniversaries of the Nativity coincided. "I shall make no comment," says Mr. Greswell, "on this coincidence, which if I am right in the principles upon which it is founded, exceeds any comment which I could make upon it; but I shall leave the pious reader, who cannot fail to perceive in it the clearest proof of the wisdom and providence of God, to meditate upon it for himself." p. 404. "Nor is this all," adds Mr. Greswell: and then he proceeds to show, that our Lord was born on a Sunday, presented in the Temple on a Friday, entered on His ministry on a Monday, as John had entered upon his; that the day in which our Lord completed His 11th year was a Friday. These coincidences, it seems, are momentous: and to them are added some others "of a truly singular and surprising nature," (pp. 412, 3,) namely, that the 14 Nisan = 23 March in A.D. 66, which was the first year of the Jewish war—the 13 April = 14 Nisan A.D. 70, which was the first day of the siege—the 17th Thamuz or Panemus, the day on which the daily sacrifice ceased—the 24th Panemus, on which day fire was set to the outer courts of the Temple—the 8th Lōus, on which fire was first set to the innermost court of the Temple—15 Lōus, on which the Temple was burnt to the ground—and 7 Gorpæus on which Jerusalem was set on fire—were all *Sundays*. It will presently be shown that every one of these "singular and surprising coincidences" involves a contradiction in terms. Suppose they were all real, and ten times as many. Curious they might be, but surely they can commend themselves neither to piety nor to common sense, as having any weight in the primary determination of a question of chronology.

And this is, literally, the whole of the *innumera fere argumenta* by which the date of the Nativity is "proved" to be the 5th April B.C. 4.

§ 467. The reader may be surprised that no notice has been taken, thus far in our review, of the argument connected with the sacerdotal cycle.

The Author has not overlooked this element of the question. In the *Prolegomena*, it is discussed at some length, but only with this result, that, although it determines the time of Zachariah's vision, it has nothing to do with the exact determination of the Nativity, either of the Baptist or of our Lord.

For Mr. Greswell, starting from the *Saturday* of the conflagration of the Temple, which in virtue of his hypothesis of an error in the Dominical Tables he makes to be the 2nd of August, obtains for the entry of Zacharias, the date Saturday 30 Sept. B. C. 6. The course Abijah therefore went out of office, 22 April B. C. 6, and 7 Oct. B. C. 6, and 23 Mar. B. C. 5. Take the date 7 Oct. B. C. 6. Then since according to the ancient authorities, the birth regularly follows on the 275th day from the conception, if Elizabeth's conception occurred 8 Oct. B. C. 6, the birth of John would take place 9 July B. C. 5, and the nativity of Christ six months or 183 days later (for Mr. Greswell takes the six months in Luke i. to be complete), i. e. on the 7th Jan. B. C. 4. At this rate, our Lord's age would be 30 years complete at the time of His Baptism in January A. D. 27. But S. Luke's expression *ὡσεὶ τρ. ἔτην ἀρχ.* Mr. Greswell insists, must mean that our Lord was beginning to be 30 years old, His age therefore could not be 30 years complete: *a fortiori*, the earlier date must be rejected. But if Elizabeth conceived 25 Mar. B. C. 5, John was born 24 Dec. 5, and our Lord 24 June B. C. 4. "At this rate, on 1 Jan. A. D. 27, our Lord's age was 29 years 6 months 8 days. Therefore if He was baptized at any time between 1 Jan. and Passover A. D. 27, it could hardly be said by an author so studious of exactness as S. Luke, that our Lord was baptized when He was *about 30 years complete*. It follows that Elizabeth's conception cannot have occurred immediately after the return of Zacharias. In other words, the sacerdotal cycle is not implicated in the proof of the month-date of the Nativity.

§ 468. I pass on to the year of the Passion. This follows from the supposed sense of the "15th of Tiberius" in Luke iii. 1. Mr. Greswell, in common with several other learned chronologists, takes this to mean the 15th of Tiberius's participation in the empire. On this hypothesis sufficient has been said elsewhere (§ 71). I venture to assert that not a single argument alleged by Mr. Greswell is of any weight for the proof of this forced and most improbable hypothesis. I acknowledge, that to adopt it would relieve the scheme of Sanclemente and Ideler, which I follow here, of no small apparent difficulty; but, to my mind, it is condemned by its own intrinsic improbability. To the year, however, which is thus assumed, Mr. Greswell adds 3½ years for the joint times of the Baptist and of our Lord, and so obtains the year 30 as the year of the Passion. The day, of course, is to be determined by lunar calculation. It was the 14th Nisan, it should be a Friday. But the 5th April which Mr. Greswell (by an error arising from his uncorrected calculation) identifies with the 14th Nisan, was, according to the Tables, a *Wednesday*. At once, and, most unfortunately, without stopping to consider the meaning of the terms, he affirms an error in the Tables. Dr. Hales, on a similar account, had insinuated something

of the kind before, but without troubling himself either to explain his meaning or to prove it. But Mr. Greswell has launched out into a discussion and collection of "proofs," extending (on a moderate calculation) over three hundred pages of the *Dissertations* and *Prolegomena*. It is twelve years since the hypothesis was started in the first edition of the *Dissertations*; afterwards appeared the "Supplement," with a long dissertation on this subject: then the *Prolegomena ad Harmoniam*, in which the hypothesis is taken for proved, and a set of Tables extending through fifteen or sixteen hundred years is framed in accordance with it. Lastly, the second edition of the *Dissertations* appeared in 1837, in the preface to which the Author thus explains his object:

§ 469. "The origin of the 27th Dissertation may be thus explained. Those who have read the author's work, are aware that he places the Passion on the Julian April 5. A.D. 30: which, if correct, implies that the Julian April 5. A.D. 30 coincided with a Friday. But according to the cycle of the dominical letter, the Julian April 5 A.D. 30, coincided with a Wednesday. In the opinion of the author of this work, the ἀρχὴ of this cycle is two days behind the truth; in which case the Julian April 5 A.D. 30 would actually coincide not with Wednesday, but with Friday. Now among other arguments which may tend to shew that April 5 A.D. 30 actually fell on Friday, one is to reason as follows. It appears from independent historical testimony that in such and such years such and such Julian dates of days of the month fell on such and such days of the week. Supposing the Julian April 5 A.D. 30 to have actually coincided with Friday, and the computation of time according to the Julian year to have gone on uninterruptedly ever after, would these things actually be the case? The author has applied this reasoning to three cases in point, the Julian date of the martyrdom of Polycarp, the Julian date of the martyrdom of Pionius, and the Julian dates of certain of the martyrdoms of the martyrs of Palestine—uniformly with a similar result". (This Dissertation occupies more than a hundred pages, Vol. iv. 531—638.) "The two concluding Dissertations (nearly a hundred pages more) are both supplementary to the 27th. The first of them arises out of the allusion to the paschal controversy," &c. "The second is devoted to the question of the coincidences between Julian days of the month and the corresponding days of the week, and the discrepancy in this respect subsisting between the indications of the solar cycle and the conclusions otherwise established in the course of this work; and it has for its object the decision of the whole controversy, by pointing at once to the true source of the difference in question, the fact of a correction of the style amounting to two days exactly, which there seems to be almost demonstrative reason to suppose must have been made by the Council of Nice; but which has been hitherto overlooked".

It would seem that these portions of Mr. Greswell's volumes must have attracted very little attention; that none of his readers can have thought it worth his while to examine into the meaning and merits of an hypothesis

which its Author manifestly considers a point of no small importance. In truth, the hypothesis, even supposing it proved by clear historical evidence (which it neither is nor can be), is neither more nor less than *nonsense* in reference to the object it was designed to serve. That such is the case, a very little reflection might have convinced any person having the least insight into the meaning of chronological terms; and it is astonishing that a scholar like Mr. Greswell should have failed to discover this for himself.

§ 470. The question at issue is as follows: Mr. Greswell having assigned the Passion to the year 30, and having found by calculation (which happens, by the bye, to be inaccurate) that the 14th of Nisan in that year fell on the 5th of April, was bound to shew that that day was a *Friday*. "And" says he (Vol. I. p. 413), "if the Passover is rightly calculated to that day, there can be so far no doubt that it did. For the passover at the time when our Saviour suffered immediately preceded the Jewish sabbath; and therefore if the passover that year fell upon April 5, April 5 immediately preceded the Jewish sabbath. The tables, however, adapted to the solar cycle according to certain (?) calculations, make April 5 A.D. 30 to fall on the Wednesday, which is two days before the time I suppose. But the accuracy of such calculations is not so implicitly to be relied upon, that the 5th April may not still be supposed to have fallen on the Friday!"

Now, since the interval from a given Wednesday in past time to the present time is two days less than that from the ensuing Friday; the hypothesis that 5 April A.D. 30 was a Friday must mean one of two things: viz. either that the weekly reckoning was not duly kept in the interval, i.e. that some week or weeks had more or less than seven days; or else that the Julian reckoning underwent some interruption, i.e. that some year or years had less than their normal complement of days. The former alternative is too absurd to be entertained for a moment, and Mr. Greswell, as we have seen, affirms the latter. Having sought proof, he considers himself to have found abundant evidence of the fact, and in the second edition of the *Dissertations* exhibits his hypothesis in this form: namely, that there is reason to believe that in the year 325 A.D., the year of the Council of Nice, there was an alteration of the style, which consisted in the omission of two days, so that the year 325 counted but 363 instead of 365 days. Suppose the fact to be as here represented: the consequence of course would be this, that any given Julian day named by ancient writers prior to A.D. 325 would lie two days nearer to our times, and therefore two days later in the week, than it would if there had been no such interruption. But will that prove that the 14th of the paschal moon in A.D. 30 was a Friday? Nothing of the kind; for this plain reason—because the Julian calendar has nothing to do with the question. If Mr. Greswell could have detected not one but a score of interruptions in the Julian reckoning, the question at issue would remain

just where it was: the hypothesis is simply irrelevant and futile as it regards the matter in hand.

§ 471. There is but one way of ascertaining the true date corresponding to the Jewish date 14 Nisan A.D. 30. (By "date" I mean, of course, by how many days, i.e. by how many revolutions of the earth on its axis, the 14th day of the moon next after the vernal equinox of A.D. 30, preceded any given day of later times, say for instance the 14th day of the corresponding moon of A.D. 1842.) That is to say, we must retrace the moon's path, according to the laws of her motion, back from the point at which she stood on the given day of 1842, to the point at which she stood at the corresponding date of her age in A.D. 30. This is essentially the problem which has to be worked out in every such case, although for convenience' sake, the question is in fact solved by means of various tables framed according to the Julian Calendar. The principal element, however, of the calculation is this: that on an average of many years, the moon completes her orbit, or is at the full again, in 29·530588715 days. This element will give the *mean* place (or age) of the moon: there are indeed other elements which must be applied in order to obtain the *true* place (or age), and these may amount to perhaps 12 or 18 hours more or less than the mean; see § 449, 451. It will be sufficient, however, for our present purpose to take the principal element only.

In 1842 the moon was at the full on Sunday 24 April 23^h 28^m Greenwich time, which is Monday 25 April at 1^h 39^m Jerusalem time. Back from this instant to the synonymous Julian instant of A.D. 30, on the supposition of an uninterrupted decursus of the Julian reckoning Old Style, which continued down to 1752, are 1812 Julian years minus 12 days, or 661,821 days. Or, to avoid all mention of the *Julian* year,—from the given instant back to the corresponding *tropical* instant of A.D. 30, are 1812 × 365·24224, i.e.

| | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| 1000 tropical years | 365,242·24 |
| 800 | 292,193·792 |
| 12 | 4,382·90688 |
| 1812 | 661,818·93888 |

Measuring this period by 29·530588715 days, we shall get the date of the mean full moon nearest the vernal equinox of A.D. 30: *its date*,—meaning, by how many days, hours, minutes, &c. it precedes the given instant of 1842. Thus

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 20,000 mean lunations = | 590,611·7743 |
| 2,000 | 59,061·17743 |
| 400 | 11,812·235486 |
| 12 | 354·36706458 |
| 22,412 | = 661,839·55428058 days. |

That is, the moon was at the full 661,839^d 14^h 18^m before Monday 25 April A.D. 1842 at 1^h 39^m. Or, what is the same thing, the first instant, 0^h 0^m, of the day of this full moon preceded the same instant of Monday 25 April 1842 by 661,840 entire days. But these make 94,548 weeks and

4 days over, consequently the day of that full moon, or 15 Nisan A.D. 30, began 4 days before a Monday, i.e. was a Thursday, and the 14th Nisan therefore was a *Wednesday*. And this result is wholly independent of the tables and of the Julian Calendar.

It appears then by this simple calculation that whether Mr. Greswell's hypothesis of a correction of the Julian Calendar be true or false, the 14th of the mean paschal moon in A.D. 30 was a *Wednesday*, and the 15th a *Thursday*. In fact, the Julian reckoning has no connexion whatever with the essential facts of the case. *It is only for the convenience of a name that we resort to it in any case of this kind.* For the sake of a name, we lay out these 661,840 days in years and months of the Gregorian style or nomenclature as far back as 1752, and of the Julian beyond that year, *supposing no interruption in the enumeration*, and we find that the day (already found to be a Thursday) which began 661,840 days before 25 April 1842 must on that supposition be called Thursday the *sixth* of April A.D. 30¹. In like manner, on Mr. Greswell's supposition, it will be called Thursday the *fourth* of April A.D. 30. But whether it be called 6th April or 4th April, the fact still remains, that the 15th Nisan (in this mean reckoning) was a *Thursday*. If any person will still maintain that the 15th Nisan, or day of mean paschal full moon, in A.D. 30 was a *Saturday*, he must prove that 22,412 mean lunations are not as all astronomers declare, 661,839·55428 days but two days less. *This is the essence of the matter: the Julian reckoning, regular or irregular, has nothing to do with the question except by accident, i.e. for the convenience of a name.*

Nothing can well be plainer than this, and it is much to be regretted that Mr. Greswell did not get thus much insight into the matter, before he adopted an hypothesis which is totally useless in respect of the point which he wishes to establish. The consequence is, that he has gone on year after year, filling hundreds of pages with mere nonsense. Every line that he has written on the coincidence of Julian with Jewish days and with days of the week, involves a contradiction in terms. Thus when he says "15 Nisan A.D. 30 = 6 April," he means by 6 April the day which began *m* days before a given epoch (e.g. 661,840^d before 25 Apr. 1842): but when he adds "6 April = Saturday" he puts a new sense on the term 6 April: it now means the day which began *m* - 2 days before the said epoch (i.e. 661,838^d before 25 Apr. 1842.) The case is precisely the same with every

¹ For, in A.D. 1752 eleven days were dropt at once, i.e. 1752 (bissextile) had 355 days only instead of 366: again in 1800, one day (29 Feb.) was dropt. Therefore, from 25 Apr. 1842 back to the same day of 1750 are 92 Julian years with 12 days dropt, i.e. 33,591 days; consequently we have to lay out 661,840 - 33,591 =

628,249 days in Julian years. They make 1720 such years with 19 days over:

$$1600\gamma = 584,400$$

$$120 = 43,830$$

$$19^d = 19$$

$$1720\gamma 19^d = 628,249$$

and therefore reach up to 6 April A.D. 30.

one of the many thousand propositions of this kind which occur in the Dissertations and Prolegomena¹: and all the Author's reasonings upon this subject only serve to shew that he has never clearly apprehended the nature and meaning of calendar-reckonings.

§ 472. Thus, when Mr. Greswell wrote that the 14th Nisan in A.D. 30 was the 5th of April, he did not clearly represent to himself what that term, "5 April A.D. 30," stands for. He got it as the name for the 14th Nisan by help of certain Tables of Eclipses constructed by Pingré: viz. from a certain Julian date of an eclipse recorded in the tables he calculated that the 14th Nisan in A.D. 30 was the 5th of April. But when his hypothesis offered itself, he never considered that these tables were formed upon the assumption of an uninterrupted decursus of the Julian Calendar, and consequently, that on his own hypothesis, every date recorded by Pingré ought to be placed, i.e. named, two days earlier. Hence, in adopting the term "5 April" he virtually means the same thing as the Dominical Tables, for those are founded on the same assumption as Pingré's and other astronomical tables; in asserting that the 5th of April was a Friday, he means a different thing, i.e. a day two days nearer to the present instant. That such is the fact he is quite unconscious; and when he comes to state his meaning, one sees that the confusion arises from a want of a clear perception of what is meant by the term "year," inasmuch that he fancies that merely by altering the name of a day, he alters its place, or that by dropping two names of days, he annihilates the two days, i.e. two revolutions of the earth on her axis. The tropical or natural solar year is one thing: the Julian estimate of the year is another: the day-names, 1 January, 2 January, &c.

¹ *Oculus subjecta*, the question stands thus: Let *A* be the instant of the 14th of the given moon, as calculated back from the given epoch *B*: the extent of time *AB* is therefore absolutely known. And as the case is the same however small the interval, we will suppose it to be one week only, i.e. that the epoch is a day acknowledged by Mr Greswell, and on all hands, to be Wednesday 21st of the moon and 12th April. Then upon the assumption of an uninterrupted de-

cursus of week-days and Julian-days, the 14th Nisan coincides with Wednesday 5 April. Mr Greswell's assumption of an omission of two days, i.e. of two Julian names of days, is represented in the 4th column, and gives 14th Nisan = 3 April Wednesday, and 16th Nisan = 5 April Friday. His actual use of the hypothesis is to blend these two results together in the proposition "14th Nisan = 5 April Friday"; that is to say, to identify the 14th and 16th of Nisan.

| | | | | |
|---|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| A | 14th Nisan | Wednesday | 5th April | 3rd April |
| | 15th | Thursday | 6th | 4th |
| | 16th | Friday | 7th | 5th |
| | 17th | Saturday | 8th | 6th |
| | 18th | Sunday | 9th | 7th |
| | 19th | Monday | 10th | 10th |
| | 20th | Tuesday | 11th | 11th |
| | 21st | Wednesday | 12th | 12th |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| B | | | | |

down to 31 December belong merely to the Julian estimate of the year—a purely human device, the merits of which in respect of its relation to the true length of the solar year have nothing to do with a question of dates:—but Mr. Greswell sets out with a confused fancy that these day-names are somehow so necessarily connected with the tropical year, that the Julian year has no right to them, except so far as it truly represents the length of the tropical year: accordingly he puts a new meaning upon every day-name which he had derived from his Tables of Eclipses: the 5th April (e.g.) instead of meaning what it meant in the Tables, is now to mean a day at the same distance from the vernal equinox of A.D. 30 as 5 April is in A.D. 1842. He says: “*I acknowledge no true measure of time but the revolution of the tropical year, nor any true division of weeks but the succession of days in that year; to which it is manifest no criterion is applicable like the solar cycle of 28 years (a cycle intended for the Julian year exclusively), but only the simple and natural one of the reduction of years into days and nights, and of days and nights into weeks.*” Vol. III. p. 467. No true measure of time but the revolution of the tropical year! Surprising that any one should write these words without perceiving the absurdity of such a statement! As well might one say, on being set to measure the distance between two objects, “*I acknowledge no true measure of space but the length of a pendulum vibrating seconds: you tell me that the distance is so many statute yards; your yard-measure does not truly represent the length of my pendulum, and therefore it is not a true measure of space.*” Precisely in this way Mr. Greswell confuses the two notions, “true measure of time” and “true measure of the tropical year.” In all measurement of time the primary unit is the natural day, or time of one revolution of the earth on her axis: and when we speak of “the exact time” or date of an occurrence, we mean that it happened so many days and parts of a day before the present instant, or before any other instant the distance of which from the present is known. For convenience sake, we groupe these days into larger units called years: but what this larger unit shall be is a matter of perfect indifference for all purely chronometrical purposes. We then say that an occurrence happened so many *years*, days, and parts of a day ago: and be this larger unit “year” what it may, our measurement is true so long as its relation to the simple unit, the natural day, is fixed and invariable. Thus the ancient Egyptians took first a period of 360 days, afterwards of 365: each was a true measure of time though not (as they soon found out) a true measure of the natural year. Everybody knows that the Chaldean and Egyptian astronomers used the year of 365 days, as one of their measures of time, for recording eclipses and the like. Thus a certain eclipse is set down as having been observed in such and such a year, and on such and such a day, hour &c.: meaning, that it happened $m \times 365$ days *plus* n days, p hours &c. before a given instant. Now how absurd were it to say: This period of 365 days is not a true measure of time, for the natural year contains 365.24224 days: I maintain therefore that the said eclipse happened $m \times 365.24224 + n$ days + p parts of a day before the given instant”! Yet this is precisely Mr. Greswell’s way of arguing on this subject. His astronomical authorities inform him

that a certain event (say a full moon,) occurred precisely $m \times 365\frac{1}{4}$ days before a given instant: upon which he argues, Since $365\frac{1}{4}$ is not the true measure of the year, *therefore* the said event happened m true years ago, or $m \times 365.24224$ days, and not an instant more or less. I have already given one notable specimen of this absurd confusion between names and things, § 461. One more will suffice to shew that I have not misrepresented his meaning.—In the *Prolegomena*, p. 99, where he is speaking of the sacerdotal cycle, he proposes to find the number of days between 22 Sept. A.C. 536 and 2 August A.D. 70. Both day-names were got by calculation from Pingré's Tables, as equivalents to lunar dates, and consequently belong to the Old Style of the Julian reckoning, in which 1461 days go to every four years. The calculation therefore is very simple: we have 605 Julian years *minus* 51 days:

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 i. e. 600 \text{ Julian years} & = & 150 \times 4 = 219,150 \\
 4 & = & 1 \times 4 = 1,461 \\
 1 \text{ com. year} & & 365 \\
 & & \hline
 & & 220,976 \\
 \text{minus} & & 51 \\
 & & \hline
 & & 220,925
 \end{array}$$

But Mr. Greswell's calculation stands thus: "The interval is 605' *minus* 51'. Deduct for the corrections of our Calendar made in the mean time, 5 days: therefore the interval is 220,920 days.' In other words, Because 605 Julian years = 605 Greswellian years *plus* 5 days, *therefore* the moon did not take 220,925 days, as astronomers say she did, to get from point *a* to point *b*, but five days less.—And it is just the same with all his other calculations of this kind.

In consequence of this strange confusion, the Cyclical Tables at the end of the *Prolegomena* must be altered in all the columns of dominical letters and week days. The month-days there registered are days of the Julian Calendar Old Style, and are probably correct enough for all ordinary purposes: the week-dates give the coincidence of certain week-days with the synonymous month-days, not of the Julian, but of the Greswellian style of the Calendar. In every instance the reader must correct the registered week-day to a day two days earlier, reading Sunday wherever Mr. Greswell's table gives Tuesday, and so on.

§ 473. Thus far, we have considered the hypothesis as it relates to Jewish or lunar calendar-dates converted by lunar calculation into names of the Julian reckoning. It was framed for the particular purpose of shewing that the 14th day of the paschal moon in A.D. 30 was a Friday, whereas the calculation of the Writer himself makes it a Wednesday. It is therefore wholly futile in reference to that purpose. It would have been far better, because at least not intrinsically absurd, to have followed in the track of Petavius and some other chronologists; namely, to allege that the days of the Jewish lunar calendar cannot be known to have regularly coincided with the corresponding days of the moon's age. There is no absurdity, at least, in supposing that the 14th Nisan might now and then coincide, through a

fault in the reckoning, with the 16th of the moon's age. Such a supposition indeed, is not probable, either *à priori*, when it is considered that a nation which for 1500 years had been bound by religious duties to an observance of the moon's phases must have acquired a sufficient practical, if not scientific, knowledge of the moon's motions to ensure regularity at least in respect of the time of the great religious festival of the Passover: nor does it look more probable upon examination, since wherever we have the means of testing the accuracy of the Jewish reckoning, it stands the test. But at least it involves no physical absurdity. I cannot help surmising, however, that had Mr. Greswell been aware of the fact disclosed by strict lunar calculation with the best modern tables, viz. that by his own rule (which I also have followed), the 14th Nisan A. D. 30 would end and the 15th begin at sunset of *Thursday* the 6th April, his view of the time of the last Passover and of the Passion would have been a different one; i. e. that he would have assigned the Passion (with Hales and others) to the 15th Nisan. For this too, there is much to be said: one might urge the express words of the three first Gospels against a single incidental expression of S. John: at all events, this view involves no physical absurdity.

§ 474. But it is time now to pass on to the proof of my second assertion, namely, that the hypothesis of a change of style in the Julian Calendar before the time of the Gregorian reformation is wholly untenable: in other words, that the Julian Calendar proceeded regularly from the beginning of our æra to the sixteenth century. Whether it did, or did not, is perfectly indifferent to the question as it relates to Jewish dates or Julian day-names assigned by astronomical calculations which proceed upon the assumption of such regularity: but the question, in another shape, deserves to be discussed. For if two day-names were really dropt in the interval, the consequences will be that any date assigned by a contemporary writer, for instance 1 Aug. A. D. 46 in Suetonius or Dion Cassius, will be two days nearer to us than the day marked by the same name in any astronomical table, Pingré's for instance.

Now first, arguing the matter on grounds of general probability:—if such a change did ever take place and was adopted (as by the hypothesis it must have been) throughout the Roman world, and perpetuated down to the 16th century, we have a right to expect that some contemporary record of so important a fact should be producible: a record to this effect—"In such a year of such an emperor, or, under such and such consuls, it was ordered that such a month *pro hac vice* should have but 28 instead of 30 days: or, that the day next after (e. g.) the 20th June should be called the 23rd instead of the 21st." If such a record exists, let it be produced. In all my reading of historians and chronologists I have met with none such, nor does Mr. Greswell produce any¹. It is a point on which one may say confidently, no

¹ The only thing in the shape of historical testimony alleged by Mr. Greswell is a passage of Epiphanius, Hæc. i. 821, where the Audiani speaking of the Nicene

such record exists. Now, whether we choose to suppose that the innovation was effected simultaneously, and therefore by appointment and preconcertedly, throughout the empire, or that it took place first at Rome and was subsequently adopted in one province after another, as attention was called to the fact of a derangement of the provincial as compared with the Roman reckoning¹, in either case it is quite inconceivable that the change should have passed *sub silentio*².

§ 475. But besides this general ground, which strongly negatives the probability of the hypothesis, it can be proved, in point of fact, that no such permanent interruption has ever taken place. Ancient writers frequently mention the Julian date of eclipses or other astronomical phenomena; that is to say, they give the name, *as it existed at the time* of the day on which the eclipse occurred. Now the exact date of an eclipse is always ascertainable: that is, we can ascertain exactly by how many days, hours, minutes &c. it preceded a given epoch, say the first instant of 1 Jan. 1800. If the ascertained number of days, laid out in Julian years and months, *on the assumption of no interruption having occurred*, leads up to the same day-name as that specified by the historian, the truth of the assumption is confirmed in just the proportion of that historian's character for accuracy: and if in a great number of such instances the result of astronomical calculations agrees with the contemporary dates, it then, even on this ground alone, becomes established as an indubitable truth. To take one instance as a specimen of numberless instances of the same kind.—It is on record that the sun was visibly eclipsed at Rome A.D. 45, on the birth-day of the Emperor Claudius, Dion. Cass. x. p. 682. There can be no mistake about the date, i.e. the contemporary name of the day, for it is otherwise known that Claudius was born on the 1st of August. Now abstractedly from the particular *methods* of practical calculation, the essential matter of fact which is given by such calculation

Nicene paschal rule use this expression against the Catholics: *ὅτε τὰ γενέθλια τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου, τότε μετεποιήσαθε τὸ πάσχα*. And this is historical argument!

¹ If the style was (permanently) altered at Rome, it must have been altered also to the same amount in all the provinces which used a solar calendar: i.e. the Egyptian and the various forms of the Macedonian (solar) Calendar must have been altered to the same amount. For in writers of the first six centuries we frequently meet with double dates, such as "the—day of the month *M* according to the Egyptians (or Macedonians,

&c.) which is the—day of the month *N* according to the Romans." These synchronisms always follow the same law. But if at any time in the first six centuries the Julian reckoning was modified, the synchronical dates before the interruption would not tally with those after it, unless all the calendars were simultaneously modified to the same amount.

² Interruptions, it is true, did occur, but they were only temporary, and were speedily balanced, on purpose that the Julian reckoning might persist undisturbed. See above § 400, p. 458.

is this: that a solar eclipse must have been visible at Rome 613,619 days some hours and minutes before 1 Aug. 0^h 0^m A.D. 1725. But from 1 Aug. 0^h 0^m A.D. 45 (supposing no interruption in the decursus of the Julian reckoning) to the same instant of 1 Aug. A.D. 1725, are 1680 Julian years, which make 613,620 days: i.e. the astronomical reckoning leads up to the very day indicated by the historian: in other words, the astronomical and the contemporary dates agree on the supposition of there having been no interruption, *but on no other*¹.

§ 476. A third class of proofs is furnished by all such notices of contemporary writers as specify the week-day corresponding with a given Julian day of a given year. If such notices, being distinct and unquestionable, agree with the indications of the Dominical Tables both before and after the Council of Nice A.D. 325, it follows that the assumption on which the Tables are calculated is true: in other words, that the reckoning was not interrupted.

Historical notices of synchronisms of lunar days with week-days have nothing to do with the question at issue: in respect of these, the matter stands thus: Such a day of such a lunar *month* in such a year fell on such a day of the week. By astronomical calculation, the corresponding day of the *moon* was *m* days before the Epoch: its week-day therefore is known. If it be not the week-day mentioned by the writer, it follows that such a day of the lunar *month* at that particular time was not the true representative of the co-numeral day of the *moon*, or else, that the writer was misinformed. So far we have nothing to do with the Julian reckoning except accidentally. Nor can any argument, for or against its perpetuity, be raised upon these grounds: since both in giving a *name* to the day which we found to have begun *m* days ago, and in assigning the week-

¹ Mr Greswell, I perceive, is aware of this objection to his hypothesis, Vol. iv. 655. How then does he dispose of it? As usual, by confused talking about tropical years. "That the Julian year, since the last correction of the Calendar, corresponds in all respects to the same year such as it was left by the first and original correction B. C. 46...is proved by the coincidence between the dates of eclipses assigned by ancient contemporary historians in the Julian reckoning of their time, and the dates assigned to the same events by modern astronomers in the Julian reckoning of theirs...Every one well-authenticated instance of this kind is as good as a thousand. Thus... Pingré's Table shews an eclipse of the sun 1 Aug. A. D. 46." Then in a note:

"This actual correspondence of the Julian to the tropical year at present as much as at first is a *point of considerable importance to the argument*!" Strange that this learned writer should possess so little knowledge of the meaning of *chronological names* in reference to *things*. Grant that 1 Aug. A. D. 45, lies at the same distance from the instant of the vernal equinox in that year as 1 Aug. A. D. 1842, from its preceding vernal equinox; why, this is of no more importance to the argument than the same quantity of talk about the Chinese or Mexican Calendars would be. Pingré entered the *name* 1 Aug. A. D. 45 in his register to denote the day which began *m* days ago: Mr. Greswell will have it to be *m* - 2 days ago.

day coinciding with the day so found, we assume that perpetuity, which is the point to be proved.

It does not often happen that historians or other writers during the first four centuries, mention the week-day together with a Julian or other solar month-date. The following are *all* the instances of this kind that I have met with in my reading. We begin at the close of the fourth century¹, and trace our way upwards.

1. A. D. 386. S. Ambrose writing in this year to the bishops of Æmilia concerning the celebration of Easter, says: *Anno 89 ex die imperii Diocletiani cum xiv luna esset 9 Kal. Apr. nos celebravimus pascha prid. Kal. April. Alexandrini quoque et Ægyptii, ut ipsi scripserunt, cum incidisset xiv luna 28 Phamenoth celebraverunt pascha 5 Pharmuthi quæ est prid. Kal. April. ac sic convenere nobiscum. Rursus anno 93 cum incidisset xiv luna in 14 Pharmuthi quæ est 5 id. Apr. quæ erat dominica die, celebratum est pascha dominica Pharmuthi 21 quæ fuit secundum nos 16 Kal. Mai.* These dates are express and indubitable: namely,

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 89 Dioclet. prid. Kal. Apr. | } = A. D. 373. 31 March Sunday. |
| = 5 Pharmuthi | |
| 93..... 5 id. April | } = A. D. 377. 9 April Sunday. |
| = 14 Pharmuthi | |

Now in a common year,

if $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 31 \text{ March} \\ 9 \text{ April} \end{array} \right\}$ be Sunday $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 6 \text{ Jan.} \\ 1 \text{ Jan.} \end{array} \right\}$ is Sunday: Dom. Let. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} F. \\ A. \end{array} \right\}$.

and with this the Tables agree: viz. 373, F: 377, A: p. 505.

2. In the preface to the *Gesta Concilii Aquileiensis* the date is thus given, *Syagrio et Eucherio Coss. Non. Sept.*, but other MSS. have *3 Non. Sept. qua feria sexta fuit*. The year indicated is 381, and the synchronism noted in the MSS., 3 Sept. = Friday, agrees with the Tables: A. D. 381. dom. let. C: therefore 3 Sep. = Friday, see p. 506, 7.

3. A. D. 378. Paulus Alex. states that he wrote his "Introductio ad Astrologiam" on Wednesday 20 Mechir of the 94th Diocl. i. e. 14 Feb. A. D. 378. By the Tables, dom. let. A. D. 378 = G: therefore 14 February was a Wednesday.

4. A. D. 337. The Paschal Chronicon assigns the death of Constantine to 22 May in this year, adding that it occurred *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγία πεντηκοστῇ*: i. e. 22 May was Sunday. This implies dom. let. B. and by the Tables dom. let. of A. D. 337 is B.

The same Chronicon sub anno 330 places the naming of Constantinople (formerly Byzantium) in the 25th year of Constantine 5 id. Maii fer. 2. i. e. 11 May, Monday. And this agrees with the Tables: A. D. 330. dom. let. D.

¹ After A. D. 400, such synchronisms are frequently met with, especially in the Paschal controversies;—the Chron. Pasch., also, after this time abounds in

such dates: e. g. A. D. 404. 6 Kal. Jul. fer. 2: 4 id. Oct. fer. 4. A. D. 415. 3 Kal. Aug. fer. 6: 6 id. Oct. fer. 1.

It is needless to seek further instances of this kind in the period after A. D. 325: we will proceed then to earlier dates.

5. S. Optatus, in his history of the Donatists, assigns the date of the 1st Roman Council *Constantino quater et Licinio ter Coss. 6 non. Oct. 6 feria: i. e. Friday 2 October*. The year is 313. By the Tables, d. 1. 313 = D: 2 Oct. = Friday.

6. In the *Acta S. Fructuosus*, Ruinart *Acta Mart.* p. 219, occurs the date *Æmiliano et Basso Coss. 17 Kal. Feb. die dominica: i. e. A. D. 259. 16th January Sunday*. Which agrees with the Tables: A. D. 259, dom. let. B.

7. The paschal cycles of the third century all bespeak an exact keeping of the Julian reckoning. Thus we have the Easter-table of 84 years beginning A. D. 298, in which is set down, year by year, the week-day corresponding with the 1st January, and the date of Easter-Sunday. We have the canons of S. Cyprian (A. D. 243) and of S. Hippolytus (222), which give the Julian date and week-day of the paschal full moon for 112 successive years. All these indications are in agreement with the Dominical Tables¹.

To the same purport is the testimony of the *Paschalis Laterculus* of 100 years published by Bucherius (reprinted in Grævii *Ant. Rom.* tom. xi. p. 395) beginning A. D. 312, in which are set down the consuls of the year,

¹ Of the synchronisms here alleged, Mr. Greswell has noticed only those under No. 1, and the cycles of Hippolytus and Cyprian. Of course, all that lie after A. D. 325, in which year he thinks the style was altered, will tally, if authentic, with the indications of the Dominical Tables. But the synchronisms No. 5, 6, 7, could not so tally if two day-names were omitted in A. D. 325. Probably Mr. Greswell would reject the testimony of S. Optatus and the *Acta Martyrum*; but how are the indications of the old Paschal cycles to be set aside? Take the answer in the words of the Author himself, Vol. IV. p. 717: "Coincidences...may possibly be found...at different periods between A. D. 30 and 325...which will appear to hold good on the principles of the solar cycle [*i. e.* dominical tables] and on these only. *I am aware of some such myself...but the length to which these discussions have extended renders it obviously improper to enter upon the particular consideration of every such case which might be adduced, or on the explanation of difficulties connected with*

them." [This is remarkable: surely nothing should render it improper to sum up the whole evidence on a given question instead of a part, and that part, as we shall presently see, the least authentic that could be produced.] "I must be content to rest the conclusion which I have laboured to establish, upon the arguments just produced [which we shall presently consider, § 477.] ... Among the objections, however, which might be urged to the contrary, I will notice two, though as briefly as possible. "The Paschal Canon of Hippolytus...bears date from A. D. 222, and the 14th of the moon is supposed to bear date 1d. Apr. and Sabbath, *i. e.* on Saturday April 13. On the principles of the solar cycle, [*i. e.* in plain words, by the Dominical Tables] this would actually be the case. For A. D. 222 Dom. let. F. Apr. 13, according to the Tables, was Saturday."....."My answer to this objection would be, that the marble in which this canon is inscribed, and which was first discovered A. D. 1551, is not contemporary with Hippolytus himself.... The

and the day on which Easter Sunday fell. Some of the numbers are corrupt, but by far the greater part are correctly given. The third year is described thus:

Valeriano et Anniano 14 Kal. Maii.

i. e. in A. D. 314, Easter Sunday was kept 18 April: and so in the other years: *e. g.*

Sabino et Rufino 8 Kal. Apr. [i. e. 316]

Gallicano et Basso 18 Kal. Maii. 317

Licinio V. et Crispo 7 Id. Apr. 318

&c.

Now this is evidently not a paschal computus made out by calculating backwards from a later epoch, but an annalistic series of years, in which is noted, as matter of history, the day on which the Latin Church celebrated Easter Sunday¹.

Add to this the *Fasti Consulares Anonymi*, a fragment of which, beginning at A. D. 205 and ending A. D. 354, was published by Bucherius, and afterwards the entire MS. by Cardinal Noris, beginning at v. c. 246 and ending v. c. 1107 A. D. 354. Reprinted in Græv. *Ant. Rom.* tom. xi. 336, 392. These Fasti, framed, as Noris has shown, upon a paschal cycle of 84 years, annex to the consuls of each year, the week-day of the 1st January, and the moon's epact. Take for instance the last four years:

Post Cons. Sergii et Nigriniani Mar. xviii.

(Bissext.) Constantio V. et Const. Jun. Mer. xxix.

Constantio VI. et Constantio II. Ven. x.

Constantio VII. et Constantio III. Sat. xxi.

meaning that in

| | |
|-----------|-----------------------|
| A. D. 351 | 1 January was Tuesday |
| 352 | Wednesday |
| 353 | Friday |
| 354 | Saturday. |

Paschal Cycle of this monument...is corrected in conformity to the rules of the Council of Nice...therefore...the coincidences between days of the month and days of the week in its present state, are no evidence of what they might have been in the time of the Author."

In other words, Mr. Greswell seriously propounds that more than a hundred years after this Canon was published,—when experience had proved it faulty in principle and useless in practice, any man living could have thought it worth while to perpetuate it upon marble! It has been sufficiently proved, § 431, on grounds of arithmetic and common sense, that the canon must have been

graven on that marble within 16 years, or less, of A. D. 222. Any other supposition is preposterous, and the particularly absurd solution which Mr. Greswell proposes is but one among many instances, to be found in the *Dissertations*, of extreme hardihood of hypothesis and conjecture. I need not add that the evidence of the *Computus Paschalis*, A. D. 243 (§ 432), is disposed of in the same summary way.

¹ *Hic est paschalis ille 100 annorum laterculus, quo vetustiore, Latinorum quidem, nondum videre contigit; nobilissimum (meo quidem sensu) veneranda antiquitatis ecclesiasticæ monumentum.* Bucher, u. s.

(in perfect agreement with the Tables here and through the whole term of more than 800 years.)

That these Fasti were composed in A.D. 354, is sufficiently proved, as Cardinal Noris remarks, by the circumstance that they end at this year, coupled with the fact that for the last few years the moon's epact is correctly given, but the higher you ascend, the more the error of the cycle accumulates. These Fasti then alone are sufficient to refute the hypothesis. For who can imagine that a person living in A.D. 354, only 29 years after the supposed change of the style, could be ignorant of the fact? Yet ignorant of it he must have been, for he assigns the week-days of all the preceding years on the assumption that the Julian reckoning was at no time interrupted. If two days were indeed dropped in A.D. 325, the 1st January in that year was not a Friday, as the Fasti say, but a Sunday; and so in all the preceding years.

Thus it is proved, that between A.D. 222 and A.D. 386 there was no interruption of the reckoning. If any such had occurred, all the synchronisms indicated by these Canons and Fasti would have been thrown out of keeping with the known synchronisms of modern times, (as e.g. 1 January 1842 = Saturday,) and with those recorded e.g. by S. Ambrose.

§ 477. I may seem to have bestowed upon this hypothesis a much longer discussion than it merited: let it be considered, however, that it has given occasion to hundreds of pages in a work which the Delegates of the Clarendon Press have twice sent forth to the world under the sanction of the University which they represent. *Tanto conspectus in se crimen habet.* If these absurdities had appeared in the pages of a writer of inferior note, I should not have gone at such length into the refutation of them. But really, it is high time, if only for the credit of our age in such matters, that so glaring a blemish should be exposed. And since the question is not one of deep historical research, but of arithmetic and common sense, I may without arrogance affirm that the refutation is complete. The hypothesis is simply futile in respect of the purpose for which it was started, and it is tenable in no sense and to no purpose whatever.—But I have not quite done with it: the “arguments” on which Mr. Greswell “is content to rest his conclusion” yet remain to be considered. And it is not the least remarkable feature of the case, that so well-read a scholar should have devoted more than a hundred pages to an argument which literally proves nothing, but ends with quietly assuming the very point which was to be proved. The instances are simply corrupt: they require to be corrected, and this can be done in very little space.

1. The Acts of the Martyrdom of S. Polycarp in Euseb. H. E. iv. 15, 129, have the following subscription: *μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος μὴνὸς Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἰσταμένου πρὸ ἑπτὰ καλ. Μαΐων σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ ὥρα ὀγδόῃ. Συνελήφθη ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου, ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Φιλίππου Τραλλιανοῦ ἀνθυπατεύοντος Στρατίου Κοδράτου &c.* The *Vetus Interpres* quoted by Ussher *de Maced. et Asian. anno solari* c. iii. has *Menſe Aprilio vii. Kal. Mai. majore Sabbato, hora 8^{va}.* In the Paschal Chronicle

it is *πρὸ ἐπταὶ καλ.* Ἀπρ. τῇ μεγάλῃ σαββάτῳ ὥρα ἡ. In the Greek Calendar the martyrdom is assigned to 23 Feb., which in fact is the 2nd of Xanthicus in the Grecian (Ephesian) form of the Macedonian Calendar, p. 463. But 23 Feb. could not possibly be the *σάββατον μέγα*, i. e. Saturday in Passover-week, though Mr. Greswell thinks it might. He may well apply the epithet "startling" to this conclusion:—Easter kept a whole month before the vernal equinox! It is indeed startling to find a scholar seriously endeavouring to substantiate so outrageous a paradox by appealing to a passage of Anatolius, which simply relates to the controverted question whether in any case the paschal full moon ought to precede the vernal equinox. The Alexandrines and Anatolius maintained that it ought not: the Jews and the Western Church (before the Council of Nice), that it might, to the amount of a week or ten days. This is what Anatolius argues about: yet hence Mr. Greswell, for the sake of an hypothesis, argues that in Polycarp's time there might be Churches which made the 17th Feb. their paschal terminus!

It is evident that some one or more of the dates given in the subscription must be corrupt. The 2nd of Xanthicus in the Greek and Ephesian reckoning is the 23rd of Feb.: but this cannot be the *μέγα σάββατον*, which words, however, cannot be an interpolation, for they are contained in all the accounts. But one of the accounts makes this Great Sabbath fall on the 7 Kal. Mai., another 7 Kal. April. The question is, which of these, or whether either of them, is the true reading. The month Xanthicus cannot be the month which bore that name in the Ephesian Calendar, but is perhaps the month of the *Asiani* called Artemisius, beginning 24 March¹.

Now Mr. Greswell (we will suppose) has proved—what was previously *inferred as matter of course* from the Paschal and Dominical Cycles—that the year was A.D. 164. In that year the paschal full moon fell Saturday 25 Mar. = 2 Artemisius in the Asian and Ephesian Calendar, = 8 Kal. April = 2nd of VIIth month in the General Calendar. But this VIIth month in other reckonings, especially in that with which Eusebius is most conversant, is called Xanthicus. Thus all the notes of time agree with one exception: namely we have

A. D. 164. 2 Xanthicus = *μέγα σάββατον* = 8 Kal. Apr.:

whereas the subscription gives 7 Kal. April. As the 2nd Xanthicus in no case can coincide with 7 Kal. Apr., *ἐπτα* like *Μαίον* must be a corruption. And the corruption is easily explained. The day 7 Kal. May is the 2nd of a Macedonian month: the 8 Kal. May is *not*. Hence the

¹ On reference to the Macedonian Calendars (p. 463, 4) it will be seen that the 26th March

in the Asian Calendar = 2 Artemisius
..... Ephesian = 2 Artemisius

in the General Calendar = 1st of VII. in a common year.

..... = 2nd of VII. in bissextile.

copyist who had in his text the corrupt reading $\pi\rho\acute{o}\ \delta\acute{\kappa}\tau\omega\ \text{Καλ. Μαΐων}$, might naturally be led to substitute $\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}$ for $\delta\acute{\kappa}\tau\omega$, and the error would propagate itself to the copies which retained the true reading Ἀπριλλίων .

Whether this be, or be not, the true emendation of the text, it is, at all events, astonishing that any one should think of making out a case in favour of a mere hypothesis from such materials as these.

§ 478. The next instance is taken from the Exordium of the Acta of S. Pionius (Ruinart *Acta Mart.* 140.)

Secundo die sexti mensis qui dies est 4 id. Mart. die Sabbati majore, natale Polycrpi celebrantes, &c. The subscription to these Acta is very corrupt. Ussher cites it thus: *Hæc acta sunt Julio Asiæ proconsule, Proclo Quintiliano magistratum gerentibus, Coss. tertium Mesio Quinto Trajano Decio et Deltio Gratiano secundum, Trajano Decio Augusto: a. 4 id. Mart. more Romanorum, Asiæ autem more septimæ mensis undecimo, die Sabbati, hora decima.* In the Paschal Chronicle, $\pi\rho\acute{o}\ \delta'\ \epsilon\iota\delta\omega\nu\ \text{Μαρτίων ὃ ἐστὶ κατὰ Ἀσιανῶν ἐκτὼς ἰβ', σαββάτῳ ὥρᾳ δεκάτῃ}$. Again, in the Colbertine MS. of the Acta: *ut Romani dicunt 4 id. Mart. et ut Asiani dicunt menæ sexto die Sabbati hora decima.*

From such uncertain materials what inference of any value can be drawn? Here is blunder upon blunder. Our Tables, which are to be proved in error by this notable testimony, will enable us to restore the testimony itself.

The year is A. D. 251. In that year the passover fell 24 March. That day by the Tables was a Monday. The Great Sabbath was 22 March = 11 Kal. Apr. and in the Asiatic Calendar = 29 of the 6th month. It was on the preceding evening that the saint was forewarned of his approaching trial: on the Great Sabbath, which as such was the (moveable, not fixed) anniversary of Polycarp's martyrdom, he was arrested and led through the city. His martyrdom took place that day fortnight, Saturday 5 April, which was the 12th day (Chron. Pasch.) of the 7th month (*Subscr.* of the Acta). The date 4 idus Martii = 12 March, which appears, both in the Acta and in the Chron. Pasch., arises from a confusion of the 12th of the 6th (Roman) month reckoned from 1 October with the 12th of the 6th Asiatic month.

§ 479. Lastly, Mr. Greswell appeals to some synchronisms in the *History of the Martyrs of Palestine*. Eus. H. E. viii. p. 317.

The dates are as follows:—

"1st year of the Persecution Dæsius 8 = June 7 = Wednesday."

"3rd..... Xanth. 2 = Apr. 2 = Parasceue"
(Friday).

"4th Dius 20 = Nov. 20 = $\pi\rho\sigma\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\tau\omega\nu$ "
(Friday).

"5th Xanth. 2 = Apr. 2 = $\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\nu\tau\eta\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\eta\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$."

The years of the persecution bear date from the spring of 19 Diocletian = A. D. 303. Hence the dates are

A. D. 303. Dæsius 8 = June 7 = Wednesday.

306. Xanth. 2 = Apr. 2 = Friday.

306. Dius. 20 = Nov. 20 = Friday.

307. Xanth. 2 = Apr. 2 = Easter Sunday.

Before we examine these synchronisms in detail we will test their general accuracy and mutual consistency.

A. D. 303. 7 June = Wednesday implies dom. let. A.

306. 2 April = Friday implies dom. let. C.

— 20 Nov. = Friday implies dom. let. D.

307. 2 Apr. = Sunday implies dom. let. A.

But if in A. D. 303 the dom. let. was A.

in ... 304 it should be G.F.

in ... 305 E.

in ... 306 D.

in ... 307 C.

whence it is evident that two, at least, of the synchronisms are corrupt, for only two out of the four are mutually consistent.

In the first, read *Ἰουλίῳ* from the Latin Acta, which have *Desii septima Julii mensis, quæ nonas Julias dicitur apud Latinos*. Two MSS. have: *Dies erat septima Julii mensis quæ vii Idus Julii dicitur apud Latinos*. But *Δεσιόν* too must be a corruption for *Πανέμου*. When *Ἰουλίῳ* had taken place of *Ἰουλίῳ*, *Δεσιόν* would of course be put in place of *Πανέμου*. And this agrees with the Tables: A. D. 303. dom. let. C. 7 July = Wednesday.—In the second instance, it will be evident to an attentive reader that the narrator has confounded the date of the martyr Apphian's first hearing *Tuesday 2 April*, with the date of his martyrdom on the 3rd day following *i.e. Friday 5 April*.—A similar confusion occurs in the 3rd instance, the history of Agapius. I understand it thus: "20 Nov. (Wed.) the martyr was thrown to the wild beast. Dreadfully mangled, he was taken back to his prison, and there lingered out one whole day. On the day after that, he was cast into the sea (*i.e. Friday*)." Eusebius again throws together the month-date noted in the Roman Acta, and the week-date of the Passion.—The fourth synchronism occurs in the history of the Virgin-martyr Theodosia. Her martyrdom occurred, says the historian, on the 2nd of April, on the very Sunday of the Resurrection. The year was either 307 or 303. The former must be the year intended, for in that year the paschal full moon fell 4 April, which was Sunday, and which by the rule then followed in the Eastern Churches would be Easter-Sunday. Therefore the 2nd April was not Easter-Day, but Good-Friday: and we must suppose either that the compiler mistook the terms of the original recital, (*ε. γ. πάσχα* for *πάσχα ἀνάστασ.*) or that the passion of the martyr began on the 2nd April (Friday), and was consummated on the (4th) *Sunday*. At all events, the dates are palpably erroneous upon any hypothesis that can be devised, and as such incapable of rendering any service in a nice question of chronology.

And this is the sum total of the evidence at all relevant to the matter in hand, on the strength of which Mr. Greswell announces that his hypothesis is proved beyond further controversy! An hypothesis utterly futile in reference to the intent which it was designed to serve—in itself extremely improbable—and contradicted by every authentic fact of chronology which has any bearing upon the question.

NOTE.

§ 480. It may be useful to consider how far we can depend upon the accuracy of the actual Jewish reckoning in ancient times, in respect, namely, of its relation to the moon: and consequently, how far we may be confident in our identification of Jewish dates with such and such days of the Julian Calendar.—If we could collect a few good instances from contemporary writers in which a given day of the Julian¹ or Egyptian² Calendar in a given year is identified with a given day of the Jewish (or Syrian) lunar Calendar, it would be very serviceable for this purpose. In default of such—for I know not where they are to be found—I take the

¹ Unfortunately, in the only instance of the kind which I have been able to find in Josephus, the text is palpably corrupt; namely, in the existing text of *B. J.* iv. 11. 4. the death of Vitellius is assigned to the 3rd of *Apellæus*, viz. in A. D. 69. Now the 3rd of *Apellæus* or *Kisleu* in this year must needs be either 5 November or 4 December. But certain it is that Vitellius died on the 20th or 21st of December; and this Josephus himself shews: for he gives as the length of reign, 8 months and 5 days: these, measured from the day of Otho's death, 17 April, end 21 Dec. Comp. Tacit. *Hist.* iii. 67 sqq. Dion Cass. lxx. 22, and the commentators in *l.*—It is just possible, however, that Josephus may have combined two inconsistent accounts: for by one reckoning, it seems, the death of Vitellius is referred (though wrongly) to the 4th Dec. Namely, according to Dion Cassius, Vitellius was slain 89 days after his birth-day: but his birth-day is dated by some 7 Sept., by others 24 Sept. Sueton. *Vitell.* § 3. The latter reckoning gives 21 Dec., the other 4 Dec. as the day of his death.

Suppose Josephus to have confused this date with the true one, then by 3 *Apellæus* he means 4 Dec., which in A. D. 69 was 3 Tebeth or Audynæus: and in favour of this view it might be remarked that Josephus elsewhere (at least the printed Greek text), *Ant.* xi. 5. 4, identifies Tebeth with *Apellæus*, though in another place *Ant.* xii. 5. 4, he makes *Apellæus* = *Kisleu*.

² In the Rosetta inscription we have the synchronism B. C. 196. 18 *Mechir* = 4 *Xanthicus*, i. e. the *Macedonian* lunar month which corresponds, if accurately kept, with the Jewish Nisan. Now 18 *Mechir* in that year was 27 March: hence it appears that the existing Macedonian reckoning, as observed by the first Ptolemies in Egypt, identified 1 *Xanthicus* in 196 B. C. with 23 March. But the new moon at Memphis in that year and month fell 20 Mar. at 8 P. M. It follows that the Macedonian Calendar of the time (which was framed, no doubt, upon a vicious cycle) had got out of course in respect of the moon. (See *Ideler* i. 397).

following recorded synchronisms between given days of the Jewish Calendar and days of the week.

1. A.D. 70. Jerusalem was taken A.D. 70, 8th Gorpisæus or Elul, according to Josephus: on a *Saturday*, according to Dion Cassius¹. The 15th Nisan in that year fell 14 April, therefore 1 Gorpisæus fell 26 August if Lous was *plenus*, 25 Aug. if *cavus*: 8 Gorpisæus was therefore either 2 Sept. or 1 Sept. and A.D. 70 dom. let. G. 1 September was Saturday.

Hence there is reason to think that in A.D. 70 the *odd months* were *cavi*: but we must not extend this inference to other years.

2. The Temple, say the Jews, was set on fire 9th Ab, Saturday. See § 33. Ab or Lous being the 5th month, there is scarcely any probability of an ambiguity arising from the order of *menses pleni et cavi*. This 9th Ab, then, if it be also the 9th of the *moon*, is 4 August, and 4 August A.D. 70 was Saturday.

3. B.C. 64 the Temple was taken by Pompey "on the day of the Fast" (= 10 Tisri), as Josephus says: on a Saturday, as Dion says. By actual calculation 15 Nisan B.C. 64 = 15 April, therefore 1 Tisri = 25 September, 10 Tisri = 4 October. And by the Tables, 4 Oct. B.C. 64 was Saturday.

4. In 2 Macc. xv. we find an instance, but not quite determinate. Nicanor wished to attack Judas Maccabæus on the Sabbath-day: "nevertheless he could not effect his wicked desire," v. 5. It is natural then to suppose that the engagement took place the next day, or next day but one. The day of the fight was 13 Adar Ær. Sel. 151 = B.C. 161. By actual calculation the paschal moon fell 6 April at 5 P.M. That day then, if the rule described in § 411 was strictly observed, was the 15th Nisan. Therefore 1 Nisan = 23 Mar., and since B.C. 161 is Bissextile, 1 Adar = 22 Feb. and 13 Adar = 5 March, which, by the Tables, is a Monday.

5. The date of the Maccabean Dedication is 25 Kasleu B.C. 165. It is not said to have been a Saturday, but it is likely in the nature of the case that the *sabbath* would be chosen for the solemnity. By calculation 25 Kasleu B.C. 165 = 22 Nov. which by the Tables is a Saturday.

§ 481. There is another instance of this kind in Josephus, on which Mr. Greswell lays great stress, conceiving it to afford a full proof of his hypothesis, Vol. i. p. 422—430. His object in these pages is to prove that the 24th Tisri A.D. 66, which he makes (and rightly) 2 October, was a *Saturday*: by the Tables 2 Oct. was *Thursday*. It is merely *actum agere* to say again, but it must be said, that the proposition 24 Tisri A.D. 66 = 2 Oct. = Saturday, is self-contradictory: in the first half, it means by 2 Oct. the same day as the Tables mean, viz. the Thursday, while in the latter half it denotes by the same name the day two days

¹ This testimony Mr. Greswell sets aside (as usual) by charging the historian with an error. The statement, however, is older than Dion. Julius Frontinus, who wrote under Nerva, relates that

Vespasian attacked and conquered the Jews, *Saturni die quo; eis nefas est quidquam serie rei agere*. Strateg. ii. 1. (Ideler ii. 177).

later. I notice the fact on which this self-destroying argument is based only for the sake of the matter now under consideration, viz. by way of testing the regularity of the Jewish lunar Calendar at that time. The facts then are as follows. Josephus *B. J.* ii. 19. 1 ff. is relating the history of that crisis of the Jewish rebellion, the march of Cestius Gallus upon Jerusalem, the attack made on him by the Jews, and the discomfiture of his army. In the course of the narrative, which is linked together by pretty clear notes of time, we find the following statement: ἐξεπήδων ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, μηδὲ τῆς ἀργῆς ἐβδομάδος ἔννοιαν λαβόντες, ἦν γὰρ δὴ τὸ μάλιστα παρ' αὐτοῖς θρησκευόμενον σάββατον. Josephus does not indeed give the express calendar date of the day spoken of, but it may be inferred clearly enough from the context. The order of events is thus related: c. xix. 1. Cestius, marching upon Jerusalem, on his arrival at Lydda finds that all the men were gone up to the feast of Tabernacles. He marches by Bethhoron, and encamps at Gabao, 50 stadia from Jerusalem. The Jews, perceiving that the war was approaching their metropolis, desist from the festival, ἀφόμενοι τῆς ἑορτῆς take up arms, and rush tumultuously out of the city, μηδὲ τῆς ἀργῆς ἐβδομάδος &c., and successfully assault the legions. After this defeat, Cestius remains on the spot *three days*, τρεῖς ἡμέραις, then sets forward, and encamps at the Scopus, seven stadia from Jerusalem. There, τρεῖσι μὲν ἡμέραις οὐκ ἐπεχείρει τῇ πόλει, τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ, ἥτις ἦν τριακάς Ὑπερβερεταῖον μηνός, he marches into the city. Now here we will suppose that Josephus in this statement has reckoned by complete time, therefore 8 days from the day of the defeat at Gabao to the entry into the city, both inclusive. At this rate, the day of the defeat at Gabao was the 23rd Tisri. This however does not tally with the narrative, which bespeaks an abrupt cessation of the festival: but the festival ended on the 22nd Tisri, as usual. We must, then, allow another day, namely, between the march from Gabao to the arrival at Scopus, 43 stadia. Then we get the following Calendar.

22 Tisri, 8th day of Tabernacles, "the great day of the feast," a Sabbath extraordinary, the Jews abruptly desert the ceremonies of the feast, and precipitately attack the legions at Gabao.

23, 24, 25. Cestius 3 days at Gabao after the defeat.

26. March to Scopus.

27, 28, 29. Three days at Scopus.

30. Cestius enters Jerusalem.

Should this be thought too great an expansion of the time denoted in the narrative, we may suppose that Cestius entered Jerusalem towards the close (i.e. sunset) of the Jewish 29th and the beginning of the 30th Tisri. One cannot suppose, with Mr. Greswell, that the τριακάς of the month denotes in reality its 29th day, the month Tisri having but 29 days. But the 22nd of Tisri A.D. 66 was a Tuesday, for the paschal full

moon fell at 5 A.M. of Sunday 30 March, which was therefore 15 'Tisri; and 6 months of 30 and 29 days, or 29 and 30, alternately, = 177 days, will therefore end 15 'Tisri, which will therefore be a Tuesday (and = 23 Sept.), as will be 22 'Tisri = 30 Sept. The day indicated by Josephus was therefore not a Saturday, not the ἄρρη ἐβδομάς in the usual sense of the term. If Josephus thought it was so, either he was misled, by confounding the great Sabbath of the feast with the ordinary Sabbath, or the 22nd day of the Jewish month did not in that year coincide with the 22nd of the moon, but, erroneously, with its 20th day. This is all that can be inferred from the passage if it necessarily means by ἐβδομάς the 7th day of the week. But it is not difficult to reconcile Josephus's statement with the Jewish Calendar and the lunar calculation. He means perhaps by ἐβδομάς here, the whole week of Tabernacles, or its 8th day as the ἐβδομάς of its first day. At any rate, he clearly means an extraordinary Sabbath in the emphatic terms which he uses, ἦν γὰρ δὴ τὸ μάλιστα παρ' αὐτοῖς θρησκευόμενον σάββατον: a very proper description "of the last day, that great day of the feast" of Tabernacles, but superfluously emphatic if it means only what was expressed just before, the ἄρρη ἐβδομάς which occurred every week.

§ 482. While we are upon this subject we may consider the dates noted in the sequel of the narrative.—Five days, πέντε ἡμέρας, Cestius spent in desultory efforts: τῇ ἐπιούσῃ, after a vigorous assault, at the point of success, he unaccountably calls off his troops, and retreats to Scopus: τῇ ἐπιούσῃ, he continues his retreat, and reaches Gabao: there δυὸ ἡμέρας ἐπέμεινεν:—τῇ τρίτῃ, he sets forth again on his retreat, and reaches Bethhoron at nightfall with great difficulty and much loss. The same night he steals a march on the enemy. The Jews discovering this at daybreak, follow in his track as far as Antipatris, whence they return in triumph to Jerusalem. "These things were done on the eighth of the month Dios." That is, I suppose, the 8th Dios was the day of Cestius's signal discomfiture on the retreat to Bethhoron, which is the crisis of the story. Hence the journal of events is as follows:

| | | |
|----------|------------------------------|--|
| 22 | Hyperberetæus = 30 Sept. Tu. | Attack at Gabao. |
| 23—25 | = 1—3 Oct. W.—F. | Three days at Gabao. |
| 26 | = 4 Oct. Sat. | March to Scopus. |
| 27—29 | = 5—7 Oct. Su.—T. | Three days at Scopus. |
| 30 | = 8 Oct. Wed. | } Entry into Jerusalem: 5 days desultory warfare. |
| 1—4 Dios | = 9—12 Oct. Thu.—Su. | |
| 5 | = 13 Oct. M. | Last assault, and precipitate retreat to Scopus. |
| 6 | = 14 Oct. Tu. | Reaches Gabao. |
| 7 | = 15 Oct. Wed. | Second day at Gabao. |
| 8 | = 16 Oct. Thu. | Retreat to Bethhoron, and discomfiture by the way. |

Here we may remark, that Cestius with good reason chose the 4th day after his loss and panic at Gabao for his march through a difficult country, to Jerusalem. Our journal shews that day to have been a Saturday, a day on which he expected, doubtless, to be unmolested.

§ 483. None of the other dates of the war are expressly identified with sabbaths, or other week-days. The instances which we have considered are sufficient at least to shew that in the years 66 and 70 the Jewish Calendar kept even pace with the moon. Assuming that it was so in the intermediate years, I have constructed the annexed table by means of which the reader will easily identify the Jewish dates of the war from A.D. 66 to 70 with their Julian equivalents and week-days. Of these dates, the following is, I believe, a correct list.

A. D. 66. 16 Artemisius : Bernice being at Jerusalem, in fulfilment of a vow, supplicates Florus. This was Wed. 30 April. *B. J.* ii. 15. 2. In the preceding chapter (14. 5.) a sabbath is mentioned in the month Artemisius. The intermediate events require more than four days, the Sabbath must therefore be Sat. 19 April = 5 Artemisius.

ii. 17. 6. Feast of *ξυλοφόρια*, the day after which was the 15th of Lous, *ib.* 7. According to Selden this feast seems to have lasted 7 days, beginning at the 14th and ending at the 21st, when the oblation took place : v. Selden de Synedr. iii. 13. But Meyer, de Festis, places it at 15—22 Lous. The 15th Lous in this year was 26 July, Saturday. Now if Meyer is right in his statement, we see why in the year 66 this festival, *i.e.* the day of carrying the wood, might be placed a day earlier, namely because the regular day was a sabbath¹ on which it was not lawful to do the appointed work of the day, which Josephus describes in the words *ἐν ᾗ πᾶσιν ἔθος ὑλὴν τῷ βωμῷ προσφέρειν*. Here then I think we have a fresh proof that the Jewish Calendar of the year 66 was right by the moon.

ii. 17. 8. Manaem at Jerusalem occupies the quarters of the Roman troops from which they had been compelled to decamp, 8th Gorpæus. This was Saturday 16 Aug. Here again we have an illustration of the history. The insurgents began to blockade the royal and Roman troops in the *αὐλή* (whatever that was) two days after the 15th of Lous, but were not able to take the quarters. Manaem, however, having broken into the armoury at Masada, and supplied his followers with arms, marches to Jerusalem. By a mine, they pass under the outer wall, but are checked by a new barrier within which the besieged had entrenched themselves. The royal and native troops are allowed to pass out under treaty. The Roman troops are refused all terms, and perceiving their case to be desperate if they should remain, they leave their camp and make for the towers, &c. We see that they availed themselves of the *sabbath-day* for this purpose.

¹ The 15th Lous seems to have been a festival, for which various causes are assigned : see Cherubini *Apparatus Biblicus*. ii. 394, where, among other mat-

ters, this is quoted from the *Gemara*, fol. 30. § ii. *est dies hic quo cessabatur a lignis cædendis in struem altaris.*

The next day (ib. 9) the high-priest Ananias was taken in the attempt to escape, and was slain. The insurgents besieged the Roman troops in the towers, till these, no longer able to hold out, offer to surrender, on condition only that their lives should be spared. The insurgents promise to grant the terms, yet treacherously massacre the troops on the spot. Josephus notes, in aggravation of the crime, that it was committed on the sabbath-day. This could hardly be later than the thirteenth Gorpæus, Sat. 23 August.

§ 484. A.D. 67. On the 21st Artemisius Josephus enters Jotapata, to the siege of which Vespasian was then advancing. 24 April Friday. iii. 7. 3. The siege ended 1 Panemus, *ib.* 36, *i. e.* 2 June Tu. But this was the 48th day of the siege, *ib.* 33, and this statement is repeated *ib.* 8, 9. The siege therefore must have begun Thu. 16 April = 13 Artemisius, and for 21 Artemisius we must read 11, *i. e.* for *κά* read *ιά*, in iii. 7. 3. The journal of events will then be as follows :

| | | |
|-------------|-----------------------|---|
| 7—10 Artem. | = 10—13 Apr. Fr.—Mon. | Four days in making a road for the army. |
| 11 | = 14 April Tu. | Josephus throws himself into Jotapata. |
| 12 | = 15 April Wed. | Vespasian receives intelligence of this movement. |
| 13 | = 16 April Thu. | Vespasian with the whole force reaches Jotapata. |

On this day the siege, of 47 entire days, began. It will make no difference if we suppose Vespasian to have reached Jotapata on the 12th Artemisius ; for he certainly arrived *at evening*, iii. 7. 4.

The other notes of this time lie thus :

| | | |
|-------------|-----------------------|--|
| iii. 7. 5. | μεθ' ἡμέραν | 17 April Friday. |
| ib. 6. | τῇ ὑστέραια | 18 Apr. Sat. |
| | μέχρι πέμπτῃς ἡμέρας, | to 20 or 21 Apr. |
| ib. 29. | | 20 Dæsius 22 May Fri. |
| ib. 31. | | 20 Dæsius 27 May Wed. Trajan and Titus defeat the Galileans at Japha. |
| ib. 32. | | 27 Dæsius 29 May Fri. Cerealius defeats the Samaritans on Mount Garizim. |
| ib. 36. | Πανέμου ρουμηνία | 2 June Tuesday. Jotapata is taken. |
| iii. 9. 1. | | Vespasian marches to Ptolemais. 4 Panemus 5 June Friday. |
| ib. 10. 10. | | Tarichæ taken 8 Gorpæus = 7 August Friday. |

The interval between the two last dates was occupied in various movements : viz. from Ptolemais Vespasian removed to Cæsarea (where it was now settled that two of the four legions should winter, and the other two at Scythopolis) : the pirates who had collected at Joppa are subdued 9. 3. and the city destroyed : the army is quartered at Cæsarea Philippi, and allowed to rest 20 days, during which Vespasian keeps festival and gives thanks to the gods for his successes : after which he marches against Tiberias, receives it on surrender, and then takes Tarichæ.

iv. 1. 10. Gamala revolts 24 Gorpiaeus 23 August Sunday, and is taken 23 Hyperberetæus = 20 Sept. Sunday, an entrance having been effected on 22 Hyp. before day-break by three soldiers, § 9.

iv. 2. 1. And now Gischala was the only place in Galilee which remained to be reduced: against it Titus was sent. John of Gischala pretends a wish to surrender, but requests one day's respite, *that being the sabbath-day*, § 3. Titus grants it, and John decamps the same night. The date is not given, but it must be *Saturday* 26. Sept. = 29 Hyperberetæus.

§ 485. The next date recorded is 4 Dystrus, iv. 7. 3. *i.e.* 27 January A. D. 68 (Wednesday), on which day Vespasian entered Gadara. The intermediate chapters relate the atrocities which were exercised in Jerusalem by John of Gischala, and the zealots; the entry of the Idumæans and their return. It may be worth while to remark that during this interval we find one of the sacerdotal *ἐφημερίαι* mentioned as if it were at the time in office. The insurgents, namely, took upon them to depose the existing high-priest, and to elect a successor. For this purpose *μεταπεμφάμενοι μίαν τῶν ἀρχιερατικῶν φυλὴν, Ἐνιαχεῖμ καλεῖται διεκλήρουν ἀρχιερέα &c.* Why they should send for that course in particular, unless because it was then in office, one cannot imagine. This course, however, was either the 12th, called Iakim, Ἰακίμ, 2 Chr. xxiv. 12; or the 21st, Jachin, Ἀχίμ *ib.* 7, but most likely the former. Now the 12th course entered in its week of office on the 17 October A. D. 67. And Josephus relates this event among the first that happened after the arrival of John of Gischala at Jerusalem; which, we have seen, was but a few days after 26 September of that year.

In the campaign of A. D. 68, the first recorded date is 3 Dæsius iv. 8. 1, which is the date of Vespasian's entry into Jericho after the subjugation of a great part of Judæa. This was 23 May.

iv. 9. 2. Intelligence of Nero's death reaches Vespasian at Cæsarea, while he was collecting his whole force to march against Jerusalem. Nero died 9 June, 68. The news could not reach Palestine before the last week of June. Thus a respite was given to the war in Judæa. We read of no further movements of the legions until the 5th of the following Dæsius, *i.e.* 14 May A. D. 69. iv. 9. 9, when Vespasian again marched into Judæa, approached Jerusalem, overran the south, and destroyed Hebron and other towns. "So that now the conquest was complete, with the exception of the places which were in the hands of the robbers, Herodium, Masada, and Machærus; and henceforth Jerusalem was the mark." Just then it was that Vespasian was called away by the exigency of affairs at home. "When he had overthrown all the places that were near to Jerusalem, he returned to Cæsarea, and there had intelligence of the commotions at Rome, and that Vitellius was emperor. This roused his indignation," &c. iv. 10. 2. His legions saluted him emperor, (according to Tacit. *Hist.* ii. 79, and Sueton. Vesp. 6.) 5 non. or 5 id. July, A. D. 69 = July 3 or 11. Henceforth Judæa had absolute rest from the war until the ensuing spring, when Titus was despatched "with the choicest of the legions to destroy Jerusalem." iv. *fin.* We have then the following dates:

§ 486. A. D. 70. 14 Nisan = 13 Apr. Friday, the siege begins on the very day of the Passover. On the 12th Artemisius (10 May Thurs.) the Romans began to raise their banks, and finished the work on the 29th, (27 May Sun.) v. 11. 4. After this, mention is made of 1 Panemus v. ult. and 3 Panemus vi. 1. 6: (Wed. June 27 and Friday June 29).—"On the 17th Panemus Titus was informed that *on that very day the daily sacrifice had failed for want of men to offer it, and that the people were grievously troubled thereat.*" vi. 2. 1, (Friday 13 July).—On the 24th Panemus = 20 July fire is set to the outer court, *ib.* 9.

On the 8th Lous (Friday 3 Aug.) two of the legions having completed their banks, Titus orders the battering-rams to be brought to bear upon the west front of the inner temple or court of Israel. vi. 4. 1. The soldiers set fire to the gates. Next day, Titus orders the fire to be quenched, and holds a council of war, in which he expresses his earnest desire to save the magnificent pile. This day the Jews were so weary and so dismayed that they refrained from any attacks. In fact, if Josephus is right in his enumeration of month-days, it was the sabbath. "But on the next day (which should be Sunday 5 Aug.) they gathered their whole force, and sallied out through the east gate: this, at the 2nd hour of the day, about 7 A.M. About the 5th hour they were overborne and shut themselves up in the inner court of the Temple. Then Titus retired into the Antonia, purposing to storm the Temple with his whole army early next day. And now the fatal instant was come: while the Romans were doing their utmost to quench the fire which was still raging in the inner courts, "one of the soldiers, without tarrying for orders, unconcerned and unawed at the greatness of the thing he was about to do, but borne cut of himself by a divine furor, snatched a mass of the flaming material, and lifted up by another soldier, hurled it in at a window." All endeavours to stop the progress of the flames were in vain: the Temple perished.¹

On the 20th Ab = 15 Aug., the Romans began to raise banks all round the Upper City, vi. 8. 1, which were finished 7 Gorpæus, "in eighteen days time." (The interval is in truth but 17 days including both extremes, unless Ab had 30 days. But in matters of this kind, precision is not to be expected: Josephus may mean only that the 8th Gorpæus on which the city was taken, was the 18th day from the beginning of the works.) This was Friday, Aug. 31: on the following day the city was taken, vi. 10. 1. p. 538, (1).

In vii. 3. 1, 2, we have the birth-days of Domitian and Vespasian, 24 Oct. and 17 Nov. (*supra* § 345.)

¹ This statement shews how *exactly* the instant of the crisis coincides with the memorable economy described in p. 343. It appears that what was there

said requires a slight correction: it is now sufficiently manifest that the brand was cast not on the 4th but on the 5th August towards evening.

| <i>Jewish and Syromacedo- nian M.</i> | <i>Days.</i> | <i>A. D. 66.</i> | <i>A. D. 67.</i> | <i>Days.</i> | <i>A. D. 68.</i> | <i>A. D. 69.</i> | <i>A. D. 70.</i> |
|---|----------------|---------------------------------------|--|----------------|---|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Nisan, <i>Xanthicus.</i> | 1 15 30 | Su. Mar. 16 30 Mo. Apr. 14 | Thu. Mar. 5 19 Fr. Apr. 3 | 1 15 29 | We. Mar. 23 .. Apr. 6 20 | Su. Mar. 12 26 .. Apr. 9 | Sa. Mar. 31 .. Apr. 14 28 |
| 2. Ijar, <i>Artemisius.</i> | 1 29 | Tu. Apr. 15 .. May 13 | Sa. Apr. 4 .. May 2 | 1 30 | Th. Apr. 21 Fr. May 20 | Mo. Apr. 10 Tu. May 9 | Su. Apr. 29 Mo. May 28 |
| 3. Sivan, <i>Dasius.</i> | 1 30 | We. May 14 Th. June 12 | Su. May 3 Mo. June 1 | 1 29 | Sa. May 21 .. June 18 | We. May 10 .. June 7 | Tu. May 29 .. June 26 |
| 4. Thamuz, <i>Panemus.</i> | 1 29 | Fr. June 13 .. July 11 | Tu. June 2 30 | 1 30 | Su. June 19 Mo. July 18 | Th. June 8 Fr. July 7 | We. June 27 Th. July 26 |
| 5. Ab, <i>Lous.</i> | 1 30 | Sa. July 12 Su. Aug. 10 | We. July 1 Th. .. 30 | 1 29 | Tu. July 19 .. Aug. 16 | Sa. July 8 .. Aug. 5 | Fr. July 27 .. Aug. 24 |
| 6. Elul, <i>Gorpiaus.</i> | 1 29 | Mo. Aug. 11 .. Sept. 8 | Fr. July 31 .. Aug. 28 | 1 30 | We. Aug. 17 Th. Sept. 15 | Su. Aug. 6 Mo. Sept. 4 | Sa. Aug. 25 Su. Sept. 23 |
| 7. Tisri, <i>Hyperber- leus.</i> | 1 15 30 | Tu. Sept. 9 23 We. Oct. 8 | Sa. Aug. 29 .. Sept. 12 Su. .. 27 | 1 15 29 | Fr. Sept. 16 30 .. Oct. 14 | Tu. Sept. 5 19 .. Oct. 3 | Mo. Sept. 24 .. Oct. 8 22 |
| 8. Marchesvan, <i>Dius.</i> | 1 29 | Thu. Oct. 9 .. Nov. 6 | Mo. Sept. 28 .. Oct. 26 | 1 30 | Sa. Oct. 15 Su. Nov. 13 | W. Oct. 4 Th. Nov. 2 | Tu. Oct. 23 We. Nov. 21 |
| 9. Kisleu, <i>Apellaus.</i> | 1 30 | Fr. Nov. 7 Sa. Dec. 6 | Tu. Oct. 27 We. Nov. 25 | 1 29 | Mo. Nov. 14 .. Dec. 12 | Fr. Nov. 3 .. Dec. 1 | Th. Nov. 22 .. Dec. 20 |
| 10. Tebeth, <i>Audynaus.</i> | 1 29 | Su. Dec. 7 A. D. 67. .. Jan. 4 | Th. Nov. 26 .. Dec. 24 | 1 30 | Tu. Dec. 13 A. D. 69. We. Jan. 11 | Sa. Dec. 2 Su. .. 31 | Fr. Dec. 21 |
| 11. Shebat, <i>Peritius.</i> | 1 30 | Mo. Jan. 5 Tu. Feb. 3 | Fr. Dec. 25 A. D. 68, B. Sa. Jan. 23 | 1 29 | Th. Jan. 12 .. Feb. 9 | Mo. Jan. 1 A. D. 70. Mo. Jan. 29. | |
| 12. Adar, <i>Dystrus.</i> | 1 29 | We. Feb. 4 .. Mar. 4 | Su. Jan. 24 .. Feb. 21 | 1 30 | Fr. Feb. 10 Sa. Mar. 11 | Tu. Jan. 30 We. Feb. 28 | |
| 13. Ve-adar, <i>Dioscorus.</i> | ..... ..... | ..... ..... | 1. M. Feb. 22 30. T. Mar. 22 | ..... ..... | ..... ..... | 1. Th. Mar. 1 30. Fr. Mar. 30 | |

III.

*The CHRONOGRAPHIES of the ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, and EGYPTIANS, examined and compared with the Scriptures.*SECTION I. *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronology.*

§ 487. THE Bible History, in the seventh and eighth centuries B. C., furnishes a few synchronisms by means of which the scanty, and often incongruous notices which we possess in a few fragments of Berosus and Ctesias, in Herodotus and Diodorus, and the Canons of the Chronographers, may be reduced into somewhat of order and consistency. To adjust these notices, and to clear up the confusion in which the two last centuries of Assyrian History have been involved by a gross misstatement of Ctesias, will be my first undertaking. In the next place, I shall make it appear that the origins of Assyria and Babylon, according to the national accounts themselves, reach no higher than the century to which Moses, in our chronology, assigns the Dispersion of Nations. And lastly, I shall shew that *the chronographies of these Empires are constructed upon an artificial plan, adapted to a certain numerical measure.* In the succeeding section it will appear that the same measure is still more conspicuously the basis of the Egyptian chronographies: nay, even the remoter chronologies of Southern and Eastern Asia exhibit the same artificial structure based on the same measure. (Note to Sect. i.) This phenomenon, highly curious in itself, becomes very remarkable when viewed in connexion with the fact, that the measure itself appears to be derived from the Mosaic chronology of the period immediately subsequent upon the Flood. Did all these nations derive it from a common tradition coeval with their dispersion from the plain of Shinar? Or, did it travel (with the Sothic cycle) from Egypt to Babylon, from the Euphrates to the Ganges, and thence to the furthest East? These questions I do not take upon me to decide. It is enough for me to invite attention to the fact, which, however it is to be accounted for, is too plain to be gainsaid.

§ 488. In the Scriptures we find the names of the following Assyrian kings:—

Pul, contemporary with Menahem, 2 Kings xv. 19. (B. C. 771—760.)

Tiglath-Pileser, with Ahaz, 2 Kings xvi. 7—10. (cir. 738.)

Shalmaneser, with Hoshea and Hezekiah, 2 Kings xvii. 4. (723.)

Sargon, Isai. xx. 1. (cir. 718.)

Sennacherib, 2 Kings xviii. 13. (B. C. 713.)

Eearhaddon, his son, 2 Kings xix. 37. (The same, or another of the same name in Ezra iv. 2.)

A king of Assyria, not named, took Manasseh captive to Babylon. 2 Chron. xxiii. 11. (*supra* p. 244. f.)

The name of Sennacherib and a disguised relation of his miraculous overthrow are recorded in a well-known passage of Herodotus ii. 141. (comp. Berosus ap. Joseph. *Ant.* x. 1—4.) The conquests of *Shalmaneser* are mentioned, but without his name, by Menander the Ephesian, ap. Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 14. 2.

§ 489. The fortunate discovery of the Armenian Eusebius has added to our sources of intelligence on the subject of Assyrian and Chaldean history two extracts from Berosus, one preserved by Alexander Polyhistor, the other by Abydenus. By comparing these with the notices of Scripture, and with the Canon of Herodotus and Ctesias, we may be able to illustrate this portion of history.

In the former passage, Polyhistor, having described, from Berosus, the period from the Deluge down to Semiramis, *minute enumerat nomina regum 45, assignans illis annos 526. Post quos, inquit, rex Chaldeorum fuit cui nomen Phulus, de quo item Hebræorum quoque historia meminit, Phukum denominans, quem in terram Judæorum venisse aiunt. Ac post eum Senecheribum Polyhistor fuisse regem ait.* Of the intermediate kings no mention is made: then, "*Postquam regnasset frater Senacharibi (meaning perhaps, Sargon) et deinde postquam Acises in Babylonios dominatus esset et necdum 30 quidem diebus regnum obtinisset, a Marodach Baladano occisus est; et M.B. per vim regnum tenuit 6 mensibus; eum vero interficiens regnabat quidam cui nomen Elibus. Verum tertio regni ejus anno Senecheribus rex Assyriorum exercitum constabat adversus Babylonios, prælioque cum iis commisso vicit, et captum una cum amicis in terram Assyriorum perduci jussit. In Babylonios ergo dominatus, regem iis filium suum Asordanium constituit; ipse vero recedens terram Assyriorum petiit. Quum autem ille fama accepisset Græcos in Ciliciam belli movendi causa pervenisse, ad eos contendit; aciem contra aciem instruit ac plurimis quidem de suo exercitu cæsis hostes (tamen) debellat atque in victoriæ monumentum imaginem suam eo in loco erectam reliquit, Chaldaicisque literis fortitudinem suam ad futuri temporis memoriam incidi jussit. Et Tarsum urbem (inquit) ipse ad similitudinem Babylonis condidit quem appellavit Tharsin. Et post omnia facta Sinnecherimi illud quoque addens ait eum 18 annis vixisse (in imperio;) et per insidias quas illi paravit filius Ardamusæus e vita excessisse."* "*Regnavit Sinecherim, ut Polyhistor exponit, annis 18, et post eum ejusdem filius annis 8. Postea vero Sammughes annis 21, et frater ejus annis 21. Ac deinde Nabupalsar annis 20, et post eum Nabucodrossorus annis 43. (A Sinecherimo uque ad Nabucodrossorum comprehenduntur anni omnino 88.)*

"*Post Sammughen vero Sardanapallus Chaldæus regnavit annis 21. Hic exercitum Astyagi Medo, familiæ principis ac satrapæ, auxilio misit, ut, Amuhiam Astyagis filiam Nabucodrossoro filio suo uxorem daret. Ac deinde regnavit Nabucodrossorus annis 43, et contractis copiis veniens captivos duxit Judæos et Phœnices ac Syros."* Chron. Armeno-lat. 41—44.

Now since the epoch of Nebuchadnezzar is B. C. 604, we have here for the epoch of

| | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Nabupalsar (Nabopolassar) | (20 ^r) | 624 B. C. |
| A brother of Sammughes | (21) | 645 |
| Sammughes | (21) | 666 |
| Asordan | (8) | 674 |
| Sennacherib | (18) | 692 |

which is much at variance with the Scriptures; for Sennacherib was on the throne 713 B. C., and did not long survive the discomfiture of his armies which took place in that year. Moreover, *Sardanapallus* is made successor to Sammughes and with the same length of reign (21^r), and then is identified with Nabopolassar father of Nebuchadnezzar. It is manifest, then, that there is some confusion here. It seems that this identification is due to Polyhistor; to him, at least, Syncellus ascribes it in the following passage: "This Nabopolassar Polyhistor calls Sardanapallus, and says that he sent to Astyages satrap of Media and took his daughter Amuita to wife for his own son Nebuchadnezzar. He (Nabopolassar) having been sent on an expedition by Saracus king of the Chaldeans as his general, made invasion upon Saracus himself at Nineveh. Saracus, alarmed at his approach, set fire to his palace and perished in the flames. So this same Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar, obtained the empire of the Chaldeans." Here we have the name *Saracus*, which does not appear in the excerpt from Polyhistor. Let us look now at the other extract: that of Abydenus.

§ 490. *Eodem tempore 25tus utique Sinecherib ipse ex regibus viz demum inventus est (¶) qui Babylonem sub ditionem redigens subegit, et ad Nitus maris Ciliciæ Græcorum classem profligatam depressit; condiditque templum Athenarum (¶), statuas æreas erexit, literis sane (inquit) suam fortitudinem exaravit; et Tarsum ad figuram et similitudinem Babylonis ædificavit; ut Tarsum Cydnus flumen interfueret, Euphratis nimirum more Babylonem interfuerentis.*

Ex ordine autem post eum Nergilus regnavit qui a filio Adramelo est interemptus: et ipsum quoque frater ejus Axerdis ex eodem patre, non autem ex eadem matre, occidit; et exercitum persequutus in Byzantinorum (¶) urbem includit....Axerdis autem Ægyptum partesque Syriæ inferioris in suam potestatem redegit; ex qua Sardanapallus quoque extitit (or, hinc Sardanapallus exortus est). Post quem Saracus in Assyrios regnavit: et quum compertum habuisset multitudinem barbarorum maximam e mari exisse, ut impetum faceret, Bussalossorum ducem confestim Babylonem misit. Ille autem consilio rebellionis inito, Amuhiam Astyagis Medi familiæ principis filiam Nabuchodrossoro suo filio uxorem despondit. Ac deinde protinus discedens accelerat aggredi Ninum, id est, urbem Ninive. Cum autem de his omnibus certior est factus Saracus rex, concremavit regiam aulam Evoriti (¶). Nabuchodrossorus vero accipiens regni imperium valido muro Babylonem cinxit. Chron. Armeno-lat. 63. Confused as this account is in some respects, it

clears up the perplexity occasioned by the other statement; for it appears that the succession was as follows:

| (Abydenus.) | (Polyhistor.) | |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Sennacherib | Sennacherib | |
| Nergilus | Asordan | 8 ^v . |
| Adrameles (son) | Sammughes | 21. |
| Axerdis (bro.) | bro. of Samm. | 21. |
| Sardanapallus | Sardanapallus | 21. |
| Saracus | (om.) | |
| (Busalossor | Nabopolassar | 20. |
| Nebuchadnezzar) | Nebuchadnezzar. | 43. |

That is to say, Polyhistor, or those who copied the extract from him, have confounded Nabopolassar and Sardanapallus, or, in other words, have substituted the *one* reign of Nabopolassar or Busalossor for the *two*, Sardanapallus and Saracus. And since the epoch of Nebuchadnezzar is B.C. 604, and the sum of the years specified by Polyhistor is 91, we have for the epoch of Asordan or Esarhaddon son of Sennacherib, 695 B.C. *plus* the years of Saracus between the death of Sardanapallus and the epoch of Nabopolassar.

§ 491. Now the time of the *final* overthrow of Nineveh and the Assyrian empire is thus determined:

1. It must have occurred before the year 606 B.C., for Jeremiah, in a prophecy delivered in that year, in which he recites "all the kings of the North, far and near", makes no mention of Nineveh and Assyria.

2. We know from Herodotus i. 103 ff. that the capture of Nineveh by Cyaxares took place *after* the famous eclipse of Thales. Now Ideler has proved, on a calculation furnished by Oltmanns, that the eclipse in question was that of 30 September B.C. 610. *Handb. der Chronol.* i. 209.

3. This capture occurred *after* the expulsion of the Scythians. Now these barbarians, according to Herodotus, held Asia 28 years out of the 40 during which Cyaxares was king, *ib.* 106. But Cyaxares began to reign 40^v (Cyax.) + 35 (Astyages) before the overthrow of the Median empire by Cyrus, *i.e.* 559 + 75 = 634 B.C. And the Scythian invasion of that part of Asia occurred early in the reign; for Cyaxares, to avenge the defeat and death of his father Phraortes, invaded Nineveh, defeated the Assyrians, and was laying siege to Nineveh itself when he was obliged to withdraw by the irruption of a vast army of Scythians, *ib.* 103. Now 28 years from 634 B.C. reach to 606 B.C. The meaning, then, of Herodotus's statement may be, that there was an interval of 28 years from the accession of Cyaxares to the capture of Nineveh which ensued after the expulsion of those barbarians. It seems to me that this was indeed the year of the taking of Nineveh, and that Nebuchadnezzar, not his father, took part with Cyaxares in the siege, and having brought it to a conclusion, set out on his expedition into Syria and Judæa. But *this* cannot be the siege of which Berosus (in Abydenus) speaks; that, namely,

in which Saracus perished: for that coincided with the revolt of Busalossor or Nabopolassar, who began to reign in Babylon B.C. 625 (Canon, *supra* p. 485). There must therefore have been some other king of Assyria after Saracus; and it is interesting to observe that the list of Castor, preserved, in a very corrupt form indeed, in the *Excerpta Barbara* of Scaliger, ends after Sardanapallus or Thonus Concoleros with *Ninus*, to whom it assigns a reign of 19 years. Now $606 + 19 = 625$ B.C. Eusebius also found a *Ninus* at the close of the Assyrian Canon: *chronologiae principium a Nino duximus et in alterum Ninum qui regnum a Sardanapallo accepit desinimus*: and at 608 B.C. he says; *Cyaxares Medus Ninum occidit*. What we are to understand by the words *multitudinem barbarorum maximam e mari exisse*, in the passage of Berosus, it is hard to say: the *Scythians*, we have seen, were in Asia at least nine years earlier. Perhaps the meaning may be, that an attack of these barbarians on Nineveh was expected at that time (625 B.C.). And this may have been that very incursion which obliged Astyages (= *Cyaxares*) to abandon the siege of Nineveh. This seems to me a fair way of reconciling the several accounts: that is:

§ 492. B.C. 634. Cyaxares ascends the throne of the Medes: the Scythians enter Asia about this time:

625. The Scythians march towards Nineveh, which Cyaxares is at this time besieging. Nabopolassar = Busalossor, general or satrap of Saracus, revolts, and allies himself with Astyages = Cyaxares, and hastes to attack Nineveh (Abyd.). Saracus on the news of this movement, sets fire to his palace and perishes. The siege is broken up by the approach of the Scythians, (Herodot.) and is not resumed until

cir. B.C. 609.—When Cyaxares after the engagement with the Lydians (30 Sept. 610), exterminates great part of the Scythians, and, in conjunction with Nabopolassar or

B.C. 606. Nebuchadnezzar takes Nineveh, and puts to death *Ninus* its last king.

In what year then did Saracus succeed to Sardanapallus? for the length of his reign is not given. Perhaps at the same time as Cyaxares began to reign. For in the Canon of Castor we find the two last reigns given thus:

37. Tonus Concolerus qui vocatur Græce Sardanapallus, annos.xxx

38. Ninus.xix

And the list ends with this statement: *Simul reges 39 antiqui Assyriorum perseverantes annos 1430*. Yet only 38 kings are enumerated: one therefore is omitted, perhaps Saracus is included with Sardanapallus, with a reign of 9 years, making with the 21 of Sardanapallus, the sum of 30 years. I am aware that this Sardanapallus is placed by Castor and Eusebius much earlier than 625 B.C.; but there is a confusion here which I shall endeavour to clear up presently. If then, we suppose that

| | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| Saracus began to reign..... | B.C. 634 |
| then Sardanapallus..... | (21')..... 655 |
| Axerdis (Ab.) brother of Sammughes (Po.) (21')..... | 676 |
| Adrameles (Ab.) Sammughes (Po.)..... | (21')..... 697 ¹ |
| Nergilus (Ab.) Asordan (Po.)..... | (8')..... 705 |

§ 493. Here we have this interesting result, that the reign of Axerdis begins at the year 676 B.C., the year which was predicted for the entire extermination of the Ten Tribes from the promised land, *Isai. vii. supra* § 233. And we have learnt from Abydenus that this Axerdis "made conquests in Egypt and in the parts of lower Syria." His name is manifestly identical with Esarhaddon, and this must be the king mentioned in *Ezra iv. 2.* as the founder of the Samaritan nation. That is to say, in B.C. 676, at the end of 65 years from the first year of Ahaz, as predicted by *Isaiah*, this Esarhaddon (*Ezr. iv. 2.*) king of Assyria (*2 Kings xvii. 24.*) having overrun Syria (*Abyd.*), reduced under his dominion the territory of the old Ten Tribes, carried away the last remains of the Israelite population, and supplied their place with a mixed colony of heathens. And it is further to be observed that in the Canon, we find a king of Babylon of this same name at this same time, *Asaridin* B.C. 680—667 B.C. That is, this Assyrian king and conqueror was for two years king also of Babylon: which accords with the notice in *2 Kings xvii. 24.* "the king of *Assyria* brought men from *Babylon*, and from Cuthah, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim."—It appears from the Canon that the accession of Asaridin at Babylon in 680 was preceded by an interregnum of eight years. Hence it would seem that Babylon at that time fell again into the hands of the Assyrians, and that Asaridin was viceroy in that city before he wrested the throne of Assyria from his half-brother Sammughes or Adrameles. Of this king nothing is known, but the *Asordan* of Berosus (*Polyhistor*) is manifestly the Esarhaddon of Scripture, the son and successor of Sennacherib. The identity of the parties is unquestionable: in Berosus and in the Scriptures, a king *Sennacherib*; who is assassinated according to Berosus by a son *Ardumusanus*, according to the Scriptures by *Adrammelech* and *Sharezer*; in Berosus, he is succeeded, not by the assassin but by his son *Asordan*; in the Scriptures we read, that "*Esarhaddon* his son reigned in his stead." Only our date of the accession of Asordan seems to be at variance with the Scriptures, for there is nothing to shew that Sennacherib survived the miraculous overthrow of his armies eight years (713—705). One naturally infers from the narrative itself that his assassination took place soon after his return to Nineveh. And the book of *Tobit i. 21* seems to imply that but 55 days elapsed between his return and the assassination. Hence I am led

¹ In the Canon of Eusebius the two reigns of 21' each are given as one of | 42' = 2 × 21, under the name *Acraganes*, or *Acrasanes*; Castor, *Acrapazus* = 40.

to surmise, that the *Nergilus* of Abydenus is not the same with *Asordan*, but his successor; and that the 8 years of difference above noted are really the time of *Esarhaddon's* reign, to which *Polyhistor* assigns 8 years.

§ 494. Our dates will then proceed thus :

B.C. 713. Defeat of *Sennacherib*: death, soon after: *Esarhaddon* I. reigns 8 years.

705. *Nergilus* succeeds *Esarhaddon*, r. 8 years.

697. *Adrameles* = *Sammughea*, 21 years.

676. *Axerdis*, *Asaridin*, *Esarhaddon* II. 21 years.

655. *Sardanapallus*, 21 years.

634. *Saracus*, 9 years.

625. *Ninus* 19 years.

Now it is certain that the notices relative to *Sennacherib* and *Esarhaddon* have fallen into considerable confusion. In the first place, *Sennacherib* certainly did not reign 18 years, even if his death occurred in 705 B. C. For *Shalmaneser* was reigning in 721, and between him and *Sennacherib* was his brother (*post quam regnasset frater Sennacheribi*, says *Berosus* ap. *Polyhist.*), the *Sargon* of *Isaiah* xx. 1. There can be no doubt, then, that the number 18 is a mistake, either of *Berosus* himself, or of *Polyhistor*, or lastly, of *Eusebius*. Nor is this the only error, but one or other of these writers has confounded actions of *Sennacherib* the father and *Esarhaddon* or *Asordan* the son.

§ 495. For in the extract from *Berosus* we find the following statements :

| <i>Assyria.</i> | <i>Babylon.</i> |
|------------------------------|--|
| <i>Sennacherib's</i> brother | |
| <i>Sennacherib</i> | <i>Hagises</i> , tyrant, 30 days slain by <i>Merodach-Baladan</i> , r. 6 months slain by <i>Elibus</i> , r. 2 years. |

In the third year of this *Elibus*, *Sennacherib* takes *Babylon*, and sets up his son *Asordan*, as viceroy in that city. This *Merodach-Baladan* can surely be no other than the *Babylonian* king mentioned in *Isaiah* xxxix. There, soon after the defeat of *Sennacherib's* army, and seemingly after his death, this king of *Babylon* sends a friendly message to *Hezekiah*: in *Berosus*, a *Babylonian* king of the same name appears in a hostile relation to *Sennacherib*. But *Berosus* places the death of his *Merodach-Baladan* two years before *Sennacherib's* conquest of *Babylon*. Not to mention other conjectures, I take it that the *Sennacherib* who conquered *Elibus* was not the *Sennacherib* of Scripture, but *Esarhaddon*. Perhaps both kings, the *Sennacherib* of Scripture and the *Esarhaddon* of Scripture = *Asordan* of *Berosus*, bore the name *Sennacherib* or *Sennecherim*. I think this may be gathered from *Eusebius's* account of the order of *Polyhistor's* narrative. *His omnibus absolutis, pergit denuo Polyhistor res aliquot etiam a Sennacheribo gestas exponere, &c.* At all events, it is pretty clear that the erection of the monument and build-

ing of Tarsus, which Berosus ascribes to Sennacherib, were the acts of Eсарhaddon = Asordan, whom the Greeks call *Sardanapallus*¹ (evidently the same name with Eсарhaddon). Hence it follows that the captor of Babylon whom Polyhistor and Abydenus call Senecheribus and Senecherimus was this Sardanapallus = Eсарhaddon. But is then the whole of Berosus's relation to be understood of him? in other words, is *Eсарhaddon* the person of whom Berosus relates that he reigned 18 years and was slain by Ardumzanus? and was Berosus's Asordan the son of Eсарhaddon? Mr. Clinton answers these questions in the affirmative, but I do not see how I can assent to this conclusion. The parallelism with the Scripture account, as I just now observed, is too marked to admit of this supposition. Surely all *this* part of Berosus's account belongs to the Sennacherib of the Scriptures: the rest, that is to say, the capture of Babylon, and victory over the Greeks, and founding of Tarsus and Anchiale, are acts of Eсарhaddon, which either Berosus himself, or one of his copyists, mistakenly referred to the Sennacherib who was assassinated by his son, after a reign (as the text has it) of 18 years. The number however is corrupt, and no wonder, considering the confusion introduced into the account by the identification of Sennacherib with Eсарhaddon. Certainly, Sennacherib reigned not more than 6 or 7 years.

§ 496. To turn now to the Babylonian Canon.

Here we have

| | | | |
|--------------|------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| Mardok-Empad | r. 12 years, 721 B. C. | Regibel | r. 1 years, 693 B. C. |
| Arkean | 5 ... 709 ... | Mesesi-Mordak | 4 ;..... 692 ... |
| Interregnum | 2 704 ... | Interregnum | 8 688 ... |
| Belibus | 3 702 ... | Asaridin | 13 680 ... |
| Apronadius | 6 699 ... | | to 667 ... |

If the Merodach Baladan of Scripture, Merodach Baladan of Berosus, be included in this list, the comparison of dates would identify him with *Mardok* Empad. But according to Berosus he reigned but 6 months. This, however, may be true enough, if we suppose that he reigned from 721 as

¹ Schol. Aristoph. *Av.* 1022. "Sardanapallus, son of Anacyndaraxas, king of Nineveh" (Athenæus, xii. 528. f. says "son of Anabaraxas"—which may be the same name as Sennacherib) "founded Tarsus and Anchiale in one day. But his house being burnt, he perished in the flames." [The last clause confounds him with the Saracus of Abydenus, whom the Greeks also call Sardanapallus.] "Apollodorus says there was written on his tomb in Assyrian letters, *Sardanapallus son of Anacyndaraxas built Tarsus and Anchiale in one day.* Helianicus in his *Persica* says there were two Sardanapalli." So far the Scholiast.

Suidas: "Callisthenes in the 2nd book of his *Persica* says there were two Sardanapalli, the one active and generous, [= Asordan, Eсарhaddon] the other effeminate." See also Athen. u. s. Arrian. *Exp.* ii. 5. Strabo. xiv. 4. § 8, who speak to the tradition that Anchiale and Tarsus were founded by Sardanapallus, and that this was commemorated by a stone statue of the king with an inscription to that effect, to which were subjoined some lines expressive of the vanity of all things except sensual enjoyments. See Diod. Sic. ii. 23. and Nûke, *Charidus*, p. 196 ff. Clinton *F. H. App. on Assyrian Chron.* p. 275, 6.

viceroys or satraps, was deposed by the tyrant Hagises (30 days) during a revolt (from Assyria), slew the usurper, and himself reigned as tyrant or usurper 6 months, after which he was slain by Elibus, who reigned two years to 709 B. C. at latest. That is to say, I suppose the train of events noted by Berosus to belong to the latter part of the years which the Canon assigns to Mardok-Empad. And this hypothesis is corroborated by the statement in *Isaiah*. There, Hezekiah falls sick in the middle of his reign of 29 years, i.e. 15 years before its close: i.e. 712 or 711 B. C. Merodach Baladan sends to congratulate him on his recovery; therefore certainly very soon after his recovery. The object of the mission was doubtless political. The Babylonians had taken advantage (I infer) of the prostration of Sennacherib's power, perhaps of his death too, to throw off their allegiance: one Elibus set himself up as tyrant, but was very soon deposed by Mardok-Empad or Merodach-Baladan the former viceroy, and this potentate would fain strengthen himself against his old masters by drawing into a common cause that king of the Jews of whom he had heard in connexion with the marvellous discomfiture of the Assyrian hosts. The embassy fell in the period which Berosus (right or wrong) describes as 6 months. Merodach, however, lost his throne and his life to another usurper (Elibus), who had reigned two years when Esarhaddon (whom Berosus calls Senecherib) overcame him, recovered Babylon, and placed his son (whom Berosus with a consistency in error calls Asordan) as viceroy at Babylon. If the *Arkean* of the Canon be this son or Assyrian viceroy, all is consistent. Two or three years, the joint reigns of Elibus and Merodach, added to 709 B. C. lead up to 712 or 711, the Scripture-date of Merodach's mission to Hezekiah.

§ 497. But further: if Sennacherib died 713 or 712 B. C. then Esarhaddon his son, who reigned 8 years, died 705 or 704 B. C. And this again is remarkable in connexion with the fact indicated by the Canon, viz. of an interregnum at Babylon beginning in the year 704, and lasting two years. One would infer, that is, that the Babylonians took occasion from the death of the powerful king, their conqueror, to throw off the yoke.

Nearly at the same time it was, that the *Medes* finally succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Assyria. For so Herodotus relates their history: "The Assyrians were supreme in upper Asia during 520 years, after which the Medes were the first to revolt, and they recovered their independence. Then, for a while, they had no kings: their first monarch was Deioeces, who had originally distinguished himself and gained influence in the capacity of a self-constituted judge or umpire. Now

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| "Deioeces | reigned 53 years |
| "His son Phraortes | ... 22 ... |
| "His son Cyaxares | ... 40 ... |
| "His son Astyages | ... 35." ... (to B. C. 559) |
| ...sum 160 | |
| B. C. 559 ... | |

Whence the epoch of Deioeces is 709 B. C.

If we may rely upon the accuracy of these numbers, the Medes would seem to have effected their independence very soon after the overthrow and death of Sennacherib; perhaps in consequence of that prostration of the Assyrian power¹.

¹ The *Book of Tobit* implies that the Median Revolt began about 713 B.C., and that the War of Independence was over in 704 B.C. (This story seems to have been composed after the building of the Second Temple (see xiv. 4, 5), of matter, which *may be* purely fictitious, but at all events was derived from a correct knowledge of the history and chronology of the Assyrian empire in the times of which it treats. This very correctness, shown in matters with which a Jew of the Persian times can hardly be supposed to be so well acquainted, seems to imply that the *ground-work* of the story, at least, is historical.)—The facts are these:—

1. Tobit lost his sight during the Pentecost following the death of Sennacherib ii. 1-10, which death occurred 55 days after his return from Judæa i. 21. He was 58 years old when he lost his sight, *i. e.* in 713 B.C., xiv. 2, and his blindness continued 8 years, *ib.* therefore till 704 B.C. Now the cure was effected by Tobias immediately on his return from Media; and between his mission into Media and return thence, the narrative interposes only so much time as was requisite for the journey and the marriage. Therefore the mission occurred in 705-4 B.C. The object of the journey was the recovery of a debt due to Tobit in Media, which debt he would gladly have called in at an earlier period, *viz.* in Sennacherib's time, but it was not safe to make the attempt, "because the estate of Sennacherib in Media was troubled," i. 15. This was in 713 or earlier, and since Tobit did *not* make the attempt till 705-4, it follows that in all those years the "troubled estate" continued.—Compare with this the results obtained in the text, and it appears that the time of trouble lasted through the whole reign of Esarhaddon, *eight years* (just the term mentioned in

the *Book of Tobit*). That is, so long as Esarhaddon lived, the war of revolt still continued in Media; at his death the Medes effected their independence (Babylon, too, at the same time: see the Canon at 704), and it was now safe for Tobit to send his son into Media.—This accurate agreement with profane accounts shews, as I remarked, a kind of knowledge for which we cannot give credit to Jews of later times.—With respect to the rest of the chronology of this Book, I may remark,

2. That the age of Tobit at his death is given in the Greek text as 158, in the Latin as 102 years. If either statement be true, it must be the latter. For, according to the former, Tobit died B.C. 712-100=612. Now Nineveh was taken in 606 B.C. at latest, *only six years* after the implied date of Tobit's decease. It is impossible to reconcile this result with the terms of the narrative, according to which Tobit on his death-bed predicted the overthrow of Nineveh, enjoined Tobias to withdraw into Media, which thing Tobias did, and there (in Media) "*became old* with honour,...and died, being 127 years old; but *before he died*, heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nebuchadnezzar and Assuerus [Cyaxares]: and before his death he rejoiced over Nineveh," xiv. 12-15.—But according to the Latin text, Tobit died B.C. 712+88-102=B.C. 668, which allows full 60 years for Tobias to grow old in after his father's death. It is evident, too, from the very wording, that the overthrow of Nineveh is represented as falling not long before the death of Tobias, *i. e.* that he died not long after 606 B.C. And the same thing follows from the silence of the narrative as to the actual captivity of Judah: for if Tobias had lived to hear of the deportation under Jehoiakim and Jeconiah,

and

§ 498. But then, this natural and perspicuous account is signally at variance with that of Ctesias, preserved by Diodorus (ii. 25). This writer says that "a succession of 30 Assyrian kings reached to Sardanapallus, in whose time the empire passed to the Medes, after it had continued with the

and still more, of the destruction of the Temple, surely those calamities would have been mentioned in some way or other, and not left merely as matter of prophecy, as in xiv. 4. Suppose then that Tobias died in 606 (before he could hear even of the first deportation to Babylon), then he was born in $606 + 127 = 733$ B. C., therefore before the captivity under Shalmaneser (Enemessar),—which agrees with the narrative i. 9, 10—and was 29 years old at the time of his marriage: so that all the notes of time agree very well.—It is possible, in point of chronology, that what Tobit (in 688 B. C.) is represented to have said about "Manasses" that he "gave alms, and escaped the snares of death which they had set for him" (xiv. 10) may refer to the calamity and repentance of King Manasseh, which we have placed at or soon after 676 B. C.; but on other accounts this does not seem very likely.

Of the *Book of Judith* (for that, too, belongs to the present subject) I am led to form a very different estimate. I am aware that its claims to be considered as a history of facts have been asserted or assumed by very able men, Montfaucon, Huet, Ussher, Jackson, Prideaux, and, in our own times, Clinton. The reasons which lead me to an opposite conclusion are the following—No conjuncture at all like that which is represented in this story can be shewn to have existed either in the time of Manasseh (to which most refer it) or at any other time. We read of "the Jews but just returned from their captivity, and the people of Judæa but recently gathered together, and the vessels and the altar of incense and the house but just purified from their profanations:" then, "the whole nation greatly alarmed for Jerusalem and the Temple," viz. on Nebuchadnezzar's sending Holofernes

to invade the land, "in the 18th year of his reign, the 22nd day of the first month." Nay, the Temple itself had been razed to the ground, *ἐγερθη εἰς ἔδαφος*, v. 18. S. Jerome, I am aware, amputates this and some other expressions, and the commentators contrive to soften them down. But the difficulty remains after all. If the events ever happened, it must have been before the Babylonian Exile; but we know of no such captivity of the whole nation; no such desecration (not to say destruction) of the Temple, no such Assyrian invasion following after the restoration, to say nothing of the circumstance that no king of Judah, but only a high-priest Joachim is mentioned as ruler of the people. We know of no "Nebuchadnezzar" but the notorious king of Babylon (not of Assyria, and reigning at Nineveh!); nor will it mend matters to allege that Nabopolassar is meant, and he, not the father of Nebuchadnezzar, but Sardanapallus, whom Polyhistor calls Nabopolassar (this is Mr. Clinton's view)—for we have already disposed of Polyhistor's blunder. We know of no "Arphaxad, king of Media:" and should we choose to identify him with *Phraortes*, who was defeated and slain by the king of Assyria (*supra*, p. 550), why, that event befell in B. C. 634. i. e. in the reign of Josiah! Finally, Judith was of course not advanced in years at the time of the story; and "she lived to be 105 years old," "and there was none that made the children of Israel any more afraid in the days of Judith, nor a long time after her death;" therefore the incidents must be placed at least 80 years before B. C. 606.—These incongruities lie on the surface of the story, and to my mind are incapable of being explained away. Then, as to external evidence, Josephus

Assyrians more than 1300 years" (1306, or 1360). "Then Nineveh was destroyed, the Assyrian empire dissolved, and the Median empire began with Arbaces. Eight kings followed him, the last of whom was Aspadas = Astyages." The sum of their years (ending at the accession of Astyages 594 B. C.) is 282 years: which makes the epoch of Arbaces 876 B. C.

either knew nothing of the story, or knew that it was not history. Neither is it noticed by Philo, or any other ancient Jewish writer.—Having stated the grounds on which I believe it to be no history of facts, I must trespass a little further on the reader's indulgence, while I explain what seems to me the true drift and structure of the story. "Judith," יְדִית, is the Jewish Nation or Church personified: Nebuchadnezzar and Holofernes typify the heathen enemies of the Church, generally: Judith's victory, the Church's deliverance. It is not a *sustained allegory* or disguised narrative of any one particular crisis of the national history, but a parable in which the past history of the nation is, so to speak, generalized into a pledge of a future deliverance. The immediate ground-work, the fact of history which was directly present to the writer's thoughts, was the great Maccabean victory over Nicanor, the general of Antiochus Eupator, 1 Macc. vii. 39 ff. 2 Macc. xv. 1. ff: Holofernes is Nicanor: the stratagem of Judith has nothing in reality corresponding to it, but belongs simply to the fiction. That this is the true interpretation seems to have been felt by the Jews themselves, for so says R. Gedaliah *Salseleth haccabala* f. 25. *Etiam salus tunc parta hæc habetur*, in cabbala orali nostra [he also remarks, *De formina illa Juditha non alibi memoratur quam in Midrash*], *occisum esse Nicanorem interventu Judithæ filia Mattathia, quum Nicanor eam deperiret eaque ad eum accederet eique daret dapes et inebriaret eum et occideret eum atque caput ejus abscissum afferret ad fratrem suum Judam Maccabæum. Et tum Judæi aggressi Græcos eos interfecerunt atque a terra sancta Israël's pepulerunt*. Moreover, there is this significant intimation

of a recognized connexion (only in a more general way) between this story and the Maccabean times; namely, the Vulgate, translated by Jerome from the Chaldee, asserts that "the day of this victory was observed by the Jews as a holy day from that time even to this day." But what is the Festival? No other than the Maccabean Feast of Dedication, 25 Casleu. Selden *de Synedr.* iii. 227. Not that it appears under that name in the usual Jewish Calendars; but when the *Festum Judithæ* is mentioned at all, it is assigned to the 25 Casleu: e. g. Louis of Modena *de Rit Hebr.* iii. 9. *propter præclarum Judithæ facinus... hujus festi solemnitas agitur*. (For these notices I am indebted to the *Biblioth. Critica Sacra* of Cherubini, ii. 395. Louvain 1704.) The groundwork, then, was furnished by a lively reminiscence of the Maccabean victories. The name of *Nebuchadnezzar* serves only for the expression of the general idea: that great adversary of God's people represents all others. Now it was in the 18th year of his reign that Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem in the 4th month, and in the 5th month sent Nebuzaradan to destroy City and Temple. These dates the author retains: it is in the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar, on the 22nd Nisan (at the end of the Paschal week) that Holofernes is sent to invade Judæa, and it is in the 5th month that he comes to his end by the hand of Judith. The fifth month is not expressed indeed, but it is clearly implied in the statement that Judith had been a widow three years and four months from the time of barley-harvest, i. e. from Nisan. viii. 3, 4. With this also the details agree: Holofernes, sent on the 22 Nisan, was at Damascus in the time of wheat-harvest, i. e. after Pentecost, and encamped

| <i>Ctesias.</i> | | <i>Herodotus.</i> | |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Arbaces | 28 B. C. 876 | | |
| Mandaucas | 50 ... 848 | | |
| Sosarmus | 30 ... 798 | | |
| Artycas | 50 ... 768 | | |
| Arbians | 22 ... 718 | | |
| Artæus | 40 ... 698 | Deioces | 53 B. C. 709 |
| Artynes | 22 ... 666 | Phraortes | 22 ... 656 |
| Astybaras | 40 ... 634 | Cyaxares | 40 ... 634 |
| Aspadas (35)... | 594 | Astyages | 35 ... 594. |

It is to be remembered that Ctesias derived his information from the court-historiographers of the Persian kings : men, who were under the inducement of national vanity to exalt the Medo-persian name, and to depress the glory of their Assyrian and Chaldean predecessors. If he meant to say that the Assyrian empire and the great city Nineveh were completely overthrown at the time which he specifies, he was egregiously deceived. It is certain from Scripture that Nineveh was a mighty city at a time fifty years later than his epoch of Sardanapallus and Arbaces, and that Assyria was still at the height of its power from that time till near the close of the following century, 824—713 B. C. This is certain from Scripture, and from Herodotus and Berosus we know that Nineveh was taken and the Assyrian empire finally dissolved by the Medes and Persians a century later still, B. C. 625—606.—Let us look now at Ctesias's list of kings. The three last are manifestly identical with the three last of Herodotus. The two next preceding have a suspicious look : *Arbians* 22 and *Artæus* 40 look very like a duplicate of *Artynes* 22 *Astybaras* 40. Reject one pair, then *Artycas* 50 will match *Deioces* 53. The remaining 108 years will then reach to 814 B. C. (Eusebius actually places the epoch of Arbaces and his conquest of Nineveh 40' before Ol. 1, therefore 816 B. C.) Still, I doubt the truth even of this more moderate estimate. It seems to me, in short, that the numbers and names are artificial. The eight first numbers lie in pairs : 28 (say 30), 50 ; 30, 50 :

a whole month in the plain of Esdraelon, iii. 10. This leads to the middle of the 4th month. After this, the people fasted *ἡμέρας πλείους* : which brings us very nearly to the 5th month. So that the author seems even to have taken pains to intimate that the great deliverance of which he speaks fell, i. e. would fall, in the month (*Ab*) which was rendered so memorable by former disasters : which I suppose he was led to do by the prophecy in Zechariah, viii. 19, "the fast of the fourth month and the fast of the fifth...shall be to the house of Judah joy

and gladness and cheerful feasts." These notes of time, therefore, seem to be of an apocalyptic import ; and perhaps the same may be said of the term of Judith's widowhood, three years and four months, approaching to "the time, times, and dividing of a time." Or else, it may be that this term of 3^r 4^m and a few days, is derived from the interval of $3\frac{1}{2} \times 7^2$, which reaches from 8 Aug. 168 to 25 Nov. 165, and thence again to 5 March 161, *supra*, p. 427 ; for $3\frac{1}{2} \times 7^3$ or 1201 days make 3 Jewish years *plus* 4 months and 10 days.

then 22, 40; 22, 40. The names perhaps may be those of satraps, but the epoch of Median independence is falsified. The story of a dissolution of the Assyrian empire by the Medes under Arbaces rests solely on the testimony of Ctesias, which is worth nothing against the authority of Herodotus. The Father of History knew nothing of an earlier overthrow of the Assyrian power, or of the establishment of a Median empire by Arbaces: and the hypothesis of a new Assyrian empire, re-established after that overthrow, is not matter of history, but a mere contrivance designed for the reconciliation of the Scripture accounts with the idle and unsupported tale first broached by Ctesias, and from him uncritically adopted by later writers. In short, Ctesias has enormously antedated the epoch of Median independence, and has confounded that with the time of the overthrow of Nineveh, which makes the prochronism still more enormous.—Look again at his numbers:—the first four reigns amount to 158 years, exceeding only by 2 the duration which Herodotus assigns to the Median empire, $128 + 28 = 156$. If I am right in my suspicion, Arbaces means, Deioces. He revolted in the reign of Esarhaddon I. = Asordan, whom the Greeks call Sardanapallus: the Greeks confound *this* Sardanapallus with a later king of Nineveh, in whose reign they think the city was finally overthrown; Ctesias does the same, and hence confounds the Median revolt from Assyria, with the Median overthrow of Nineveh. This conclusion rests on critical grounds: the incompatibility of Ctesias's account with that of Herodotus; the artificial structure of the numbers; the facility with which the error is accounted for. Add to this, that Ctesias contradicts the Scriptures in one part, and Berosus in another. I find however, that what is here given as the result of criticism is not without authority as matter of history. Moses Chorenensis, who agrees with Berosus in placing Sardanapallus = Esarhaddon after Sennacherib, makes Sardanapallus contemporary with the Median *Arbaces*, as he was in fact with Deioces. Perhaps also Castor, as cited in the *Excerpta Barbara*, may have contemplated the same date; he is made to say, *Ab istis autem in prima Olympiada annos 67 Assyriorum regnum*: by which he may mean, that the succession of 39 kings terminated 67 years after the first Olympiad, or 709 B.C. But the evidence to the point for which I am contending is consolidated by the following fact:—Ctesias reckons 1306 years to the duration of the Assyrian Empire: now 1306 added to 713 B.C. (the epoch of Sardanapallus = Esarhaddon) give 2019 B.C. as the epoch of the empire; and from 2019 B.C. to 559, the epoch of the *Persian* empire, is *precisely an annus magnus of 1460 years*. In other words, Ctesias's account, when thus adjusted to its original bearings, is found to be based upon the *great astronomical year assumed as the measure of the Assyrian and Median times conjointly*. We shall presently find that the Babylonian chronography exhibits this same period, only with different bearings; and in the scheme of Georgius Syncellus, derived from the ancient chronographies, it again comes to view as the duration of the Assyrian empire of 41 kings ending with Tonos Concoleros = Sardanapallus: for to these he assigns a period of 1460 years.

§ 499. To the Assyrian empire, prior to the revolt of the Medes, under Deioces, (*i. e.* about 713 B. C.) Herodotus assigns a duration of 520 years. Compare with this the statement of Berosus above quoted, which mentions a succession of 45 kings, after Semiramis, whose reigns amount to 526 years. *Post quos rex Chaldaeorum fuit cui nomen Phulus, &c.*: the succession seems to end at *Pul*, but in truth, I suppose, it reaches to Sennacherib or Eearhaddon. If the 520 years of Herodotus end at 713, the 526 will end at 707, which is very nearly the close of the reign of Eearhaddon. Hence the epoch of Semiramis will be $707 + 526$ (Berosus) = $713 + 520$ (Herodotus) = 1233 B. C.

§ 500. Before the epoch of Semiramis there lie, in the account of Berosus, the following periods :

From the Flood to the Median Invasion of Babylon 33,091 years.

Then, 8 Median kings r. 224'

11 kings 48

49 Chaldeans 458

9 Arabians 245

Sum 975 years.

Hence the epoch of the Median Invasion of Babylon will be $1233 + 975 = 2208$ B. C. Now this is manifestly artificial: for, from 2208 to 747 B. C., the epoch of the Chaldean æra of Nabonassar, are 1461 years, *i. e.* Chaldean years, which make 1460 Julian years, or an exact *annus magnus*. A fact of this description needs no comment. It cannot be accidental that the first, and, strictly speaking, *traditional* and ante-historical portion of Chaldean history is measured by a complete revolution of the *annus magnus*, ending at the very year from which the historical æra and authentic computation by Egyptian years dates its commencement. Only I must intreat the reader to note clearly the process by which this curious fact was detected¹; viz. by applying Herodotus's period of 520 years to the *Scripture-date* of the death of Sennacherib 713, to which on other grounds we have referred the epoch of the Median Independence. The result, therefore, does very signally attest the validity of our deductions on that subject. But the artifice does not stop here. Observe the three first items in Berosus's list :

8 Median kings 224'

11 kings 48

49 Chaldeans 458

The sum is 730 years,

or just half of an *annus magnus*: *i. e.* the Arabian dynasty began just in the middle of the cycle. Perhaps, too, the epoch of Semiramis is artificial; for

¹ The date of the Median Invasion is attested by Thallus, ap. Theoph. ad Autolyc. 281. κατὰ τὴν Θαλλὸν ἱστορίαν ὁ Βῆλος προγενέστερος εὕρεται

τοῦ Ἰλίου πολέμου ἔτεσι τρεῖς. Of course the numeral of the centuries is in error. Read αββ, 1022, then $1185 + 1022 = 2207$.

1233 - 747 = 486 years, and 975 years = $2 \times 487\frac{1}{2}$, now 487 Chaldean or Egyptian years are just one third of the cycle 1461 years.

§ 501. This date, then, of the Median Invasion, 2207 B.C., must not be regarded as purely historical: it is the result of an astronomical adjustment applied to an historical or traditional epoch of Babylonian history. But that it is not very wide of the truth, is indicated by the facts which I proceed to notice.

Simplicius in his Commentary on Aristotle, *de Cælo* ii. 123. A, reports from Porphyry that Callisthenes sent to his master Aristotle from Babylon a series of astronomical observations, reaching 1903 years back from Alexander. There is no reason to suspect any great error in the number, for Simplicius says in another place (p. 27. A.), "I have heard that the Egyptians can produce observations of 2000 years old, and the Babylonians still more ancient." Niebuhr, in his remarks on the Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius, suggests, that the 1903 years in question probably bear date from a political crisis similar to that from which the æra of Nabonassar proceeds², and this crisis he takes to be no other than the Median Invasion spoken of by Berosus. In this view of the case, the date of that crisis will be $331 + 1903 = 2234$ B.C., only 26 years before the above-mentioned epoch. There is also this further indication of Babylonian Chronology (interpreted by the celebrated astronomer Bailly, *Hist. de l'Astron. anc.* iv. § xix. ff.)—Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 57, speaking of the antiquity of letters, says: *Epigenes apud Babylonios dcccxx annorum observationes siderum inscriptas docet, gravis auctor imprimis: qui minimum, Berosus et Critodemus cccclxxx annorum. Ex quo apparet æternum literarum usum.*—The inference, as the text stands, is ridiculous. It must be as Perizonius conjectured: the numeral M, or else the horizontal line which denotes thousands, has been dropt and must be replaced: Pliny must

² It is very questionable, however, whether the æra of Nabonassar takes its epoch from any *political crisis*. I see no reason to believe that Babylon was independent of Assyria before the end of the reign of Esarhaddon, or its beginning, at the earliest, (704 or 712 B.C.) Ideler, *Handb. des Chron.* i. 220. assumes, with great probability, that the æra of Nabonassar bears date from the introduction of the Egyptian year into the astronomy of the Chaldeans. "Perhaps it was to Nabonassar that they owed the introduction of this Calendar, who thereby conferred upon them the like benefit as Julius Cæsar did upon the Romans. Nabonassar is commonly considered as the founder of a new dynasty, on the

assumption that the æra which bears his name served as the epoch of some revolution or other. But what is there to justify the assumption? Diodorus ii. 24, relates, that the Babylonians, after long subjection to the Assyrian yoke, made common cause with the Medes and gained their liberty: but he says not a word of Nabonassar. Ptolemy, Censorinus, Eusebius, Theon, Syncellus, are the only writers who name this Babylonian king, and none of them alleges him as the author of a political revolution. If his merit was such as I have described, this might give occasion to the Chaldean astronomers to make his accession the epoch of an æra to which they referred their astronomical observations."

have meant 720,000 years and 480,000. Now Berosus lived under Antiochus Soter, who died 263 B. C. The age of Epigenes is not on record, but Bailly supposes him to have lived under Ptolemy Philadelphus (283—246 B. C.). Reduced to years, at 365 days each, the 720,000 amount to 1972 years nearly. Which agrees remarkably well with the statement of Simplicius above referred to, of the 1903 years' observations down to the time of Alexander, or about 1950 years to the accession and 1990 to the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The period of 480,000 years ascribed by Pliny to Berosus is given as 470,000 by Cicero *de Div.* i. 19: the two accounts are reconciled by Diodorus ii. 31, who gives the number 473,000, ending (he says) at the expedition of Alexander into Asia¹. Now 473,000 days exceed 1295 Julian years by only one day. I suppose then, that the computist having before him the equation $1295' = 472,999$ days added 1 to each side, thereby expanding a period of 1296 years into one of 473,000 pretended years. Now if these 1296 years end, as Diodorus reports, at Alexander's expedition into Asia 334 B. C., they begin at 1630 A. C., which is unconnected with any known crisis of Babylonian history. But comparing this period with that of 1306 years which Ctesias places between Ninus the founder of Nineveh and Sardanapallus = Esarhaddon, I am led to suspect that the two periods are identical, and that Diodorus mistook his authorities. Now 1306 (Chaldean years) added to 713 B. C. give 2019 as the date of the founding of Nineveh, and 1296 added to 707 A. C. begin 2002 A. C. It is also worth while to notice the following arithmetical relation between the period 1296 and the numbers in the text of Berosus: viz.

| | |
|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1296 | and 245 Nine Arabians |
| minus 526 | plus 526 Semiramis, &c. |
| <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| = 770 | = 771 |

that is to say: the period from the epoch of the 1296 years to the (alleged) epoch of Semiramis is of the same extent as the period from the epoch of the Arabian kings to the termination of the 1296 years. As soon as one sees reason to surmise the existence of an artificial adjustment, facts of this nature acquire a meaning. This period, then, of 473,000 years representing, under disguise, a period contemplated by the computist, of 1296 years, is based, I think, upon an historical period of about that length, which the national records placed between the founding of Nineveh (Gen. x. 11.) and the great crisis of Assyrian history in the reign of Esarhaddon. And it was given in an artificial form as 1296 years, *because* this is a Chaldean astronomical period of 72 Sari, or 3×432 , or 6×216 , or, finally, $6 \times 6 \times 6 \times 6$. For the number 6 is the basis of the Chaldean periods, the *Sossus* of 60 years, the *Neros* of 600, the greater *Saros* of $6 \times 600 = 3600$ (Euseb. *Chron. Armen.* i. 11. Syncellus *Chronogr.* p. 17).

¹ Syncellus alludes to this period, calling it 480,000 years. *Chronogr.* p. 17.

The factors 6 and 60 are of course derived from the number 360, the ancient estimate of the number of days in the year. The number 216 is derived from $6 \times 360 = 2160 = 120 \times 18$. And the number 18 roughly represents the common Saros of 223 synodical lunations (Ptolemy, *Almagest*, iv. init.) = 6,585 days 8 hours = 18 Julian years 11 days 8 hours.

§ 502. We now come to Berosus's account of the earliest period of Babylonian history, as reported by Polyhistor in the newly-recovered excerpt. *Post diluvium Chaldaeorum regionem Euxius tenebat neris 4. Ac post eum filius ejus Comasbekus per neris 4 et sossos 5. A Xisuthro vero, et a diluvii tempore usque ad illud quo Medi Babylonem ceperunt reges omnino 86 Polyhistor recenset, atque unumquemque ex Berossi volumine nominatim memorat: tempus vero omnium eorum numero annorum trium myriadum et tribus millibus uno et nonaginta comprehendit (33,091). Deinde vero post eos, cum ita firmiter stabiliti erant, repente Medi copias adversus Babylonem comparabant ut caperent eam, atque ex se ipsis tyrannos ibi constituerent.* Euseb. *Chron. Armeno-lat.* 39. These 33,091 years are manifestly derived from a computation by *Neri* and *Sossi* (i. e. 600 and 60 years), expanded, as it seems to me, from an earlier statement based upon the number $6 \times 6 \times 6 = 216$. Suppose this to be the case; then observe the result:

From the Deluge to the Median Invasion 33,091 Chaldean years.

Thence to the era of Nabonassar a complete

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------------|
| annus magnus, or..... | 1,461 |
| | <hr/> 34,552 |
| 100 periods of 216 years..... | 21,600 |
| 60 ditto..... | <hr/> 12,960 |
| | <hr/> 34,560 |

That is, the entire period from the Flood to the era of Nabonassar wants but 8 years to make a period of 160 times 216 or 16×2160 years. I suspect, therefore, that Berosus wrote 33,099 (*novem et nonaginta* for *uno et nonaginta*). I surmise also, that the period of 16×2160 is itself generated from an earlier and more modest statement of $16 \times 216 = 3456$ years. For this reason:—Æmilius Sura, quoted by Velleius Paterculus, *Hist.* i. 6, gives the following outline of mundane history, which he doubtless had from some Chaldean source: *Assyrii principes omnium gentium rerum potiti sunt, deinde Medi, postea Persæ, deinde Macedones. Exinde duobus regibus Philippo et Antiocho, qui à Macedonibus oriundi erant, haud multo post Carthaginem subactam devictis, summa imperii ad populum Romanum pervenit. Inter hoc tempus et initium Nini regis Assyriorum, qui princeps rerum potitus, intersunt anni M.DCCC.XCV.* He reckons therefore (perhaps from the battle of Pydna 168 B. C.) up to Ninus, or the foundation of the Assyrian empire, 1995 years: agreeing very nearly with Ctesias, whose epoch of the Assyrian empire is $876 + 1306 = 2182$ B. C., as here $1995 + 168 = 2163$ B. C. But the number 1995 furnished, as I suppose, by some Chal-

dean authority, seems to be artificial, for it is just the difference between

$$\begin{array}{r} 16 \times 216 = 3456 \\ \text{and an annus magnus} = 1461 \\ \hline 1995 \end{array}$$

Hence I infer, that the Chaldean chronographers, setting out with the intention of making a period of 16×216 from the Deluge to the æra of Nabonassar, and one of 1461 years from the Median capture of Babylon to the same æra, found the difference, *i.e.* the interval from the Flood to the Median Invasion, 1995 years. Whence, at a later time, they assigned this same term as the measure of the mundane period from the Median Invasion (confounded with the Epoch of Ninus) to the epoch of the fifth or Roman empire.

§ 503. From the Creation to the Flood, Berosus made a period of 120 sari or 432,000 years, during which ten kings reigned. The list of their names with the number of sari in each reign is given by Syncellus, p. 18. Here I reduce the *great sarus* or 3,600 years to the period of 18 years or *common sarus*, *i.e.* the 432,000 years to 2160 years.

| | | |
|---------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| "1. Alorus | 10 sari | [<i>i.e.</i> 180 years |
| 2. Alasparus | 3 | 54 |
| 3. Amelon | 13 | 234 |
| 4. Amenon | 12 | 216 |
| 5. Metalarus | 18 | 324 |
| 6. Daonus | 99 [L. 10.] | 180 |
| 7. Evedorach | 18 | 324 |
| 8. Amphis | 10 | 180 |
| 9. Otiartes | 8 | 144 |
| 10. Xisuthrus | 18 | 324 |
| Sum 120." | | 2160 years]. |

§ 504. Let us now sum up and compare the several statements relative to the epochs of Babylonian and Assyrian History.—The period of 1903 years, mentioned by Porphyry, leads, if reckoned from Alexander's conquest of Babylon 331 B. C., to 2234 B. C., as the epoch of Babylonian history. But reckoned from the death of Alexander and epoch of the Philippine period of the æra of Nabonassar, or 12 Nov. 324 (p. 486), it leads up to 2227 B. C., the exact year to which, on other grounds, we have assigned to the dispersion of nations at Babel, § 305, 366. Now this date is *not* the result of artifice.

Berosus's date of the Median capture of Babylon is 2207 B. C. This is artificial, for it precedes the æra of Nabonassar by an exact *annus magnus*.

The epoch of Ninus, and of the foundation of the Assyrian empire, is obtained by adjusting the 1306 years mentioned by Ctesias, to their proper bearings, *i.e.* by placing his Sardanapallus, not as he does at 876 B. C., but at 713. The date hence resulting is 2019 or 2018 B. C. But this, again, is artificial, being generated by adding an *annus magnus* to the epoch of Cyrus and the Persian empire, 559 B. C.

But Berosus's period of 473,000 years, which seems to be a disguise of a period of $6 \times 216 = 1296$ years, measured from 707 B.C. (which is the close of the 526⁷ from Semiramis mentioned by the same writer,) leads up to 2003 or 2002 B.C. And this perhaps explains the first item in the list of Berosus, 8 Median kings r. 224⁷. For, from the historical epoch of the foundation of Babylon 2227-6 to the artificial date 2003-2 are just 224⁷.

§ 505. In conclusion I may just notice the scheme of Georgius Syncellus derived from the ancient chronographers, by which I find some of the preceding conclusions remarkably confirmed. The scheme is as follows :

| | |
|---|------------------|
| 7 Chaldean kings, reigned | 225 ⁷ |
| 6 Arabians | 215 |
| 41 Assyrians, of whom the last, Tonos-Concolerus, was overthrown by the Medes under Arbaces [an exact <i>annus magnus</i>] | 1460 |
| 8 Medians, from Arbaces to Astyages, who was overthrown by Cyrus | 276 |
| Sum | <u>2176</u> |

Now it should be observed that there is a certain measure of contrivance in the scheme of this chronographer. Having accepted the belief of earlier writers, that the birth of our Saviour coincided with the completion of 5500 years from the Creation, he so arranged the details of the several monarchies, beginning with the Chaldean and Egyptian, which he made to begin in one and the same year, that they should ascend up to his A.M. 2776, which year he chose because it is distant just one lunar dominical cycle ($28 \times 19 = 532$) from the Septuagint date A.M. of the Flood. With this view he must be supposed to have altered a year or two here and there from the numbers which he found in his authorities. The sum of the whole period above given, from the first year of Babylon to the first of Cyrus, is 2176 years, which is 16 years more than 10×216 years. And it is curious that 16 years is just the error which he has admitted in the interval between the æra of Nabonassar and the first of Cyrus. The true interval is $747 - 558 = 189$ years: he makes it 205 years. We may hence be pretty confident that his authorities gave the period as 10×216 years. Here is one point of agreement, the period of 216 years used as a measure of an artificial system. Again: I have shown that the Chaldeans counted one complete *annus magnus* to the duration of the Assyrian empire from the Median Invasion to the epoch of the Babylonian æra of Nabonassar. In this scheme of Syncellus we have just this period of 1460 years assigned to the Assyrian empire. The only difference is, that agreeably with the Median Chronology of Ctesias (which he preferred, yet with some modification, to that of Herodotus, because it better suited the chronology of the LXX) the rebellion of the Medes and (supposed) dissolution of the Assyrian empire is thrown back 120 years. And further, whereas the scheme followed by Berosus gave a dynasty of 224 years as the first item of the 1460 years, while another estimate made this same item = 216 years, Syncellus, or his authorities, prefixed both, as distinct periods, to the commencement of the *annus*

magnus.—It may be further remarked, that Syncellus gets an *æreus magnus* between Semiramis and 606 B. C., the true date of the final overthrow of Nineveh. For, to the Assyrian Empire beginning with Belus and ending with Sardanapallus he assigns 1460 years. Reduce the statement to its original bearings by identifying this Sardanapallus with Eearhaddon, B. C. 713; then, since Belus reigned 55 and Ninus 52 years, and Semiramis succeeds Ninus, we have from Semiramis to Sardanapallus 1353, consequently to 606 B. C. just 1460 years.

NOTE I. INDIAN CHRONOGRAPHY.

§ 506. It seems that the monstrous systems of chronology invented by the Hindus carry in themselves abundant refutation of their own pretensions. They are formed upon astronomical data, and the amount of error accumulated supplies the measure of the periods of time through which the calculation was carried. Modern astronomers have convincingly proved that the eclipses, planetary conjunctions, asterisms, and so forth, which lay claim to the credit of contemporary records, extending through enormous periods of time, were calculated backward from the 6th century of our æra. Mr. Bentley says, from 538 A. D. The invention of the Yugas or epochs of Hindu chronology is assigned by this writer to B. C. 204. "The years with which each period was to begin and end having being previously fixed upon, the inventor then by computation determined the month and moon's age on the very day on which *Jupiter* is found to be in conjunction with the sun in each of the years so fixed on.....It was from these conjunctions of the sun with *Jupiter* that the periods themselves were named Yugas or conjunctions, and the order in which they were named was this:—The first period immediately preceding the inventor was called the First, or Kali Yuga; the Second or next, the Dwaper Yuga; the Third, the Treta Yuga; and the Fourth, or furthest back from the author, was called the Krita Yuga, with which the Creation began. The end of the first was fixed by a conjunction of *Sun*, *Moon* and *Jupiter* in the beginning of *Cancer*, on the 26th June 299 B. C. This was called the Satya Yuga or True Conjunction, and is the radical point from which the calculation proceeds.

"Having thus far explained the principles on which the four ages of the ancient *Hindus* were founded and settled, I shall now exhibit them complete...in the following Table:

| Names and Order of the Four Ages. | Dates. | Errors in the Hindu Tables used. |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Kritā or 4th. | 19 Apr. 2352 B. C. | About 21° 46' |
| Tretā or 3rd. | 28 Oct. 1528 ... | 13 1 |
| Dwāpar or 2nd. | 15 Sept. 901 ... | 6 22 |
| Kali or 1st. | 8 Feb. 540 ... | 2 33 |
| — ended | 26 June 299 ... | 0 1 |

"The mean motion of Jupiter in the Hindu Tables employed for calculating the conjunctions and settling the periods appears to have been $1^{\circ} 0'. 21' 9'' 54'''$ nearly, which being too great by about $38''$ would cause the error to increase continually the further we go back into antiquity, as exhibited in the last column, from which a near conclusion can be drawn as to the time the tables were formed, from the decrease in the error. I fix them to the year 204 B.C., because it was then the commencement of the astronomical period, at which the astronomers would naturally correct their tables by new observations. Moreover, it appears that the Hindu History, according to the above periods, so settled and adjusted was brought down either by the inventor or some other person to the year 204 A.C. and there terminated.

"It will naturally be observed that the year of the Hindu Creation, or beginning of the Krita, corresponds exactly with the year of the Mosaic Flood, which is a most remarkable circumstance, and points out the opinion of the Hindus at that period (204 A.C.) in respect of the time of the Creation."

In the last paragraph the writer assumes as unquestionable the Usurian date of the Flood. The coincidence is mere accident; for by the writer's own shewing, the year 2352 was obtained by the Hindus from a purely astronomical calculation. It is remarkable, however, that having reached this year in their calculation they there stopped: for this implies their opinion that the history of the world went back no further than about 2,000 years before the epoch of the calculation.

§ 507. But about the sixth century of our æra this unpretending system of Yugas was expanded into the enormous dimensions of the system which is now put forth in the astronomical books. In these the epoch of the Kali Yuga is placed 3102 B.C., to which year they assign a conjunction of all the planets. Mr. Bentley affirms that this conjunction was calculated back from A.D. 538, with faulty tables of the sun, moon, and planets. The Kali Yuga, it was announced, would last 432,000 years; the Dwapar Yuga, which preceded it, was $2 \times 432,000$; the Treta, $3 \times 432,000$; Krita, $4 \times 432,000$; and the whole cycle, or the Kalpa, $1,000,000 \times 432,000$. At the same time the historical chronology was exaggerated in the same monstrous proportion, the events of the Dwapar and Treta Yugas of the older system, i.e. of the periods of 627 and 361 years, beginning at 1528 B.C., being referred to the corresponding parts of the new enormous Dwapar and Treta Yuga.

Whether Mr. Bentley's determinations are to be received, in all respects, as conclusive, I leave to be decided by others. My object in referring to this subject is to shew that the Hindus, like the Chaldeans, have an artificial system of chronology resting on the same basis of 216 years. Its four Yugas number altogether, $10 \times 432,000$ years. And it is curious that in their original form as described by Mr. Bentley, the interval between their epoch (2352 B.C.) and the year 204 B.C., the supposed date of the invention, is very nearly 10×216 years (2352 - 204

= 2148 years). The following fact also may be noticed:—a period of 2160 years measured from 3102 ends B.C. 942, *the year after the death of Buddha*¹. Now this event is used as the epoch of a chronological æra by the different nations in which Buddhism is the state religion (Ideler, *Zeitrechnung der Chinesen*, p. 85). And we see that between the epoch of the Brahmanic Kali Yuga and the epoch of the Buddhist æra is just the period of 2160 years. This is the less likely to be accidental, as it seems there is reason to believe that the Bauddhas, along with many other mythological conceptions, have borrowed from the Brahmans the doctrine of the four *Yugas*. I have not leisure, nor indeed opportunity, to search the chronographies of ancient India for further indications of this kind: that they are to be found and will help to illustrate the structure of those systems I do not doubt: especially as it is known that the Hindus, in common with the nations of central and Eastern Asia used the sexagesimal cycle, or period of 60 years (Ideler, *u. s. p.* 75.), the nature of which will be described in the following note.

NOTE II. CHINESE CHRONOGRAPHY.

§ 508. ON this curious subject I extract the following particulars from the interesting treatise of Ideler (*Über die Zeitrechnung der Chinesen*, Berlin, 1839), who has collected, sifted, and arranged, all that is known about it.

The Chinese year is lunar, adapted to the solar year by clever contrivances, of a strictly mathematical kind, which it does not concern me to describe. For purposes of historical and astronomical record the years are designated by dynasties and reigns concurrently with a cycle of *sixty years*. This cycle is ingeniously composed of a duodenary cycle in which each year takes the name of a certain animal, combined with a denary cycle each year of which is designated by a certain word the meaning of which is otherwise unknown. In order to give a clear conception of the matter without using the Chinese words, we will substitute for these characters the numbers 1, 2, 3, &c. up to 10. This *zodiacal* cycle, which the Chinese have in common with nearly *all* the nations of central and eastern Asia, Tibetans, Mongols, Tatars, Manchus, Japanese, Koreans, &c., invariably consists (wherever used) of the following names, in the same order:

¹ Bohlen, *Alles Indien* i. 279. enumerates no less than 35 different dates assigned to this event, with a difference between the extremes of nearly two thousand years: he himself decides in favour of 2134 B.C.: but Klaproth and Abel Rémusat have produced cogent evidence in sup-

port of the date given in the text, 943 B.C., which is derived from Chinese and Japanese sources. Buddha died, according to these authorities, in the 59th year of the Chinese king *Mu-wang*, who began to reign 1001 B.C.: the year therefore is 943 B.C.

- | | | | |
|----------|-----------|----------|----------|
| 1. Mouse | 4. Hare | 7. Horse | 10. Bird |
| 2. Ox | 5. Dragon | 8. Sheep | 11. Dog |
| 3. Tiger | 6. Snake | 9. Ape | 12. Hog. |

So extensive a prevalence of this cycle is very remarkable, and it is much to my present purpose to observe that, according to Ideler, it had its origin in Western Asia, where at a later period it gave way to other modes of reckoning. (Censorinus *de die Nat.* makes mention of a $\delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\epsilon\tau\eta\rho\iota\varsigma$, to which he assigns the name *annus Chaldaicus*.) Ideler supposes that it passed by way of Bactria into China and thence to the neighbouring nations. By combining these names with the characters of the denary cycle, the Chinese get the following nomenclature for the years of a sexagesimal cycle. Thus

| Year. | Name. | Year. | Name. | Year. | Name. | Year. | Name. |
|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|----------|
| 1 | 1-mouse. | 11 | 1-dog. | 21 | 1-ape. | 31 | 1-horse. |
| 2 | 2-ox. | 12 | 2-hog. | 22 | 2-hen. | 32 | 2-sheep. |
| 3 | 3-tiger. | 13 | 3-mouse. | 23 | 3-dog. | 33 | 3-ape. |
| 4 | 4-hare. | 14 | 4-ox. | 24 | 4-hog. | 34 | 4-hen. |
| 5 | 5-dragon. | 15 | 5-tiger. | 25 | 5-mouse. | 35 | 5-dog. |
| 6 | 6-snake. | 16 | 6-hare. | 26 | 6-ox. | 36 | 6-hog. |
| 7 | 7-horse. | 17 | 7-dragon. | 27 | 7-tiger. | 37 | 7-mouse. |
| 8 | 8-sheep. | 18 | 8-snake. | 28 | 8-hare. | 38 | 8-ox. |
| 9 | 9-ape. | 19 | 9-horse. | 29 | 9-dragon. | | &c. |
| 10 | 10-hen. | 20 | 10-sheep. | 30 | 10-snake. | | |

Of course, in 60 years the circle of combinations will be complete, and the 61st year, or 1st of a new cycle, will begin 1-mouse, 2-ox &c. as before. Thus each year of the 60 is furnished with a name, and the date of an event is given by saying that it happened (*e.g.*) in the year *keng-chin* or "seven-dragon" of a given dynasty or of such a reign. But this sexagesimal cycle is also used for the numbering of days, *i. e.* these names are also names of days, forming a "week" of 60 days, which from the time of its first introduction has persisted as uninterruptedly as the seven-day week of Western Asia. This ingenious contrivance renders the Chinese Calendar more accurate, for historical purposes, than perhaps any calendar whatever except the Julian. Thus if it be recorded that such an event happened on the day "six-sheep," in such a month, of the year "nine-snake," in such a reign or dynasty, the day is easily identified, and can be rendered into the Julian calendar with absolute precision.

The number of dynasties down to the present time is 21, or, as some say, 22. The epoch of the 5th of these is perfectly well ascertained, by means of recorded eclipses, to be the year 206 B. C. Before this epoch the history is of a questionable character: yet there seems to be no reason to call in question the accuracy, on the whole, of the list of kings. In the result of a very careful examination, Ideler has made out the epoch of the first dynasty

to be the year 2192 B. C. Anterior to the first dynasty the Chinese Chronicles place a period of nine reigns, of a more mythical character. The earliest king named in the most authentic account (the book *Schu-king*) is *Yao*, for whom Ideler obtains the date 2341 B. C. He is the 8th of the nine kings. "That Yao is an historical person cannot be doubted by any one who would not altogether call in question the authority of the book *Schu-king*." The following are the names of these nine kings, with their epochs as assigned by the tradition.

| | <i>Ideler.</i> | <i>Chinese.</i> |
|---------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Fu-hi | — | — |
| 2. Schin-nong | — | — |
| 3. Hoang-ti | 2681 | 2697 |
| 4. Schao-hao | 2581 | 2597 |
| 5. Tschuan-hiu ... | 2497 | 2513 |
| 6. Ti-ko | 2419 | 2435 |
| 7. Tschu | 2350 | 2366 |
| 8. <i>Yao</i> | 2341 | 2357 |
| 9. Schin | 2241 | 2247. |

"That Hoang-ti existed, is not to be doubted. He is mentioned by Confucius, along with his two predecessors." Ideler, p. 129. Gaubil says: "I consider Hoang-ti to have been the first king of China; but that the kingdom of China down to Yao was neither so powerful nor so civilized as later histories pretend, and that the sum of years from Yao back to Hoang-ti cannot be safely determined. In my opinion, Fu-hi and Schin-nong were also princes of the Chinese, but on their route from the plain of Shinar after the dispersion of nations." Ibid. It should be observed that the introduction of the sexagesimal cycle is ascribed to Hoang-ti: the first cycle bears date from his 61st year, 2637 B. C.

It seems then that the Chinese chronology goes back to the year 2192 B. C. and tradition a few centuries further back. Thus the Assyrian and Chaldean, Indian and Chinese, and I may add by anticipation, the Egyptian chronographies, all tell the same tale. The beginnings of post-diluvian history lie about 2200 years before the Christian era.

§ 509. In conclusion, we may remark that the Chinese sexagesimal reckoning rests upon the same basis as the Chaldean system of *sari* and *ossi*. Both are evidently to be referred to the 12×30 days of the solar year: nor will it be surprising if we detect here also the period of 216 years which we have found in use among the Chaldeans, the Assyrians, the Brahmans, and shall presently find even more conspicuously among the Egyptians. And such is actually the case. For it cannot be accident that 36 of these sexagesimal cycles, or $6 \times 6 \times 60$ or 2160 years, reach, almost exactly, from the epoch of the system to the death of the great Confucius (Khung-fu-tsay), the date of which according to Gaubil is 479 B. C. From 2637 to 479 B. C. are 2158 years. The epochs, too, of the several dynasties bear witness to the same fact. For, from the same epoch to that of the First Dynasty, or beginning of the historical period, 2206 B. C., are $2637 - 2206 = 432$, or pre-

cisely 2×216 . The First Dynasty again is, very nearly, the same period ; $2205 - 1766 = 439$. The Second, $1766 - 1122 = 644$ makes 3×216 minus 4 years, or the first and second together $= 5 \times 216$ plus 3. The third, $1122 - 255$ a. c. numbers $867 = 4 \times 216$ plus 3, or I, II, III, $= 9 \times 216$ plus 6. The fourth, consisting of only 49 years, leads to 206 a. c., the beginning of regular history. Hence it seems likely that the original scheme was of this form :

| | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Mythical period, 9 kings, | 1×216 | [2415 a. c. |
| First Dynasty | 2×216 | 2199 |
| Second | 3×216 | 1767 |
| Third..... | 4×216 | 1119—225.] |
| | 10×216 | |

which at a later time was thrown into its present form for the sake of getting the whole period 10×216 to end at the death of Confucius.

If I am right in my conjecture, the result is not a little interesting. The epoch of the mythical period lies only 31 years after the Flood, and that of the First Dynasty only 28' after our date of the Dispersion of Nations. The nine kings too, with their term of 216 years, answer to the first item of Egyptian chronology, "nine kings 217 years," and both, to the period of 219 years which I place between the Flood and the Dispersion of Nations. For in truth the phenomenon under consideration, the *fact* of so extensive a prevalence of this number 216 as the basis of chronological systems, seems to admit of but one explanation. It was handed down by a primeval tradition that a period of some 220 years intervened between the Flood and the beginning of National Histories on the plain of Shinar. The senary and duodenary elements resulting from the approximate estimate of the natural year lay close at hand, 6×60 and $12 \times 30 = 360$; hence the *sossus* and *sarus* : and the number $6 \times 6 \times 6$ or $12 \times 18 = 216$ presented itself, in the beginning of systems, as the basis of chronography, because that number very nearly, if not exactly, represented the period of which tradition had faithfully preserved the memory.

SECTION II. *Egyptian Chronology.*

§ 510. IN the Chronology of Egyptian History our sources of information are as follows :

1. *The Dynasties of Manetho*, as reported by Africanus and Eusebius. The work of Africanus is lost, but this portion of it is preserved in the Chronography of Georgius Syncellus. The original of the Chronicle of Eusebius is also lost, but may be reconstructed in great measure out of the old Latin Version and the quotations of Georgius Syncellus ; and indeed entirely, since the fortunate discovery of the Armenian version.
2. *The Old Egyptian Chronicle*, preserved by Syncellus, which down to the 18th dynasty differs materially from Manetho.¶
3. *A list of 38 Theban kings*, composed by Eratosthenes, also preserved by Syncellus.

4. The accounts of Herodotus and Diodorus, and some other Greeks.

5. Of the *Monuments* I shall make but sparing use: I am not competent to express a critical judgment respecting their value as documents of chronology, but I cannot help suspecting that in the present state of hieroglyphical knowledge their indications must be too precarious to be relied upon for constructive purposes. My object is to adjust the accounts of the chronographers by means of the data furnished by the Scriptures: to elucidate the structure and intention of the periods of time noted in the Egyptian accounts: and to facilitate the historical researches of hieroglyphical scholars by furnishing them with an estimate of the value and meaning of the chronological lists. I hope also to be able to throw some light upon the origin and meaning of certain Egyptian stories and mythologies.

§ 511. We begin at the epoch of Cambyzes, 525 B. C., and thence rise to the earlier periods.

The following Table gives the dates which result from the numbers of Africanus, Eusebius and Herodotus, for the several kings of Manetho's xxvth dynasty.

| <i>Herodotus.</i> | <i>Africanus.</i> | <i>Eusebius.</i> |
|--|-------------------------------------|------------------|
| (<i>Cambyzes</i> 525 B. C.) | | |
| <i>Psammenitus</i> 0 ^r 6 ^m 525-4 | 0 ^r 6 ^m 525-4 | om. |
| <i>Amasis</i> 44 570 | 44? 570 | 42 567 |
| <i>Apries</i> 25 595 | 19 589 | 25 592 |
| <i>Psammis</i> 6 601 | 6 595 | 17 609 |
| <i>Necho II.</i> 16 617 | 6 601 | 6 615 |
| <i>Psammetichus</i> 54 671 | 54 655 | 44 659 |
| xii kings? | | |
| <i>Necho I.</i> | 8 663 | 8 667 |
| <i>Nechepsos.</i> | 6 669 | 6 673 |
| <i>Stephinares</i> | 7 676 | 7 680 |

Of these kings, Apries = Vaphris (Manetho) = *Pharaoh Hophra* (Jer. xlv. 30) was on the throne soon after the taking of Jerusalem in 588 B. C., see above § 181. Necho II. is plainly the Pharaoh Necho of 2 Kings xxiii. 29. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. who defeated and slew king Josiah, B. C. 610-609. Comp. Herodot. ii. 159, who calls the scene of this engagement *Magdolis* (confounding *Migdol* in Egypt with *Megiddo* in Palestine) and mentions the consequent capture of Jerusalem, which he calls *Cadytis* (= *קדש*, the Holy City). Africanus's date therefore is manifestly too late. Besides, Necho was still living in the 4th year of Jehoiaikim, 606 B. C. Jer. xlv. 2. Of the other kings of this dynasty no mention occurs in Scripture.

§ 512. The xxvth Dynasty is given thus by Manetho:

| | <i>Africanus.</i> | <i>Eusebius.</i> |
|---------|-------------------|------------------|
| Sabaco | 8 | 12 |
| Sevecus | 14 | 12 |
| Tarcus | 18 | 20. |

Herodotus mentions an Ethiopian king, *Sabaco*, who slew Necho father of Psammitichus and compelled Psammitichus to seek refuge in Syria, ii. 152. He, or another of the same name, invaded Egypt in the time of the blind king Anysis, and reigned 50 years, a term foretold by an oracle. It may be, as Gesenius suggests, that the name "Sabaco" in Herodotus represents the whole dynasty: it means "Prince," and may be like "Pharaoh" only a royal title. In Scripture the name appears as "So," נֶסֶו *i.e.* perhaps נֶסֶו *Seve*. A king of this name was leagued with Hoshea the last king of Israel (730—721 B.C.), 2 Kings xvii. 4., *viz.* in the latter part of the reign, therefore about 724 B.C. The name *Tarcus* occurs in Scripture as *Tirhaka*, contemporary with Sennacherib at the time of his miraculous defeat, 713 B.C. Herodotus mentions this defeat, and assigns it to the reign of the priest-king *Sethos*. Of this *Sethos* no mention occurs in Manetho, unless he be the *Zet* of the xxiiiid dynasty¹. But if this be so, then the xxiiiid, xxivth and xxvth dynasties must be contemporary. Now, according to Herodotus, the reign of *Sethos* was succeeded by the dodecarchy, and that by Psammitichus, one of the twelve: whence it would follow that the three first reigns of the xxvth were also contemporary with the xxvth in part. And this seems to be really the case: for Necho I, the third of the dynasty, was put to death by *Sabaco*, *i.e.* by some king of the xxvth dynasty, possibly *Tirhaka*, who also compelled Psammitichus to seek safety in flight. Now from Diodorus we learn that the dodecarchy lasted 18 years, and was preceded by an interregnum of 2 years. Beside these, there was the reign of the blind king Anysis, who outlived the Ethiopian invasion. Supposing then that *Zet* is the *Sethos* of Herodotus, we may identify the Anysis of Herodotus with the Bocchoris of Manetho, and adjust all the accounts to the following scheme².

| <i>Tanites.</i> | <i>Ethiopians.</i> | <i>Saites.</i> |
|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Petubastes 740 B.C. | Sabaco | Stephinales (7) |
| | Sevecus | |
| Osorchon | or So } in 725 | Nechepsos (6) |
| Psammus | Tirhaka, 714 | Necho I. (8) |
| Zet, in 713 B.C. | to 696 | slain after 714. |

| | <i>African.</i> | <i>Euseb.</i> | | <i>African.</i> | <i>Euseb.</i> |
|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|---|-----------------|---------------|
| xxiii. | | | xxiv. | | |
| Petubastes .....40 | 25 | | Bocchoris .....6 | | 44 |
| Osorchon 8 | 9 | | xxv. | | |
| Psammus .....10 | 10 | | Sabaco, &c. as before. | | |
| Zet .....31 | om. | | ² Gesenius in Isai. xix. has arranged these parallel dynasties somewhat differently. | | |

| | | |
|---------------------|------------|-------|
| Anyais or Bocchoris | 696 to 691 | (5) |
| Interregnum | 691 to 689 | (2) |
| Dodecarchy | 689 to 671 | (18) |
| Psammitichus | 671 to 617 | (54). |

Hence it appears that the conquest of *Axerdis* = Asaridin, Esarhaddon, in Egypt, occurred in the troubled time of the dodecarchy, § 493.

§ 513. In the latter years of king Solomon, and as late as the 5th of Rehoboam, we find a king of Egypt named *שִׁשָּׁק* Shishak, 1 Kings xi. 40; xiv. 25. This can be no other than the Sesonchis or Sesonchosis of Manetho's xxiind dynasty.

xxii. *Nine Bubastis kings.*

| | <i>Africanus.</i> | <i>Eusebius.</i> |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Sesonchis | 21 | 21 |
| Osorthon | 15 | 15 |
| Three, not named, | 25 | om. |
| Tacelothis | 13 | 13 |
| Three not named | 42 | om. |
| | <hr/> Sum 116 | <hr/> 49 |
| | (in text, 120) | (44.) |

xxiii. Petubastes &c. Whom we have placed about 740 B. C.

At this rate, the date for Shishak would be $740 + 120 = 860$ B. C., *more than a hundred years too late*. Must we therefore abandon our identification of Matheno's Zet with the Sethos of Herodotus? I think not. The xxiind dynasty is evidently mutilated: the names of six kings out of nine are lost. Nine reigns on an average should give at least 180 years: here the sum is only 120. Again, from Shishak to Zet are 13 reigns. At 22 years each, which is the average of reigns, these should give 286 years; and 286 years measured from 993 B. C. the earliest date which can be assigned to Shishak, or from 978 B. C. which is the latest, will end at 707 or 692 B. C., which is quite near enough to the time of Sethos as defined by Herodotus.

§ 514. Between the Exode and Solomon no mention of any Egyptian king occurs in Scripture. Passing over this interval, then, we arrive at the most interesting part of our inquiry. After the departure of Israel out of Egypt, did the contemporary Egyptians hand down any memorial of the desolating judgments and the tremendous overthrow which accompanied that great event? Of course it is inconceivable that they should do otherwise. One cannot imagine that all memory of such a catastrophe should have become obliterated in any length of time among the nation which suffered such things. But then, it is not to be supposed that the *true* account would be preserved and perpetuated, especially in so early an age, and at a time when the keeping of the national records was entrusted to a learned priesthood. In the mouths of the people,

the afflicting and humiliating tale would soon drop those circumstances which involved ignominy and degradation: until at length perhaps only thus much of its substance would remain—That in old times, a foreign horde entered Egypt and brought great affliction on the people of the land, especially in their departure: and that this horde after its egress became the nation of the Jews. It is likely that in process of time this egress would be represented as an *expulsion*; the epoch of the national recovery from those dire calamities might be regarded as the epoch of the presumed expulsion. Moreover, in its descent from so remote a period, the story would probably express itself in the form of allegory or mythus; the calamities would be commemorated by mournful ceremonies: but, as time went on, the original import of the allegory and the ceremonies would gradually be lost sight of, being overgrown with adventitious circumstances, or diverted to some new significance. All this may naturally be presumed, especially in the case of a secluded and highly national people like the Egyptians; and I believe such a representation is not far from the truth. In these various forms, of historical tradition in which the humiliating circumstances of the story were suppressed or softened down, of allegory rendered into substantive history, of mythology detached from the basis of fact, thrown back to the most remote periods, and referred to gods and demigods, the original record subsisted, I think, at the time when Egypt was thrown open to the Greeks. Several of the stories human and divine which Herodotus heard, related originally to these facts: that is to say, the stories would never have existed but for those occurrences. But about a century after Herodotus's visit, the state of the case became changed. Egypt then contained a large population of Greeks and Jews, especially in the Grecian city of Alexander's foundation. Under the Ptolemies, the Jews began to have much commerce of language and literature with the Greeks; the contents of the sacred history became known to these latter; the learned Egyptians were compelled to pay some attention to the history which the Jews delivered concerning those ancient affairs of their nation, and were of course powerfully induced at once to falsify their own history, and to calumniate the Jewish accounts. This endeavour betrays itself in the Egyptian relations which have come to us from the times of the Ptolemies and the Roman Emperors. Some of these are barefaced travesties of the Hebrew narrative, such as would never have been put forward if their authors had not become acquainted, through the Septuagint version, with the circumstances of the Hebrew story. Others, retaining the substance of the elder story, wrest it from its proper and original meaning, as *e.g.* when Manetho takes pains to persuade his readers that the invading horde from the East, spoken of in the more ancient tradition, was distinct from the Jewish Nation.

§ 515. There is reason to believe that the Exodus took place in the course of the dynasty of Theban Diospolitan, or as others say, Memphite kings, which in Manetho is numbered as the 18th. Africanus, Theophilus, Clement, and other of the ancients, taking Josephus for their guide,

identify the Pharaoh of Moses with the first king of that dynasty, whom they call Tethmosis or Amosis. Eusebius places him lower down in the dynasty. Now the true date of the Exode being known—which I may well assert to be the fact—we can prove our point if we know the limits within which that dynasty began and ended. And its *epoch*, I believe, can be ascertained with a considerable degree of probability. This shall be our first inquiry.

Africanus (see the *Tables* at the end of this section) expressly assigns the Exode to the year B.C. 1797, and makes that year the first of the 18th dynasty, or rather, of Chebron its second king. Eusebius, on the other hand, assigns it and the last year of Chencherres to the year B.C. 1511, and consequently the epoch of the 18th dynasty to 1715 B.C. (See the *Tables*). It will be found, however, that the actual detail of numbers recorded by Africanus gives as the epoch the year 1667. For, taking the sum-numbers appended to the several *dynasties*, which of course are less likely to be in error than the numbers assigned to the several *reigns*, we have

| | | |
|--------------|-----|---|
| 18th dynasty | 263 | } These reach to the epoch of Cam- byses, 525 B.C., whence the epoch of the 18th dynasty is 1142 + 525 = 1667 B.C. |
| 19 | 209 | |
| 20 | 135 | |
| 21 | 130 | |
| 22 | 120 | |
| 23 | 89 | |
| 24 | 6 | |
| 25 | 40 | |
| 26 | 150 | |
| 1142 | | |

Nor is this the only determination. It will be seen that Africanus (as also Eusebius) places the fall of Troy in the reign of Thuoris, whom he identifies with the Polybus of Homer. This Thuoris is the last king of the 19th dynasty and stands there with a reign of 7 years. Africanus's date of the fall of Troy, if it be that of Eratosthenes, is 1184 B.C., if that which Clement has followed, 1193 B.C. Now $1193 + 209$ (xix.) + 263 (xviii.) = 1665 B.C. And as he may not have meant to assign the fall of Troy to the last or to the first year of Thuoris, the coincidence is probably exact.—Again, there is this further indication. He places the epoch of the Olympiads in the reign of the first king of the 23rd dynasty. The reign lasted 40 years, and began, in virtue of his sum-numbers, $525 + 150 + 40 + 6 + 89 = 810$ B.C., therefore ended 770 B.C., 6 years after the epoch of the Olympiads.

But there is other authority to the same effect. Clement of Alexandria (*Str.* i. 21. § 136) informs us that the Exodus occurred 345 years before the lapse of the Sothiac Cycle. But one such cycle ended 1322 B.C. (§ 401): his date therefore of the Exode, which he, too (*ib.* 101), places at the beginning of the 18th dynasty, is $1322 + 345 = 1667$ B.C. The point is of great importance

to my enquiry, and I need not apologize for multiplying testimony. Take, then, this other afforded by the same writer.—The Exodus, he says, occurred in the reign of Inachus, and from it to Deucalion's Flood are 4 generations (so we must read with the Lat. version instead of 40, which indeed is manifestly absurd). The generations are reckoned at 3 to a century, therefore 4 such = 133-4 years. From Deucalion to the rape of Helen he makes 320 years: the interval from thence to the taking of Troy is not expressed, but of course he reckoned it with Homer (*Il.* xxiv. 765) as 20 years. Lastly, from the fall of Troy to the 1st Olympiad he makes 417 years. Hence we have

| Ol. 1. 1 = 776 | B. C. | |
|----------------|--------|-------------------|
| 417 | = 1193 | Fall of Troy |
| 340 | 1533 | Deucalion's Flood |
| 133-4 | 1666-7 | the Exodus; |

precisely the same result as before.

Now I do not mean to affirm, at present, that the 18th dynasty actually began in the year which has been determined: it is sufficient for my purpose that this is the date assigned by learned Egyptians. Let us then proceed to examine the stories told by the Egyptians relative to the ancient connexion between their nation and that of the Jews.

§ 516. *Manetho* has a story of certain *shepherd* or nomadic invaders, which is, in substance, as follows.

"In the reign of king Timaus it came to pass that God, for some unknown cause, became our adversary: and there came from the East in a wonderful manner a race of men of unknown (or, ignoble) extraction, who invaded our land, and easily, without a battle, made themselves masters thereof. The cities they savagely burned, the temples of the gods they threw down, the natives they treated as enemies, killing some, and reducing the wives and children of others into slavery. At last they made one of themselves their king, whose name was *Salatis*. He took up his abode at Memphis, laid the whole country under tribute, and stationed garrisons especially on the eastern frontier, as he apprehended invasion from Assyria, which was then rising into power. In particular, he occupied a city in the Saite nome, east of the Bubastite arm of the Nile, which from a certain old religious story was called *Auaris*. Here he fixed his head quarters, and thence *measured out grain* and dealt pay to his troops, whom he there constantly exercised in feats of arms to strike terror into foreigners.

Now this *Salatis* reigned 19 years,

| | | |
|------------|-----------|----------------|
| then, Beon | 44 | ... |
| Apachnas | 36' | 7 ^m |
| Apophis | 61 | . |
| Janias | 50 | . 1 |
| Assis | 49 | . 2. |

In all 259' 10^m

and these six were their first kings, ever warring and indeed desiring to destroy the very root of Egypt. The whole race was called Hyk-sos, which means 'Shepherd-kings'. Some say they were Arabians.....Now these kings aforesaid, and their successors occupied Egypt 511 years. But after this, the Theban and other kings revolted from these usurpers and a great war broke out which lasted a long time. And in the reign of a king whose name was *Alisphragmuthosis* (r. *Misphragmuthosis*)¹, the shepherds, being conquered by him, were driven out of the rest of Egypt, and pent up in the place called Auaria, which was 10,000 *aruræ* in extent. Here they strongly intrenched themselves; but Thummosia, son of the former king, having vainly attempted to take the place by assault and siege, made terms with them that they should evacuate Egypt unharmed and go whither they pleased. So they went out from Egypt, 240,000 in number, and marched through the desert to Syria. But, for fear of the Assyrians who at that conjuncture were lords of Asia, they settled in the country which is now called Judæa, and built there the city Jerusalem.....And after their departure Tethmosia reigned 25' 4", &c." (See the Table.)

§ 517. It is not without reason, surely, that Josephus and many modern critics have supposed this story of the Hyksos to be an Egyptian disguise of the history of the Israelites in Egypt. The concluding circumstance, that the Hyksos are represented as the founders of Jerusalem, declares plainly what was the original drift of the story. The shepherd-people, through whose sojourn in Egypt the nation suffered so great calamities and at last so ruinous an overthrow, are represented in the light of invaders and cruel tyrants: this is irreconcilable, of course, with the truth of facts related in Scripture, but it belongs to the disguise. The origin of this people, from the East,—their supposed Phœnician or Arab extraction—the locality which they occupy, to the east of Pelusium towards Arabia—the laying the whole country under tribute—the measuring of grain—all these circumstances are retained from the record of facts. Nay, the very name of the first king, *Salatis*, it has been remarked², is evidently Hebrew and points to Joseph, of whom it is said, Gen. xlii. 6, that he was the *shalit* (שָׁלִיט) over all the land of Egypt. This then is probably the old story which obtained among the Egyptians previously to the disclosure of the Hebrew narrative by means of the Jews settled in Egypt.

§ 518. Now we learn from Syncellus (i.e. from Manetho) that the shepherds came into Egypt in the 701st year of a Sothiac cycle. The year thus indicated is 2083 B. C. (1322 + 761). Combine with this the

¹ ΑΛΙΣΦΡΑΓΜΟΥΘΙΣ in text. recept. of Josephus is manifestly an error of the copyists for ΜΙΣΦΡΑΓΜΟΥΘΙΣ which is the reading of Syncellus and Eusebius.

² Hävernick *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* I. ii. 408. Hengstenberg *Moses u. Ägypten*, p. 270.

other statement of Manetho, that the shepherds remained in Egypt 511 years (or 518, for that seems to be the true meaning, as will presently be shown). Then, the date of their expulsion becomes 1572 B. C. (or 1565). Observe next, that the expulsion is referred to two kings named *Misphramuthosis* and *Tethmosis*. The latter is made the first king of the 18th dynasty: but precisely the same pair of names, *Mephramuthosis* and *Thmosis*, stand 6th and 7th in the dynasty. And now lastly, observe the time of this Mephramuthosis. We have seen that according to the Egyptians themselves the dynasty began 1667 B. C. The reigns are thus described by Manetho in Josephus. (I append their dates resulting from that of the epoch.)

| | | | | | B. C. |
|--------------------------------|-----|----------------|-----|----|--------|
| 1. Tethmosis | 25' | 4 ^m | 0 | 0 | 1667 |
| 2. Chebron | 13 | - | 25 | 4 | 1642 |
| 3. Amenophis..... | 20 | 7 | 38 | 4 | 1629 |
| 4. Amesses, queen..... | 21 | 9 | 58 | 11 | 1608 |
| 5. Mephres..... | 12 | 9 | 80 | 8 | 1586 |
| 6. <i>Mephramuthosis</i> | 25 | 10 | 93 | 5 | 1574-3 |
| 7. <i>Thmosis</i> | 9 | 8 | 119 | 3 | 1548. |

That is, Mephramuthosis begins to reign almost exactly at the year deduced from the foregoing combination. It seems then, that Manetho, of mistake or fraud, has set this pair of kings *in duplicate*, at the head of the dynasty, as if they were distinct from the pair of the same name at No 6, 7. He has supplied us, however, with the means of detecting the misrepresentation.

§ 519. At present I will only remark further, that the new dynasty is made to begin 80 or 81 years before our date of the Exode. This is exactly in agreement with the Scripture account. Between 80 and 83 years² before that event, "there arose in Egypt a new king which knew not Joseph:"—a king of a new succession, a new dynasty of kings. Moreover the year 1586 lies just at the close of a reign: of a *queen*, it is true, but that may be merely a disguise. Also, between the Exode and Mephramuthosis we find a period of *thirteen* years:—this will come before us in the other version of the Egyptian story, which we will now proceed to consider.

When the Scripture narrative became known, Egyptian vanity had recourse to fraudulent invention. The genuine story was then confronted by a miserable fabrication, having the twofold object of dissevering the founders of the Jewish nation from the character of greatness and superiority with which the shepherds of the elder story were invested, and of degrading them into the condition of an abject and odious race of lepers.—Thus runs the story as told by Manetho ap. Joseph. c. *Apion*.

² This results from comparison of the ages of Aaron and Moses. Aaron was three years older than his brother;

at his birth, the edict of the new Pharaoh for the destruction of the male children was not yet put forth.

§ 520. "Amenophis had a desire to see the gods, as Orus, one of the former kings, had done: he made known his wish to Amenophis, son of Papis, a person who for his wisdom, and knowledge of futurity, was deemed more than man. His namesake replied, that if he would see the gods he must cleanse the land from all lepers and other polluted persons. So the king gathered together all who were thus afflicted, to the number of 80,000, and set them to work in the quarries east of the Nile. Now among these lepers were certain learned priests. But the prophet, seeing the violent treatment of these persons, feared the wrath of the gods for himself and the king. Wherefore he warned the king, in writing, for he dared not utter it, "that certain would fight for these polluted ones:" (ὅτι συμμαχήσουσι τινες τοῖς μισροῖς) "that they would subdue Egypt and hold it in possession thirteen years." This done, he put an end to his own life. And the king was in great despondency: but after a while he granted to these lepers, at their request, that they should inhabit the city Auaris, which had long before been evacuated by the shepherds. Here the lepers chose them a king, one of themselves, whose name was Osarsiph, a priest of Heliopolis, who thenceforth called himself Moses. He bound his fellows by an oath to the observance of new laws—to worship no gods, to abstain from no meat, not even the flesh of the sacred animals, to have no dealings with the rest of mankind. Then he fortified the city, and took up arms against Amenophis, and called those Hyksos from Jerusalem to his aid. They came, an army of 200,000 men: and Amenophis, mindful of the oracle, in exceeding dismay, assembled the multitude of the Egyptians, and after consultation with their chiefs, sent and fetched the chief of the sacred animals, those which were most honoured in the temples, and gave charge to the several priests to conceal the images of the gods with all security. His son Sethos, who was also called Ramesses after Rampses his father, being then a child of five years old, he placed in charge of a private friend; while he himself passed over with the rest of the Egyptians, to the number of 300,000 men of the best warriors, but on the enemy's advancing to meet him he did not give battle, for he deemed it would be to fight against the gods, so he returned to Memphis, where he took the Apis and the other holy animals which he had caused to be brought thither, and retreated into Ethiopia with all his army and multitude. And the king of Ethiopia received and entertained them by the space of those thirteen years which were decreed by fate. Meanwhile the people of Jerusalem in conjunction with those unclean Egyptians committed such impious atrocities in the land, that the former doings of the Hyksos were accounted light in comparison. For, not content with setting fire to cities and villages, and despoiling temples and destroying the images of the gods, they fed continually on the roasted flesh of the holy animals, and compelled priests and prophets to be their sacrificers and butchers, and cast them out naked." "Moreover it is said, that he who founded their polity and laws was a priest of Heliopolis, by name Osarsiph, so named after Osiris the god in Heliopolis, which name he changed to Moses after

that he went over to this race of people. After these things, Amenophis returned from Ethiopia with a great army, and also his son Rampses, he too with an army; and they two, encountering the shepherds and the unclean conquered them, and, having slain many, pursued them even to the borders of Syria."

§ 521. This story was evidently framed by a person who had the Scripture narrative before him. In the Law of Moses he found many minute and anxious precepts relative to leprosy; hence the fiction that the Israelites were a race of lepers:—of the name *Oasarsiph* the latter part is derived from the name Joseph, who is confounded with Moses; and he is made a priest of Heliopolis, because it is related that Joseph received in marriage the daughter of "Potiphra priest of On," or Heliopolis. What is said of Amenophis raising an army and going to meet the hosts of the lepers and their shepherd allies, then suddenly retreating and taking refuge in Ethiopia, is of course easily interpreted: it is a thin disguise of the facts related in the Scriptures. This novel figment, however, is cunningly connected with the more ancient story. It was too well established a tradition to be entirely set aside, that the *shepherds* were the authors of Egypt's woes, and the founders of the Jewish nation: accordingly, they are here fetched from Judæa and Jerusalem to aid the lepers: a second invasion and a second expulsion are contrived for this purpose. And as the first expulsion was placed 511 (518) years after the first invasion, so the second was placed 518 years after the former. This had previously been put back to the beginning of the 18th dynasty, by inventing an earlier Misphragmuthosis and identifying Tethmosis the king who expelled the shepherds with Amosis first king of the dynasty. That is to say, the order is made to be as follows:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Misphragmuthosis I.</i> : conquers the shepherds. | 5. Amesses |
| 2. <i>Tethmosis I.</i> : expels them. | 6. Mephres |
| 3. Chebron | 7. <i>Misphragmuthosis II.</i> |
| 4. Amenophis | 8. <i>Tethmosis II.</i> |

Whereas the true order is,

1. Amosis: head of the dynasty which overthrew the dynasty under which Joseph and the Israelites prospered:
2. Chebron
- &c.

In other words, the *expulsion* of the so-called shepherds is identified with the overthrow of their power. In the old story, the power was wrested from them by Amosis, or Thmosis, the first king of the 18th dynasty, 1667 B.C., but they continued in the land many years, until they were finally expelled by Misphragmuthosis and Tethmosis, 1572 or 1565 B.C. From the first expulsion, however, thus antedated, to the second of which Manetho speaks, he makes 518 years. "Tethmosis was king when they went out, and from

him to the two brothers Sethos and Hermæus are 393 years. Sethos reigned 59'; and after him Rampses 66' [In all 518 years.] Then comes Amenophis—the king by whom the lepers were expelled. (See the *Tables* at the end of the section.) The number 518 was not assigned at random: it belonged to the old story, i. e. to the story as it related to the expulsion of the Jews: which event, or rather, the recovery of Egypt from the desolating judgments which attended it, was placed at the end of a period of 518 years. And this is the true meaning of the number assigned to the 16th dynasty in the list of Africanus, viz. “518 years.” Its original intention is, that from the accession of the shepherd dynasty which Manetho (Afr.) makes the 16th, to the expulsion of the shepherds, which he places at the epoch of the 18th, are 518 years. At a subsequent period, this was made into a dynasty by itself: (for a purpose which I shall presently be able to explain). But the term itself, originally reaching from 2063 a. c. (the 701st year of a cycle) to 1565 (21 years after the Exode) was got by doubling a genuine historical term ending at that same year. It is the double of the 259 years extending from the commencement of the “shepherd tyranny” to the year in question. For Manetho (in Josephus) shews that a period of 259' 10" of shepherd kings extended from the first, named *Salatis*, to Mispframuthosis and Tethmosis, which two kings, we have seen, are the 6th and 7th of the dynasty. Originally, therefore, the latter part (about 102 years) of the 259 allotted to the shepherds lay parallel with the first part of the 18th dynasty: thus,

Shepherd Kings.

| | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Salatis 19' | 157 years of 'shepherd-kings.' | |
| 2. Beon 44' | | |
| 3. Apachnas 36' 7" ^m ... 99' 7" ^m | 18th Dynasty. | |
| 4. Apophis 61 ...160 7 | Amosis 25' 10" ^m | 102 years of divided rule: the shepherds |
| 5. Janias 50 1 | Chebron 13 | not subdued till the |
| | Amenophis 20 7 | 10th year of Me- |
| 6. Assis 49 2 | Amesses 21 9 | phramuthosis, who |
| | Mephres 13 9 | expels them, 1565 |
| | Mephramuthosis 25 10 | B.C. |

It may be that there was actually a dynasty of kings who as favouring the shepherds, i. e. the Israelites, are called ‘shepherds’: that after nearly 160 years of rule their supremacy was wrested from them by the line of Diospolitan kings, 1667 B. C.; that on the overthrow of Pharaoh in 1586 B. C. these “shepherd kings” under Assis or Asseth recovered their power during a period of 13 years, as related in the story of “the lepers,” i. e. till the accession of the king called Mephramuthosis, and that after long war he succeeded in expelling them. As matter of conjecture, this is not unlikely; at all events, so runs the story when reduced to its original bearings. As for the period of 259 years, I believe it to be historical. If it end at 1565 B. C. (the year given by the statement that the residence of the shepherds in Egypt lasted 518 years—the double of 259, the true period—beginning at the 701st of the

Sothiac cycle) it began $1565 + 259 = 1824$ B. C. Turn now to our Table of dates in § 295: it will be seen that *the year 1825 is that in which Joseph entered Egypt*: Joseph, whom we have already seen reason to identify with *Salatis*, § 517. This coincidence is not a little surprising. And here I may remark, that the epoch of *Salatis* in that text of the Dynasties which Eusebius has followed is almost exactly the same:—his epoch of the 18th dynasty is 1715 B. C.: to the shepherds he assigns 103 years, making the epoch of *Salatis* 1818 B. C. It is remarkable, too, that Africanus places the epoch of the 18th dynasty itself at the year 1822, for his date of Chebron is 1797, and to Amosis he doubtless gave 25 years, and $1797 + 25 = 1822$.

§ 522. We may now advert to the other stories put forth by the Egyptians concerning this part of their history.

As related by *Chæremon* the story runs thus: "Isis appeared to *Amenophis* in a dream, rebuking him for that her temple lay waste during the war. Phritipantes the scribe advised him to make atonement by expelling all that were polluted. They went forth under the commandment of the scribes *Moses*, whom the Egyptians call *Tisithen*, and *Peteseeph*, which is *Joseph*. At *Pelusium* they fell in with 380,000 men whom *Amenophis* had left there because he did not wish to bring them into Egypt. With these they united their forces, and returned. *Amenophis* retreated into *Ethiopia*. His wife, who was pregnant, brought forth in a certain cave a son who was named *Messenes*: who, *when he became a man*, drove the Jews into Syria and recalled his father *Amenophis* from *Ethiopia*." Such is *Chæremon*'s story, to which *Josephus* adds, that this *Messenes* was also called *Ramesses* (c. Apion. i. § 32).

§ 523. In this story the Israelites again seem to be connected with the *Hyksos*, though these are not so named. Between "the flight of *Amenophis*" and the expulsion of the Jews, this story interposes a period of certainly more than 13 years: the child who was born at the time of the calamity has grown up to manhood: *he must be supposed some 20 years old*. Compare this with the construction derived from *Manetho*. It was in the year 1586 that the Exode took place, i. e. in the Egyptian story, that *Amenophis* fled before the lepers into *Ethiopia*. It was in the year 1565 B. C. that Egypt began to recover from this catastrophe, i. e. in the Egyptian story, that *Amenophis* returns from *Ethiopia* and drives out the lepers. *The interval is 21 years*. *Manetho* contrives to retain so much of the story as relates to the manly age of the son, consistently with the alleged period of only *thirteen* years. The son, "*Sethos*, also called *Ramesses*" (the name, as *Josephus* remarks, is the same with the *Messenes* of *Chæremon*), is 5 years old at his father's flight, therefore 18 at his return.

§ 524. A third version appears in an extract from *Lysimachus*: "In the reign of *Bocchoris*, the Jews, afflicted with leprosy and other loathsome diseases, went to the temples clamouring for food. The disease spread, and a dearth was the consequence. *Bocchoris* was commanded by *Ammon* to purge the land, &c. The unholy and profane were to be driven out into the desert; the lepers, wrapped in sheets of lead, *to be cast into the sea*. This was

done : the rest, when night came on, *lighted fires and torches*, fasted all night, and besought the gods to save them. The next day, one Moses counselled them to march on until they came to an inhabited country, and from thenceforth to be malevolent to all mankind ; to destroy all images, &c. So they came to Syria and built Jerusalem." Ib. § 34. This is from first to last a mere caricature of the Scripture history. The story begins with the time of *dearth* (viz. under Joseph), makes no mention of the shepherd-tyranny, hints at the drowning of the male children, the pillar of cloud and fire ; and suppresses all that relates to the calamities of Egypt. In short, it is merely the fiction of the Ptolemean age in its most contemptuous form, designed for ignorant and credulous Greeks.

§ 525. *Diodorus* tells the story in two different forms. In xxxiv. 1. (t. ii. 524. Wess.) the adherents of Antiochus Sidetes relate concerning the Jews that they were from the first a despicable people, expelled from Egypt as hateful to the gods on account of foul cutaneous diseases. In the other passage, xl. 1. t. ii. 542, he relates, that in ancient times a pestilence which raged in Egypt was ascribed to the wrath of the gods on account of the multitude of aliens, who with their strange worshipers were offensive to the gods of the land. The aliens therefore were expelled. The most distinguished among them betook themselves to Greece and other adjoining regions, among whom were Danaus and Cadmus¹. The main body, however, retired into the country afterwards called Judæa, which at that time was a desert. This colony was led by Moses, &c. The first of these is the modern fgment, the other is based upon the more ancient story.

§ 526. Neither did it escape the penetration of *Tacitus*, that the story was related in diverse conflicting forms. "Some relate that in the reign of Isis the redundant population of Egypt disburthened itself, under the conduct of Hierosolymus and Juda, upon the adjacent regions. Many, that the Jews were a people of Ethiopian extraction, whom in the reign of Cephæus fear and hate compelled to seek a new abode. Some there are who deliver, that an Assyrian horde, having no land of their own, made themselves masters of part of Egypt, and anon acquired cities of their own, and Hebrew lands in the tract nearer to Syria.....Very many authors agree, that in consequence of the spread of a loathsome disease in Egypt, *Bocchoris*, consulting the oracle of Ammon, was commanded to purge the land and to remove the diseased, as a kind of people hateful to the gods, into other lands. They were therefore gathered together and left in the desert ; where, when the rest lay helpless in their tears, Moses, one of the exiles, told them they must cease to expect any aid of god or man, and must but trust to him as a guide from heaven.....Six days they journeyed, and on the seventh they came to an inhabited land the people of which they drove out, and there built them a city and temple." *Tacit. Hist. v. init.*

¹ It is curious that the date of the Parian Chronicle for the arrival of Cephæus (the Egyptian of Saïs) in Attica is

B. C. 1582,—so near the true date of the Exodus of Israel. Was the date derived from Egyptian information ?

Of these relations the two first give the substance of the story of the shepherds; and both refer it to very ancient times—the reign of Isis and that of Cepheus (son of Belus and father of Andromeda). The mention of *Isis* is peculiarly interesting, as will be pointed out in the sequel. The last which is mentioned as the most prevalent account, is just that invented by the later Egyptians as related by Lysimachus.

§ 527. Thus far our investigation furnishes the following fixed points: The Israelites, represented in the story as a race of nomad invaders who became lords of Egypt, were conceived to have come into Egypt 259 years before a certain known year, viz. the 1219th of a cycle = 1565 B. C., therefore in the 960th of the cycle. From their entrance into the land, they held undisputed supremacy until another known year, 345 years before the lapse of the cycle, i.e. 1116th of the cycle = 1667 B. C., that is, during 157 years (from 1824 to 1667 B. C.). Then arose a Theban dynasty which broke the power of these 'tyrants': that is, in truth, the dynasty under which Joseph came in, and which prospered through him (for it gained possession of all the land of Egypt except that of the priests), was overthrown. At the end of 80 or 81 years, a terrible catastrophe befell the land in consequence of the cruelty which was exercised upon these shepherds, who, in the later invention, are described as a race of lepers: the king and his army go out against them and perish—this is represented as a flight into Ethiopia: nor did Egypt recover from this blow until the child then born grew to the age of man, in other words, Egypt lay desolate some 20 years—this is represented as a time of dreadful oppression exercised by those shepherds and lepers. Then arose a new king, and Egypt revived—this is exhibited as the return of the king from Ethiopia with his son, who together drive out the tyrants. And the two deliverances are identified by the circumstance that both are placed at the end of a period of 518 years, i.e. in truth, of a period of 259 years, of which 518 is the double. This period of 259 years is distributed into two portions, of 157 years and 102 years: and the latter into 80 years and 22 years.

§ 528. With these fixed marks before us, we detect the meaning of the term of years assigned by Manetho (Afr.) to the 17th dynasty. That dynasty was in truth, as the Old Chronicle declares, the dynasty of the "shepherds," which Manetho (Afr.) threw back to the 15th. It lasted 157 years—and this number Manetho retains with only a slight alteration, making it 151 years, which reduction is occasioned, probably, by his reduction of the term of 22 years of calamity to 13; for a difference of only two or three years in a matter of this kind is not worth considering. Thus the known term of 259 years is artfully, or ignorantly, expanded, into a period of twice that length;

| | |
|--------------------|----------------|
| viz. xv. | 259 years |
| xvii | 151, for 157 } |
| part of xviii..... | 102 } |
| | 259 |

the two latter terms being in fact identical with the first: i.e. the term of 259 years is just doubled, into 518 years, which, after the reduction of the 157 years to 151, became 511 nearly. Nor is this all: but with the like ignorance or fraud, the period of 518 years thus generated is itself doubled, being assigned as the length of the 16th dynasty. Thus the term of 259 years was expanded into one of four times that length, or 1036 years!

§ 529. If now we turn to the "*Old Chronicle*," we there find the shepherds assigned to the 17th dynasty with a term of 103 years. What is this but the latter portion of the term of 259 years, the 102 years which truly began after the accession of the 18th dynasty, but are here, on whatever inducement, transferred to the place of the 157 years? The inducement I conceive to be this: the calamities of Egypt really began with the oppression of the Israelites, i.e. with the accession of the 18th dynasty, they lasted therefore 102 (or 103) years, viz. the 80 or 81 years of oppression together with the 22 years of desolation after the Exode. Now when the oppressed came to be considered in the light of the oppressors, the specified term of oppression was naturally transferred to the space allotted to the shepherd-tyrants. Nor is this a mere conjectural explanation: it tallies with the brief account given to Herodotus.

§ 530. "Until Rhampsinitus Egypt prospered greatly. After him arose Cheops, an evil king who shut up the temples, prohibited sacrifice, and compelled all the Egyptians to labour for him, some in the quarries, &c. So he built the great pyramid, and after a reign of 50 years, was succeeded by his brother Chephren, also an evil king, who reigned 56 years. He built the second pyramid. Thus by the space of 106 years (the 103 years of the xviith dynasty of O. C.) there was extreme wretchedness in Egypt, and all this time the temples were shut. So greatly do the Egyptians abhor these kings, that they abominate their very names, and in speaking of the pyramids they use to call them the works of a shepherd *Philition* who at this time pastured his flocks in these parts." ii. 124. 5. Diodorus also mentions this same period of 106 years, assigning it to Chembes or Chemmis a Memphite who reigned 50 years, and Chephren his brother who reigned 56 years.

Here we have almost precisely the period of 102 years; and who should this Chephren be but the *Chebron* of Manetho, the second king of the 18th dynasty? These two kings are the tyrant builders of the pyramids, which were reared by the labour of an oppressed people, "shepherds of Palestine," for that is undoubtedly the meaning of Herodotus's ποιμήν φιλιτίων. It is very remarkable that the story told to Herodotus at a time when, the Jewish accounts being yet unknown in Egypt, there was no such inducement to fraud, should so nearly tally with the original characters of the history. Not the dynasty which favoured the Israelites, but the first kings of the dynasty which followed, were the authors of Egypt's calamities, and as such, worthy objects of abhorrence.

§ 531. That the Israelites were the persons employed in building the pyramids, the Jews themselves at a later period believed, and it is a supposition to which one is naturally led by the very terms in which their bondage is described in Scripture. During the term of 80 years which followed the accession of the new dynasty, "they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities Pithom and Raamses." Ex. i. 11. "Pharaoh's taskmasters made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field." *ib.* 14. Some great monuments, surely, must have been raised by the labour of so vast a multitude during so many years. As Perizonius remarks, *Quid vero tanto temporis intervallo tot millia hominum perfecerint, non reperimus nisi munitionem duarum vel trium urbium quæ ab iis intra paucissimos annos facillime perfici potuit. Debuerunt etiam aliud quid maximæ nobis, laboris, temporis præstitisse quodque conveniens esset aliquot centenis millibus hominum longissimo et continuo tempore ad opus adactis*, Origg. Rab. et *Æg.* ii. 441. Now according to the Egyptian accounts the "lepers" were employed in quarrying stone, § 520: according to Herodotus, the "shepherd Philition" built the pyramids. From the Scripture chronology we have learned that these 80 years of servitude extend from B.C. 1666 to 1586: and in Manetho's list this period begins with the 18th dynasty. The name of one of the pyramid-builders given to Herodotus is also the name of the second king of Manetho's list during this period. Such is the combination from which we infer that the time of the pyramid-builders occupies the first 80 years of the 18th dynasty, to which time accordingly we refer that triplet of kings whose names were mentioned to Herodotus, Cheops, Chephren and Mycerinus. And it will appear in the sequel that our inference is confirmed by other evidence.

§ 532. To return to the Old Chronicle. It assigns to the 18th dynasty a term of 348 years, which I take to be the period intended by Clement where he says that the Exode (or epoch of the dynasty) lies 345 years before the lapse of the Sothic cycle. Now the contents of the Old Chronicle are as follows:

| | |
|---|------|
| 15 reigns, "the period called Cynical"..... | 443' |
| 16th dynasty | 190 |
| 17th | 103 |
| 18th | 348 |

Sum 1084 years.

That is to say, *five times 216 years* (and 4 over). Here is our first indication of the use of what I call "the larger sarus" (12×18 or $6 \times 6 \times 6$) as a measure of an artificial system employed by the *Egyptians* in common with the Chaldeans and other ancient nations. In fact, this measure gives itself to view in the Egyptian systems, in a manner that is not to be mistaken. For let it be observed, in the first place, that this period of 1080 years, or 5×216 , is preceded in the Old Chronicle by this item, "Eight Demigods, 217 years," i.e. one sarus of 216 years *plus* one year.

It may be indeed that 217 is the unit; then 1084 years = almost exactly 5×217 . But I think it certain that 216 is the fundamental number, for this is clearly the basis of the *entire* period contained in the Chronicle. For observe the sum of its numbers :

| | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 15 reigns | 443' |
| 16th dynasty..... | 190 |
| 17th | 103 |
| 18th | 348 |
| 19th | 194 |
| 20th | 228 |
| 21st | 121 |
| 22d | 48 |
| 23d | 19 |
| 24th | 44 |
| 25th | 44 |
| 26th to B. C. 525. 177 | 875' = $4 \times 216 + 11$ |
| Cambyses 525 B.C. to | } |
| Alexander 324 B.C. | |
| | 201 = $1 \times 216 - 15$ |
| <hr/> | |
| The sum exactly | 2160 = 10×216 . |

§ 533. Hence there cannot, I think, be a doubt that *the authors of the Chronicle adjusted the entire scheme of their chronography from Menes to Alexander to an artificial period of 2160 = 10×216 years*. And this period is so divided as to fall into two equal moieties at a year preceding by four years the epoch of the 19th dynasty, beginning with *Sesostris*. I infer also from the statement above quoted from S. Clement, that the point of bisection was conceived by these chronographers to coincide with the beginning of a Sothiac cycle. Not truly indeed, for it is well known that the Sothiac cycle began 1322 B.C.; whereas in this reckoning it is thrown back to $324 + 1080 = 1404$ B.C. But we are under no necessity of assuming that the framers of this chronography bound themselves to an accurate treatment of the epoch of the cycle. They are right in placing the epoch of the 18th dynasty 345 years before the lapse of the cycle, for the coincidence of that epoch with 1667 B.C. has been placed beyond question by our former arguments. But their systematic purpose betrayed them into an error, in placing a period of 5×216 years between the lapse of the cycle and the epoch of Alexander. Meanwhile, however, the reader will bear in mind the date (about 1400 B.C.) hereby assigned to *Sesostris*. Let me also observe, in confirmation of what has been shown concerning the period of 2160 years, that this same period meets our view in another statement (preserved by Syncellus), which we have already on other grounds rejected as the result of artifice. The shepherds, it is said, came into Egypt in the 701st year of a Sothiac cycle. Now *a Sothiac cycle plus 700 years makes just this period of 2160 years*. And now let us examine the former moiety of the period of 2160 years, extending in the Old Chronicle from

Menes to the epoch of Sesostriis. That it is not historical, its artificial character sufficiently declares. Now of the items which compose it, namely, $443 + 190 + 103 + 345$, the last is historical in the sense which has been explained, viz. that it is the interval between the epoch of the 18th dynasty and the (true) epoch of the Sothiac cycle. The period of 103 years has already been explained: it has changed places with the 157 years, the other portion of the 260 years of the "Shepherds." The term of 443 years is—I do not say historical, but—more ancient than the formation of the scheme under consideration: for it appears also in the list of Eratosthenes, being there also the sum of the first 15 reigns. There remains only the period of 190 years, and of this the origin and intent is now explained. The chronographer purposed to get a period of 1080 years; he had before him these items, $443 + 102 + 345 = 890$ years, to these therefore he added 190 years, assigning them to the so-called 16th dynasty. This then we reject: and then restoring the two portions $157 + 103$ to their proper places we obtain, as the more ancient elements of the scheme, the items $443 + 157 + 345 = 945$ years ending at the lapse of the Sothiac cycle 1322 B.C., therefore beginning 2267 B.C.; which is therefore, in the more ancient account, the epoch of Menes.

§ 534. Let us at once test this result by the chronographical list of Eratosthenes. Suppose, since that list has in common with the Old Chronicle the period of 15 reigns = 443 years, that its epoch of Menes is 2267 B.C. Then (see the Tables) the reign of *Sistosichermes*, or "Hercules the strong," i.e. evidently *Sesostriis*, begins almost at the very year to which the Old Chronicle assigns it: it begins, namely, at 1402 B.C., 865 years after the epoch of Menes. But here too is artifice: for hence it appears that the scheme of Eratosthenes gives (almost exactly) $4 \times 216 = 864$ years to the interval between Menes and Sesostriis, and implies 5×216 more from Sesostriis to Alexander: viz.

$$\begin{array}{rcl} 2267 - 1402 \text{ B.C.} & = & \text{nearly } 864 = 4 \times 216 \\ 1404 - 324 \text{ B.C.} & = & 1080 = 5 \times 216 \end{array} \quad \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{rcl} 2267 - 1402 \text{ B.C.} & = & \text{nearly } 864 = 4 \times 216 \\ 1404 - 324 \text{ B.C.} & = & 1080 = 5 \times 216 \end{array}} \right\} 9 \times 216.$$

The scheme of the Old Chronicle gives 10×216 to the entire period, viz.

5×216 from Menes to Sesostriis, . . . 2484—1404 B.C.

5×216 from Sesostriis to Alexander, 1404—324 B.C.

i.e. the Old Chronicle, as compared with Eratosthenes, antedates the epoch of Menes by a period of just 216 years.

§ 535. Hence it is clear that what I have called "the more ancient" epoch of Menes, 2267 B.C., is still the result of artifice, and therefore not historical. It resulted from the purpose of adjusting the entire chronography, down to the epoch of Alexander, to a scheme of 10×216 years beginning with the demigods, and of 9×216 years beginning with Menes.

Now since 1667 B.C. is certainly the epoch of the 18th dynasty, and $1667 + 157 = 1824$ B.C. the epoch of Salatis, it follows that the artificial part is the period (from 2267 B.C. to 1824) of 443 years, which the Old Chronicle and Eratosthenes assign to the first 15 reigns beginning with

Menes. So that, in truth, the epoch of Menes remains unknown, and the whole tract of chronography prior to Salatis = Joseph, is *terra incognita*. Thus much, however, has now been rendered clear—that the most ancient scheme did not pretend to place Menes further back than 9×216 years before Alexander, i. e. than 2267 B.C., and was therefore not greatly in error, for this year is 180 years after the year of the Flood, and only about 40 years before our assumed date of the Dispersion of Nations.

And now, perhaps, we have the explanation of the antehistorical term prefixed by the Old Chronicle to this, the most ancient, scheme. “Nine demigods reigned 217 years.” Why “nine”? With reference, I suppose, to the scheme of 9 times 216 years following. It is true the Old Chronicle, as cited by Syncell. 51. Euseb. *Chr.* 6., mentions but eight demigods, without names, *ἐπειτα ἡμίθεοι βασιλεῖς ὀκτὼ ἔτη σιζ*. But Manetho, who gives this item in detail with the names and length of reign, makes *nine* demigods with 214 years. Perhaps, as Rask has remarked¹, the number *eight* in the Old Chronicle results from a confusion of the demigods with the eight primitive gods, Diodor. i. 13. Herodot. ii. 43.

§ 536. We will complete what we have to say concerning the Old Chronicle, by noticing the contents of its antemundane periods.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| Helios son of Hephæstus reigned | 30,000 years |
| Cronos and 12 Gods | 3,984 |
| Nine Demigods..... | 216 |
| Men from Menes to Alexander..... | 2,160 |
| | <hr/> 36,360 |

A number evidently formed upon the numbers 6 and 60, the bases of the *soesus* and *sarus*, themselves derived from the ancient measure of the solar year, $360 = 6 \times 60$. Thus the entire scheme is proved to be constructed upon the same artificial plan. Herein we detect the genesis of the number 3984. It was not set down capriciously, but the pre-conceived scheme being a period of 36,360 years, and the elements already generated being $216 + 2160 = 2376$, the number 3984 was requisite to the production of the digits 6360, and the remaining digit was furnished by the term of 30,000 years prefixed to the whole.

It is reported indeed, that the Chronicle contained a period of 36,525 years (i. e. 25×1461 , or twenty five Sothiac cycles, i. e. the Sothiac multiplied into the cycle of Apis), Syncell. 51. Eus. *Chron.* 6. But this is certainly not the amount of the numbers actually given, and the meaning of the statement is probably no more than this—that at the expiration of a term of 165 years from the epoch of Alexander, at which the Chronicle ends, a period of 36,525 years will be complete.

§ 537. Let us turn now to the list of Manetho (Afr.), contained in his Second Book. In this Book there are but two dynasties before the 18th in which the names are given; viz. the 12th, of 160 years, and the 15th, or dynasty of shepherd kings, which in the text of Africanus

¹ *Die alte ägyptische Zeitrechnung*, p. 12.

is numbered at 284 years. *The sum is 444 years, ending, be it observed, at the close of the first 15 dynasties, just as in the lists of the Old Chronicle and Eratosthenes, 443 years is the sum of the first fifteen reigns. The inference is obvious. The chronographer has expanded 15 reigns into 15 dynasties.* Now look at his 13th dynasty with its term of 453 years: is not this a mere duplicate of the 443 years just mentioned, just as the 518 years of the 16th dynasty are the duplicate of the assumed 518 years of the shepherds' continuance in Egypt? And besides, observe the 14th, with its sum of 184 years: these with the 259 years of the shepherds (in the text of Josephus) again amount to 443 years. Here then we clearly detect the processes by which the numbers were generated out of the ancient enumeration. Viz.

| | | | |
|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| 12th dynasty | 160 | 14th dynasty | 184 |
| 15th | 284 (Afr.) | 15th | 259 (Jos.) |
| | <u>444</u> | 13th dynasty | <u>443</u> |
| | 444 | | |

That is, Manetho gives the genuine period of 443 years in three different complex forms: his 14th is generated by deducting 259 years, the genuine number of the years of the shepherds, from 443: his 12th, by deducting 284, the enlarged number,* from 443: his 13th is the same number 443, disguised, for some purpose or other, as 453. Hence out of 443 + 259 years, reaching to the 103d year of the 18th dynasty, he has fabricated the following list,

| | |
|--------------|------------|
| 12th dynasty | 160 |
| 13th | 453 |
| 14th | 184 |
| 15th | <u>284</u> |
| | 1081 |

Sum 1081 or 5×216 years,

just the length of time which the Old Chronicle assigned to the period beginning at Menes and ending at the close of the Sothiac cycle.

§ 538. In the next place: whereas the Old Chronicle, when brought into its artificial form as above described, gave a period of 953 years beginning at the 9 demigods and ending at the close of the 17th dynasty,

| | | |
|------|-----------------|------------|
| viz. | 9 Demigods... | 217' |
| | 15 reigns | 443 |
| | 16th dynasty... | 190 |
| | 17th | <u>103</u> |
| | | 953 |

Sum 953 years,

Manetho interjoins this with the previous period of 1080 years, by making it begin at the epoch of his 15th dynasty, viz.

| | |
|--------------|------------|
| 15th dynasty | 284' |
| 16th | 518 |
| 17th | <u>151</u> |
| | 953 |

Sum 953 years.

In other words, he places the epoch of Salatis where the *Old Chronicle* placed the epoch of the 9 demigods, i.e. 953 years before the epoch of the 18th dynasty: and, further, he superimposes these two periods of 1060 and 953 years upon each other in such wise, that the period of the 15th dynasty is common to both.

§ 539. Of the specific items of which this period of 953 years is composed, the first, of 284 years, has been accounted for: so has the second of 518 years, being the double of the genuine term of 259 years assigned to the shepherds: the third, of 151 years, is doubtless the genuine term of 157 years (from Salatis to Amosis), only diminished by 6 in order to furnish the preconceived number 953.

And here again, observe the result in respect of the artificial measure, 216. These 953 years added to 1667 B.C. give 2620 B.C. as the epoch of Salatis, which year precedes the lapse of the Sothiac cycle by 1298 years, i.e. six times the period of 216 years (1296). So that the artifice before described may be further expressed in this way: viz. the scheme of Manetho is fabricated by superimposing a period of 6×216 upon the *Chronicle's* period of 5×216 in such sort that both periods include the 15th dynasty:—in other words, the two lines *overslide* each other to an extent of 284 years, which is the length of the 15th dynasty.

§ 540. It is remarkable that Manetho (Africanus) gives the 18th dynasty but 263 years. The deviation from the *Chronicle* is not accidental. For by actual reckoning of the sum-numbers upward from Cambyzes we have found the epoch of the 18th dynasty in Manetho to be 1667 B.C. And 1667 minus 263 gives 1404 B.C. for the epoch of Sethos = Sesostris, the first king of the 19th dynasty: the very same date which the O. C. gives, and also Eratosthenes. *Manetho therefore, like the O. C., has the artificial period of 5×216 years between Sesostris and Alexander.* This point then is common to both schemes. In the upper part they differ only in their different lengths of the 18th dynasty. That is, the epoch of the nine demigods in the *Chronicle* precedes this epoch of Sesostris (there conceived as the close of a Sothiac cycle) by 6×216 years nearly. In Manetho, the epoch of Salatis (identified with that of the demigods in that they both lie 953 years before the 18th dynasty) precedes the *true* epoch of the Sothiac cycle (1322 B.C.) by the same period of 6×216 . Or, the two schemes are related as in the following view:

| <i>Old Chronicle.</i> | <i>Manetho.</i> |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 2700 B.C. Demigods. | 2620 B.C. Salatis |
| 6×216 years. | |
| 1404 B.C. Sesostris. | 1404. Sesostris. |
| (<i>Supposed epoch of Sothiac Cycle, 1404.</i>) | |
| 5×216 . | 5×216 |
| 324 B.C. Alexander. | 324. Alexander. |
| | 1322. True epoch of Sothiac Cycle. |

Such is the relation between Africanus's text of Manetho and the Old Chronicle. But the other text of the 18th dynasty preserved by Josephus gives it 333 years. This I take to be an error for 343 years: and if it be so, then in this text of the dynasties the interval from Salatis to Sesostris is just that from the demigods in the chronicle: but whether this text made 5×216 from Sesostris to Alexander we cannot say, for the recital of Josephus stops at the second reign of the 19th dynasty.

§ 541. We have now, I think, explained the artifices by which the whole of Manetho's Second Book, with its several terms down to the 19th dynasty, was generated. But although this Book begins some 800 years before the epoch of the demigods, we have still not reached the epoch of Menes. Indeed the Second Book begins with the 12th dynasty; and Manetho, as we have seen, has expanded 15 reigns into as many dynasties, of which the First Book contains eleven. We will presently examine the structure of this Book; but first it will be convenient to advert once more to the contents of the Canon of Eratosthenes.

If then, as before mentioned, we assume as the epoch of Menes in this Canon the year which we elicited from the Old Chronicle, 2267 B.C., the dates of the several reigns will be as in the annexed Table. (See the end of this section.)

Here we find Saophis II. or Sensaophis at 1823 B.C.; Nitocris, "a queen who reigned instead of her husband" at 1596—1590 B.C. *i.e.* just at the time of the queen Amesses of Manetho, whose reign terminates at the year of the Exode, 1586 B.C.; and Thyosi-mares the Strong, at 1568 B.C. *i.e.* at the place of Manetho's Mephre-thmosis (which seems to be the same name transposed). Now this king and his son expelled the Shepherds—in other words, under them Egypt revived after a time of desolation which lasted 22 years; and this is precisely the length of reign assigned to the intermediate king between Nitocris and Thyosi-mares. Observe also the epithet, "Restorer of his country's strength" applied to Thinillus. Again, as we before remarked, as the Sesostris of Manetho (Afr.) ascends the throne in $1667-263=1404$ B.C., and he of the Chronicle in $324+1080=1404$ B.C., so in Eratosthenes we find "*Sistosichermes*, or Hercules the Strong," at the year 1402 B.C., and with a reign of 55 years, as in Manetho of 51 (Afr.), or 55 (Eus.) The three next in Eratosthenes (of whom Maris is manifestly the Mæris or Hermæus whom Manetho makes brother of the successor of Sesostris), have 62 years: in Manetho, one king Ramesses, has 61 (Afr.), 66 (Eus.)

These coincidences attest the general identity of the list of Eratosthenes with the corrected list of the Old Chron. and Manetho, viz. $600+263=863$ years from Menes to Sesostris, as here in Eratosthenes 865 years, that is to say, both lists proceed upon the scheme of getting 4×216 years between Menes and Sesostris.

§ 542. It is remarkable that Nitocris in this list of Eratosthenes occupies precisely the same place as the queen Amesses in the corrected list of Manetho, *i.e.* that both occupy just the time of the Exode of

Israel. For does it not follow from this with great probability that the story about this queen in Herodotus (ii. 100) is a disguise of the calamity of the Exode? "Her brother," it is said, "was king, and was slain by his subjects, who then gave her the kingdom. And she avenged her brother's death by subtlety: for she made an exceedingly large apartment, under ground. Into this she invited the leaders of the conspirators, and while they were feasting, she let in the waters of the river upon them through a great channel; then cast herself into a chamber filled with glowing embers, and so perished." Observe, too, that in Manetho this same queen, the last of his sixth dynasty, is named as the builder of the third Pyramid. But Herodotus and Diodorus assign this work to Mycerinus; and his time we have already, on strong grounds, identified (and shall yet further identify) with the time of the Exode.

§ 543. And here let us observe that the Cheops of Herodotus is clearly identical with the *Suphis* of Manetho (i. 4. 2), the builder of the largest Pyramid: and the same Suphis with the *Saophis* of Eratosthenes. For observe the order of the names in the three documents:

| <i>Herodotus.</i> | <i>Manetho.</i> | <i>Eratosthenes.</i> |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| Cheops | Suphis I. | Saophis I. |
| Chephren | Suphis II. | Saophis II. |
| Mycerinus | Mencheres | Moscheres. |

Now in Eratosthenes the second of these kings begins to reign just 443 years after Menes, *i.e.* 1824 B.C., being precisely the epoch of Salatis = Joseph: in other words, the epoch of the Pyramids is made identical with the genuine epoch of the Shepherds, that is to say, of Joseph. This is a highly interesting result. It coincides with what the Egyptians told Herodotus: that the Pyramids (of Cheops and Chephren) were built by the ποιμὴν Φιλιτῶν. The *truth* is, doubtless, that the Pyramids were raised by the labour of the Israelites in the time of their oppression: but in the national version of the story, the oppressed became the oppressors; the Israelites, under the name Hyksos, were represented as a race of godless shepherds who caused these vast monuments of their tyranny to be reared by the labour of the Egyptians. Hence in this chronology the times of the Pyramid-builders were thrown back to the very beginning of the period described as the Shepherd-dynasty. Nay, fanciful as it may seem, I have some suspicion that the very name *Suphis*, *Saophis*, preserved by Manetho and Eratosthenes, is, at bottom, the name *Joseph*, יִשְׁרָאֵל. For in the first place, the name Σιφώας, the 35th in Eratosthenes's list, is by him rendered Ἑρμῆς. Next, Manetho says of Suphis, ὃς τὴν μεγίστην ἠγείρε πυραμίδα, ἣν φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ὑπὸ Χέοπος γεγονέναι· οὗτος δὲ καὶ ὑπερόπτης εἰς θεοὺς ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν συνέγραψε βίβλον, ἣν ὡς μέγα χρῆμα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγόμενος ἐκτῆσάμην. [*Qui et superbus in Deos inventus est usquedum eum (hujusce rei) parituit, et libros sacrarii conscripsit, quos velut magnas opes habebant Aegyptii.* Euseb. *Chron. Armen.*] This "sacred book," whether the words be Manetho's

or Africanus's, means, I suppose, the Hermetic books from which Manetho pretended to copy. "He copied," says Euseb. Chr. 6. Syncell. 40. "from the inscriptions which were engraven in the sacred dialect and hieroglyphic character upon the columns set up in the Seriadie land, by Thoth the first *Hermes*; which after the Deluge were translated into the Greek tongue in hieroglyphic characters, and deposited in books by the second *Hermes* son of Agathodæmon and father of Tat (ὕπὸ τοῦ Ἀγαθοδαίμονος υἱοῦ τοῦ δευτέρου Ἑρμοῦ πατὴρ δὲ τοῦ Τάτ)...or, by Agathodæmon son of the second *Hermes*, &c., in the penetralia of the temples of Egypt." So says Manetho in his epistle to Ptolemy Philadelphus, καθὼς ἐκέλευσας παραφανήσεται σοι ἃ ἔμαθον ἱερὰ βιβλία γραφέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ προπάτορος Τρισμαγίστου Ἑρμοῦ. These then I take to be the ἱερὰ βιβλος of which Suphis the Pyramid-builder and ὑπεροπτής εἰς Θεοὺς (whatever that may mean) was held to be the author. Lastly, observe the way in which the characteristic features of the history of Joseph are transferred to the Egyptian *Hermes* in the account preserved by the *Chron. Pasch.* 44. f. and Cedrenus 18. of which the substance is as follows: "Hermes being envied by his seventy brethren, came into Egypt, was had in great reverence as a sage and a prophet, was clad in a robe of gold, and because he gave them wealth was called Πλουτοδοτής." With this compare the epithet applied in the list of Eratosthenes to Saophis I. Σαώφης κωμαστής, κατὰ δὲ ἐνίου Χρηματιστή. These are the grounds on which I am inclined to identify Suphis with Joseph. When the name and memory of Joseph became odious in Egypt, because of the dire calamities which ultimately flowed to Egypt from her connexion with his race, this patriarch, once held her great benefactor, was set forth in the character of an invading tyrant at the head of a horde of godless shepherds (*Salatis*), and withal as the builder of the Great Pyramid (Suphis or Cheops). Accordingly, as in the former regard we found *Salatis* placed by the old accounts at the very year which the Scripture gives as the time of Joseph's arrival in Egypt, so in this latter respect we find *Suphis* in the list of Eratosthenes placed at that selfsame year.

§ 544. Having now exposed the scheme on which the Old Chronicle was framed, having traced step by step the artifices by which Manetho's second Book (as reported by Africanus) was constructed out of the same materials, and lastly, having detected the salient points of connexion between these and the scheme of Eratosthenes, we may proceed to examine the contents of Manetho's First Book (*Afr.*)

The Old Chronicle, we have seen, begins with the following items :

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------|
| Helios and Twelve Gods..... | 33,984 |
| Nine Demigods..... | 217 |

The first of these is manifestly a mythological expression of the Solar Year, the Sun and Twelve Months or Signs of the Zodiac: And I suppose that the original conception was as follows:

| | | |
|--------------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| Sun and Twelve Gods..... | 1 year | } 217 ⁷ . |
| Nine Demigods..... | 216 years | |

Whence, when the first was expanded into the enormous period of 33,984 years, for the purpose which was before described, § 536, the original unit was added to the second term making it 217 years. The number 9 applied to the demi-gods had reference to the period of 9×216 next following (Menes to Alexander), § 535. Hence Manetho chose to interpret this item as meaning nine such periods of 216 or 217 years. To these he added the numeral of the solar (or lunar) year; thus,

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------|
| Sun and Twelve Gods..... | 365 | or | 365 |
| Nine Demi-gods | 9×216 ; 1944 | or 9×217 ; | 1953 |
| | <u>2309</u> | | <u>2308</u> |

Such I take to be the genesis of the period contained in Manetho's First Book, *which numbers 2308 years*: *ὁμοῦ βασιλεῖς ρ;β' ἔτη βτη' ἡμέραι ὁ*. Syncell. p. 59. The whole of this is still assigned to the human period, being made to begin with Menes'. *And now observe the result.* From Menes to Sesostris he gets the period of

| | |
|-------------|-----------------|
| 2308' | (first book) |
| 1080 | Dyn. xii.—xv. |
| 669 | Dyn. xvi.—xvii. |
| 263 | Dyn. xviii. |
| <u>4320</u> | |

or precisely twenty times 216 years. That is to say, whereas in the original scheme, as it appears in Eratosthenes and is elicited from the Old Chronicle, the interval from Menes to Sesostris was 4×216 , § 534, Manetho (Afr.) has just quintupled the period. It follows, that from Menes to Alexander this scheme makes a period of 25×216 ; i. e. a cycle of 216 years multiplied by a cycle of Apis or 25 years.

§ 545. Now since this scheme expands a period of 15 kings = 443 years into one of 15 dynasties = 3390 years, what is to be thought of the names of dynasties and kings with which it fills up this enormous tract of time? Some are, doubtless, purely fictitious; but others are manifestly derived from the historical lists. And indeed it seems to me that the period from Salatis to the Exode and expulsion of the Shepherds, or later, may be traced more than once in this list. Thus Sesostris the Great is placed early in the 12th dynasty, and the Pyramid-builders Suphis I. and II., and Mencheres, who belong in truth to the times of the 18th dynasty, but were thrown

¹ This period of 2308 years is implied in the account given by Dicaearchus (ap. Schol. in Apoll. Rhod. iv. 272,) as the interval between the mythical Sesostris (successor of Horus) and the true Sesostris (placed at 1404 B. C. i. e. 5×216

years before Alexander). For in this account Nilus is placed 436 years before Ol. i. i. e. in 1212 B. C., and Sesostris precedes Nilus 2500 years: which makes the epoch of Sesostris 3712 B. C. Now $3712 - 1404 = 2308$.

back, as above explained, to the epoch of Salatis, are here carried back to the 4th.

§ 546. Now in the first place it can hardly be accidental that the three dynasties of *Memphite* kings, iii, iv, and vi, making 23 kings with a period of 691 years, so nearly tally in number and duration with the first 22 *Theban* kings of Eratosthenes, reigning 676 years. Both lists end with a triplet of reigns which are manifestly identical :

| <i>Manetho vi.</i> | | <i>Eratosthenes.</i> | |
|--------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|
| Phiops | 100 | Apappus Megistus... | 100 |
| Mente-Suphis ... | 1 | Echescosocaras..... | 1 |
| Nitocris..... | 12 | Nitocris..... | 6 |

Now Nitocris, in Eratosthenes, reigns about the time of the Exode, § 542. *Apappus* and *Phiops* are manifestly the same name, and identical, as I think, with *Apophis* that 'shepherd-king' whom we have already referred to his true place at the head of the 18th dynasty, § 521. And, lastly, the 101 years of him and his successor remind one of the period of 102 years at the beginning of that dynasty. Here then we seem to have a fixed point : Manetho's 6th dynasty ends at or about the close of the period of 259 years which he assigns to the 'Shepherds'.—But in his 4th dynasty is another triplet which he has in common with Eratosthenes :

| <i>Manetho iv.</i> | | <i>Eratosthenes.</i> | |
|--------------------|----|----------------------|----|
| Suphis I. | 63 | Saophis I..... | 29 |
| Suphis II. | 66 | Saophis II..... | 27 |
| Mencheres..... | 63 | Moscheres..... | 31 |

which seem, as I before said, § 543, to have been thrown back from their proper place at the head of the 18th dynasty to the epoch of Salatis. Their time, then, is identical with that of Phiops, Mente-suphis, and Nitocris ; which inference is confirmed by this parallelism of names and numbers, *viz.*

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|
| <i>Suphis I.</i> | 63 | <i>Othoes</i> | 30 |
| <i>Suphis II.</i> | 66 | <i>Phios</i> | 53 |
| <i>Mencheres</i> | 63 | <i>Methu-suphis</i> | 7 |
| | <hr/> | <i>Phiops</i> | 100 |
| | 192 | <i>Mente-suphis</i> | 1 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | | 191 |

It seems also that the number 192 can be accounted for. The original period was 102 years : this appears under two forms,

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>Othoes</i> | 30 | | |
| <i>Phios</i> | 53 | | |
| <i>Methu-suphis</i> | 7 | <i>(Eratosth.)</i> | |
| <i>Nitocris</i> | 12 | <i>Phiops</i> | 100 = <i>Apappus</i>.....100 |
| | <hr/> | <i>Mente-suphis</i> .. | 1 = <i>Echescosocaras</i> 1 |
| | 102 | | <hr/> |
| | | | 101 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | | 101 |

The sixth dynasty is formed by adding these two together, and the sum 203, or say 2×102 , minus the 12 years of Nitocris, gave 192 years for the parallel triplet Suphis I. and II. and Mencheres (who, in Eratosthenes, have

but 87 years among them). The elements, then, out of which this part of the list was fabricated, seem to be the following:

| | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| Suphis I. = Cheops | Othoes | Phiops | } (Apophis) 1667 B.C. |
| Suphis II. = Chephren | Phios | = Apappus | |
| Mencheres = Mycerinus | Methu-suphis | Mente-suphis | } 1565. |
| Nitocris | Nitocris | = Echescosocaras | |

which period of 102 years was in this way expanded into 395 years. But the three Memphite dynasties were to number 691 years in all: of the remaining 296, which with the 395 complete this sum, the scheme assigns 214 to nine kings, 3rd dynasty, and throws the other 82 into the 4th dynasty. The names are probably fictitious. Between the 4th and 6th of these Memphite dynasties the scheme interposes one of nine Elephantine kings, amounting to 248 years. It is remarkable that the scheme described by Eusebius omits this. It was inserted here, I suppose, for the purpose of throwing the epoch of the Pyramid-builders still further back. On the names, I have nothing to remark.

§ 547. The first and second dynasties, of Thinite Kings, contain some interesting matter. Thus, of Venephes or Vavenephis, it is noted that his reign was rendered memorable by a great *famine*, and that he built the *pyramids* at *Cochome* or *Chovone* (a place otherwise unknown). Of *Semempses*, or *Mempses*, that a great pestilence or destruction came upon Egypt. Of *Boethus*, or *Bochus*, that a great chasm opened at Bubastus, wherein many perished. Of his successor, *Kaiechos*, or *Cechous*, that the Apis and Mnevis and Mendesian Ram were deified in his reign. Of Binothis, or Biophis, that in his time it was decreed that women might reign. The last two notices are especially interesting. We know that the apotheosis of Apis, &c. was by other accounts assigned to the reign of Asseth the last Shepherd, or of Mycerinus, and at the time of these kings we have already discovered the queen Nitocris and queen Amersis (in the 18th dynasty). Moreover, last but one in the second dynasty stands a king *Sesochris*, with this notice, ὅς ὕψος εἶχε πηχῶν ἑ, πλάτος γ'. By comparison of which with the notice appended to the name *Sesostris* in the 12th dynasty, *quem 4 cubitorum, palmarum 3, digitorum 2 (procerum) fuisse dicunt*, I am led to surmise that *Sesochris* is in truth no other than *Sesostris*. Observe also that the length of reign is the same, 48 years in both instances. Assume the identity, and observe what results from placing this *Sesochris* at 1403 B.C., his date in the Old Chronicle and Eratosthenes.

| | Years. | B. C. |
|-------------------------------|--------|-------|
| 8 Sesochris = Sesostris | 48 | 1403 |
| 7 Nepher-cheres | 25 | 1428 |
| 6 Chæres | 17 | 1445 |
| 5 Sethenes..... | 41 | 1486 |
| 4 Tlas..... | 17 | 1503 |
| 3 Binothis | 47 | 1550 |
| 2 Kæchos..... | 39 | 1589 |
| 1 Boethus..... | 38 | 1627 |

That is, the great chasm at Bubastus, and the apotheosis of Apis, are thus brought just to the time of the Exode.—Compare with this what results from placing Sesostris (12th dynasty) at the same year, and taking only the kings which are actually named (except the 11th dynasty).

| | | <i>Years.</i> | <i>B. C.</i> | |
|------|----|--------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| xii. | 3 | Sesostris.....48 | 1403 | |
| | 2 | Ammenemes...38 | 1441 | |
| | 1 | Sesonchosis ....46 | 1487 | |
| xi. | | Ammenemes...16 | 1503 | |
| | 16 | Diospolites ....43 | 1546 | |
| ix. | | Achthoes qu? | | δαινότατος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ. |
| vi. | | Nitocris 12 | 1558 | |
| | | Phiops .....101 | 1659 | |

Where the place of Nitocris almost exactly agrees with that of Binothris in the other list, and Phiops comes to the place of *Apophis* the shepherd, as he ought.

Hence I have little hesitation in saying, that the 2d dynasty, and the 6th to the 12th, are merely anticipations of the 18th and 19th down to Sesostris.

§ 548. In the first dynasty, it is remarkable that the interval between Venephes (the “famine” and “building of the pyramids”) and Semempses or Mempses (the *φθορὰ μεγίστη*) is 87 years, just the length of time which Eratosthenes gives to the Pyramid-builders, Saophis I. and II. and Moscheres, and to the end of the dynasty 103 years. Hence I suspect that these five last reigns are in fact derived from the first century of the 18th dynasty, 1667–1565 B.C. Is *Mempses* the Mephres or Memphres of the 18th dynasty, and *Usaphais* a slight disguise of Saophis or Suphis? Lastly: since from Joseph 1823 to the Exode 1586 is 237 years, is it mere accident that from Menes to this Mempses and the *φθορὰ μεγίστη* is just $150 + 87 = 237$?

§ 549. It seems then that the historical substance of this First Book is in truth the period of about 700 years, which the oldest accounts reckoned from Menes to the king under whom Egypt began to revive after the desolating calamities of the Exode. This term of years, which, in Eratosthenes, occupies 23 reigns, 698 years, is here fashioned into 24 reigns, 707 years, viz.

| | | | |
|-------------|-------|-----------|------------|
| 3 dynasties | iii. | 9 kings | 214' |
| of | iv. | 8 | 274 |
| Memphites | vi. | 6 | 203 |
| Ammanemes | (xi.) | 1 | 16 |
| | | 24 kings, | 707 years. |

But as it was purposed to assign a period of 2308 years in all, there remained a surplus of about 1600 years, which was provided for by fabricating three other dynasties, i, ii, v, with names, occupying about 800 years, and others without names for the other half; viz.

| | | | |
|------------|----------|----------------------------|-------------|
| i. 253' | } = 555' | vii. 0'. 70 ^d . | 803 |
| ii. 302 | | viii. 146 | 798 |
| v. 248 | | ix. 409 | 707 |
| <u>803</u> | | x. xi. 228 1. 243 | <u>2308</u> |
| | | <u>783</u> <u>798</u> | |

§ 550. The time of the gods and demigods is given as follows:

| | |
|--|-------------------------|
| 1. "Hephæstus, Helios, Agathodæmon, Cronos, Osiris, Typhon, Orus: length of time not assigned. | |
| 2. After them, to Bites..... | 13,900 |
| 3. Demigods..... | 1,255 |
| 4. Other kings | 1,817 |
| 5. 30 Memphites | 1,790 |
| 6. 10 Thinites | 350 |
| 7. Manes and Demigods | 5,813 |
| Sum..... | 24,900" [really 24,925] |

Now to these add from the first Book 2,308

27,208 [27,233];

that is to say, very nearly $126 \times 216 (= 27,216)$, or $14 \times 9 \times 216$.

Now as the 2308 years of Book II. were got by making the time of the 9 demigods a period of 9×216 *plus* the numeral of the solar year, i.e. of the sun and 12 gods, so the above scheme may possibly have been constructed by taking the period of 9×216 as a unit, thus:—

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Sun} \quad 9 \times 216 \\ \text{and 12 gods} \quad 12 \times 9 \times 216 \\ \text{9 demigods} \quad 9 \times 216 \end{array} \right\} = 14 \times 9 \times 216.$$

Or thus:

$$\begin{array}{lcl} \text{First Book} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1944 \\ + 365 \end{array} \right\} & = & 9 \times 216, \text{ Nine demigods;} \\ \text{Gods, \&c.} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1579 \\ + 23,328 \end{array} \right\} & = & 9 \times 216. \end{array} \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Sun} \\ \text{and} \\ \text{Twelve Gods.} \end{array} \right\}$$

Another and a very different account of this period is given by Syncellus; but as the genuine numbers have not been preserved, and the list is mutilated besides, it is not worth while to speculate on its construction¹.

¹ The lists of Herodotus and Diodorus have not been left unexamined by me; but I will not trouble the Reader with the results, in detail; the following coincidences, however, are too curious to be omitted.

Part of the list of Diodorus is given thus: "*Amasis*, a tyrant, conquered by *Actisanès* an Ethiopian: *Mendes* or *Marrhus*, who constructed the Labyrinth as a tomb for himself: *Anarchy*, five generations: *Ketna* or *Ketes*, who

A few Remarks on the Monuments.

§ 551. It will have been remarked that in these disquisitions I have appealed but sparingly to the Egyptian monuments and the labours of hieroglyphical scholars. My acquaintance with these researches is so very limited and uncritical, that I cannot venture to rest any of my positions upon this kind of information. Neither may I take upon me to offer any opinion as to the value of the results—often, it seems, very conflicting—of the labours of Champollion and Rosellini, Bankes and Salt, Wilkinson and Lepsius. I shall therefore content myself with a few extracts which have a direct bearing upon the matter of the preceding enquiry.

1. *Epoch of Sesostris, or Rameses the Great.*

§ 552. "On the ceiling of the Memnonium at Thebes erected by Rameses the Great is an astronomical subject, where the heliacal rising of Sothis (= Sirius) is found to coincide with the beginning of Thoth, which could happen only in the year 1322 B.C." Wilkinson, *Antiq. of Egypt*, i. 137. This agrees very well with the time of Mæris, the predecessor of Sesostris, reported by Herodotus ii. 13, viz. "not quite 900 years before Herodotus's visit to Egypt." Suppose the date of the visit to be about 440 B.C., which cannot be far from the truth, then 900 years lead to 1340

is Proteus: *Remphis*: Seven kings, one of whom is *Nileus*." Now the date assigned (by Dicæarchus ap. Schol. in *poll. Rh.* iv. 272) to Nileus is 1212 B.C. Seven generations, or about 200 years, ascend to 1412 B.C., as the date of *Rhemphis*, who is therefore the Rameses of the other lists, i. e. in truth Sesostris, so that the date agrees with that of the Old Chronicle and Eratosthenes. Five or six generations more, about 180 years, lead to 1560 as the date of *Mendes*, whose name connects him with the *Mendesian Ram* deified along with Apis in the reign of Asseth the last Shepherd king, see § 547, and *infra* § 563 ff. Hence it seems likely that the story of *Actisanes the Ethiopian* driving out Amasis relates in a confused way to the 'expulsion of the Shepherds' by the king who returned from Ethiopia. Now observe what is told of this Actisanes;—that he gathered together all the robbers (*λῃσται*) and drove them to the desert on the confines

of Egypt and Syria: where, being left to themselves in a barren land and destitute of all provisions, they nevertheless contrived to find a subsistence. For they made nets of rushes, which they stretched along the shore, many stadia in length, and so caught quails, which fly in large flocks from the sea: of these they took a multitude sufficient for their subsistence.

The portion of the list, next after Nileus, begins with the triplet of the Pyramid-builders, and therefore is in fact not continuous with the former portion, but parallel with it, which Diodorus did not understand. Their names are *Chembres*, *Cephren*, and *Mycerinus* or *Cherinus*. Then *Tnephachthus*, then *Bocchoris* the Wise, his son. Now in the story of Lysimachus § 524, it is *Bocchoris* who expels the *lepers*, and here we find him third from Mycerinus (the king of the Exode), just as in Manetho the king who expels the *Shepherds* is third from the Pharaoh of the Exode.

B.C. Hence it seems likely that in the view of Herodotus's informants the epoch of the Sothiac cycle coincided with that of Sesostris, or at all events lay in his reign. The same may be inferred from the well-known passage of Tacitus *Ann.* vi. 28, about the Phoenix: *de numero annorum varia traduntur; maxime vulgatum quingentorum spatium; sunt qui asseverent mille quadrigentos sexaginta unum (1461) interjici, prioresque aktes Sesostride primum, post Amaside dominantibus, dein Ptolemæo qui ex Macedonibus tertius regnavit.* The reckoning is confused; but it implies plainly enough that the Sothiac cycle was held to begin in the reign of Sesostria. And I should suppose that prior to the formation of the Old Chronicle, i.e. before the Ptolemies, the Canon of Kings placed the epoch of the 18th dynasty at a year equivalent to B.C. 1667, and the epoch of the 19th and of Sesostris at 1322 B.C., 345 years later. From this more ancient form of the Canon, S. Clement of Alexandria would derive his statements, where, as we have seen, he places the Exode and epoch of the 18th dynasty 345 years before the lapse of the Sothiac cycle (which 345 years it is hardly possible not to identify with the 348 years of the 18th dynasty assigned by the Old Chron.), and withal by a reckoning *'independent of this,* (§ 515) makes the epoch of the 18th dynasty = 1667 B.C. The Canon being in this state, the framers of the Old Chronicle began to adjust it to a pre-conceived period of 10×216 years, beginning at Menes, ending at Alexander, and exactly bisected at Sesostria. The consequence, which either was not perceived or was disregarded, was, that the epoch of Sesostria became detached from that of the cycle, and was thrown upwards 82 years to 1404 B.C., and by consequence the epoch of the 18th dynasty was displaced to the same extent. Then came Manetho, or whoever else was the framer of the scheme which we find in Africanus, and expanded the 10×216 years of the Old Chronicle into 25×216 , so distributed that 20×216 reach from Menes to Sethos = Sesostria 1404 B.C. and 5×216 from thence to Alexander. Yet this scheme retains the ancient epoch of the 18th dynasty, and consequently reduces its length 82 years, from 345 to 263. But then, whereas the Old Chronicle reckons 6×216 from the demigods to Sesostria 1404, Manetho makes the same period reach from Salatis to the close of the cycle 1322 B.C. Hence it seems to follow that he contemplated the year 1322 B.C. as the epoch of Sesostria, though he was not able to make it square with the partition of his scheme as a whole.

2. The Genealogical Table of Abydos.

§ 553. Of all the ancient monuments, that which seems likely to cast most light on the ancient history or tradition of the regal succession, is the Table which bears this name. "This interesting monument was discovered in 1818 by Mr. Bankes....It is composed of three rows of royal names, each row containing 26, and the two upper rows arranged in the immediate order of succession, to perform a propitiatory act in favour of Ramses III., whose name and prænomen repeated occupy the whole of

the last row....With the 41st scroll commences the series of kings belonging to the 18th dynasty....This monument has suffered severe injury from time. In the first or uppermost compartment 12 scrolls have been entirely and 2 partially effaced: in the second, 8 have been totally obliterated: and in the third, 3 have been destroyed, 4 rendered illegible, and one partially injured." *Enc. Brit.* Vol. xi. p. 354. In the third row, it seems, the name and prænomen of Amun-mai-Ramses are repeated each thirteen times. Whether the Table has yet been fairly deciphered I am unable to say¹; the following however is Mr. Wilkinson's list which seems to be derived from this monument:—

| | |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| Ames. | Maut-m-Shoi (regency). |
| Amunoph I. | Amunoph III. |
| Amense, his sister. | Amun-men. |
| Thothmes I. | Remesse, or Remeses I. |
| II. | Osirei I. |
| III. | Amun-mai Remeses II. |
| Amunoph II. | — |
| Thothmes IV. | Phthah-men Thmeioftep. |

3. *The Servitude of the Israelites in Egypt.*

§ 554. In Rosellini's great work, II. ii. p. 254-270, and the *Atlas Monumenti Civili*, No. 49, is a description and representation of a sepulchral painting in Thebes, which he supposes to relate to the labours of the Israelites in the making of bricks. Not having access to these volumes, I must content myself with giving the substance of Rosellini's remarks as I find it reported by Hengstenberg, *Moses und Aegypten*, p. 79. "Of the workmen some are employed in transporting the clay in vessels, others working it with tools, others drawing the bricks out of the moulds and spreading them in rows, while others again are carrying the burnt or dried bricks on a piece of wood attached to their shoulders. The difference of these persons from the Egyptians is manifest at a glance; complexion, physiognomy, beard, are Hebrew traits not to be mistaken....Among the Hebrews are four Egyptians well distinguished from them by bearing, figure and complexion. Two of them carry the stick in their hands, the one sitting, the

¹ In a recent work on *Egyptian Antiquities*, published by the "Religious Tract Society," it is affirmed that the Table of Abydos when complete exhibited the names of *seventy-seven* predecessors of Sesostris. In the same work is mentioned a similar series extant in the palace of Karnak, in which "Thothmoësis III. or Mæris, does homage to the

whole line of his predecessors arrayed in three rows. The number is fifty-eight (down to this king, who is the fifth of 18th dynasty, which makes Sesostris *sixty-sixth*)." Hence this writer supposes that the Series of Abydos began with the three Gods and eight Demi-gods; which eleven added to the sixty-five would make Sesostris seventy-seventh.

other standing, in act to strike two other Egyptians who are employed in the same drudgery with the Israelites, the one having a vessel full of clay on his shoulders, while the other is returning from transporting the bricks, and bringing the empty vessel for a fresh load. The sepulchre belongs to a high official of the king, by name Roschsceré and is of the age of Thutmes IV. fifth king of the 18th dynasty." Wilkinson, II. 98, does not admit that the Israelites are the persons here represented, while he allows that this monument affords a striking illustration of the description given in Exodus. If the name has been truly deciphered, and if this Thutmes IV. be really the fifth king of the dynasty, the coincidence is truly striking: for the fifth king, called Miphres in Manetho, began to reign at the very year of the Exode 1586 B.C.

4. *The Pyramid-Builders.*

§ 555. I learn from Hengstenberg, *Moses u. Aegypten*, p. 252, that Rosellini considers himself to have identified the name Suphis = Cheops in a sepulchral inscription near the pyramids, which he renders, SUTEN OVER SCIUFO = "*il re puro, o propheta, Sciufò*," p. 126. ff. comp. ii. 1. p. 36. iii. 1. p. 2. ff. In the sepulchres of Djizeh, he thinks he has found the name SENSCHUF, the Sensaophis or Saophis II. of Eratosthenes, which, according to Rosellini, means "brother of Suphis." The same name (Suphis), written KOUFOU, is said to have been since found on the stones of the great Pyramid at Memphis, comp. Lepsius, *Eclaircissemens sur le Cercueil du roi Mycerinus, traduits de l'Anglais par Lenormant*, Paris 1839, p. 44. ff. It is also thought that the name MENKARE, the Mycerinus of Herodot., Mencheres of Manetho, Moscheres of Eratosthenes, appears on the sarcophagus in the third Pyramid of Memphis, Lenormant, *u. s.* p. 11. ff. I regret that my limited opportunities of access to books will not allow me to offer a critical opinion on the value of these statements. The name KOUFOU may be compared with *Chous* (Manetho ii. 1.) O-chthov-is (ix).

On the Connexion of the Egyptian Mythus of Osiris and Typhon with the History of Joseph and the Exode.

§ 556. Many significant circumstances lead me to think that the calamities which came on Egypt through the Israelites, are the true original subject of commemoration in one, and that the most prominent portion of Egyptian religious mythology. It is inconceivable that those calamities should have left no impress at all on the national mythology, and on the following grounds I think that impress may be traced here.

In the first place, we have the religious mythus of Typhon, in which, by various significant hints, Typhon is set forth as somehow connected

with the Jews, by name. In the next place, we have sundry historical mythi relating to the Israelites, which are curiously mixed up with matters relating to Typhon, Isis, Osiris, and Horus.

§ 557. Take the mythus of Typhon as it is related by Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride*. "Osiris, born king of the Earth, civilized the people with music and song. Typhon conspired against him in his absence, aided by Aso an Ethiopian queen and *seventy-two chosen men*: he prepared a chest into which he induced Osiris to enter, closed it with lead, and sent it down to the sea by the Tanite mouth of the Nile. Hence this mouth of the Nile is so detested by the Egyptians, that they abominate its very name. This happened on the 17th of Athyr when the Sun passes through Scorpio, in the 28th year of Osiris, some say of his life, some of his reign. Isis after long wandering found the chest. While she stood gazing upon the remains of her husband, a boy approached from behind to spy upon the object of her contemplation; she turned round, and the boy perished at her look. *His name*, say some, *was Palæstinus*, or Pelusius, whence Pelusium. She hid the chest, but Typhon hunting a sow at the full of the moon, discovered it, dismembered the body into fourteen parts, and scattered them asunder: of these Isis recovered thirteen....After a while, Orus, son of Isis and Osiris, made war upon Typhon and overcame him: Isis, however, set him at liberty. Then he fled upon an ass seven days journey to *Palestine*, and there begat sons, *Judæus* and *Hierosolymus*."

The latter part of the story Warburton pronounces to be "a ridiculous fable told of Typhon in hatred and contempt of the Jews," *Div. Leg.* ii. 190. That remains to be proved, and hard it will be to prove that the ridiculous fable was of modern growth. What Egyptian was likely to invent it at a time when it was a main object of national malice to make it appear that the Jews were originally a race of native lepers, cast out of the land many centuries later than the time assigned to Typhon? For that the expulsion of the Jews was *at one time* assigned to the æra of Typhon, Osiris and Isis, may be gathered from the remarkable statement of Tacitus above quoted, *Quidam REGNANTE ISIDE exundantem per Ægyptum multitudinem ducibus HIEROSOLYMO ET JUDA proximas in terras exoneratam. Hist.* v. 2¹.

§ 558. Come now to the historical mythus concerning the Shepherds. Here, in the first place, the city of the Shepherds, *Ἀναρς*, is said in connexion with a story about the Gods to be *Typhonian*. Look at the names of the Shepherd kings. As-seth, the name of him who stands last at the very close of the 259 years, reminds one of ΣΗΘ, the principal name of Typhon (Plutarch, *u. s.* § 41): *Beon*, of Bebon or Bebeon, another name

¹ To the Greeks this fable came under the form of the mythus concerning Typhoeus or Typhon and the Wars of the Gods. Even here, the locality assigned to the vanquished Typhon is in strict

keeping with the Egyptian mythi both of Typhon and of the Hyksos: it is in *Aram*, *i. e.* Syria, that Typhon's body lies: *εἰν Ἀριμοῖς ὅθι φασὶ Τυφώος ἐμμεναί εὐνας*.

of the monster (ib. § 49, 62): Apophis, of "Αποφίς that "brother of the sun who warred against Zeus, who sent Osiris to subdue him," ib. § 36. But the first of the names, Salatis, manifestly denotes Joseph. I suspect, too, that *Apachnan* is derived from Joseph's Egyptian name, Tsaphnath-Panehh, 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏. Nay, what if the very name Typhon be derived from the other part of Joseph's name, Tsaphn-ath, 𓆎𓅓𓏏? Possibly his name Peteseph in Chæremon may be referred to the same origin, Pe-tseph (*pe*, the Egyptian article) or Pete-seph, (*pet*, or *pete*, "belonging to," as Pet-ammon = Ἀμμώνιος.) That *Tsaphnath*, *Typhon*, are possibly connected, is my own surmise; but we have high authority for identifying the name of Typhon with the name, in the Hebrew narrative, of the scene of the overthrow in the Red sea, "beside Pi-hahiroth, before Baal-Zephon," 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤁𐤀𐤏𐤕 𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 *locus Typhonis*, s. *Typhoni sacer*. Gesen. in v. who adds: *Nomen situi hujus urbis in locis incultis Nilum inter et mare rubrum, quæ Typhonis s. Cæcodæmonis Ægyptiorum sedes putabantur, egregie congruit*. Vid. Creuzer in *Comment. Herod.* l. § 22. *Symbolik.* i. 317. sq. I should rather say that the name Tsaphon, Typhon, came into the mythus from the circumstance that it was the name of the scene of the catastrophe which was mythically attributed to Typhon, to whom the sea therefore belongs (Plut. *de Is. et Os.*).

§ 559. Led by these hints, let us suppose that the hated Typhon is the mythological impersonation of Israel, i. e. of Joseph and his brethren, Salatis and the Hyksos, and then see whether we have here the key to the historical meaning of the mythus above related. The 72 chosen comrades of Typhon, are they not the 70 brethren whom Joseph brought into Egypt? In the eulogistic tradition concerning Joseph, in which he is set forth as Hermes, we discern the same feature of the story: § 543.—The dead body of Osiris is sent down to the sea by the Tanite (Zoan) mouth of the Nile—it was "in the field of Zoan" that God's judgments were executed before the overthrow of the host of Egypt in the Red sea. The "Shepherds" were Tanite kings, 𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤁𐤀𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕, Syncell. p. 103. D.—Typhon's flight of seven days, and upon an ass, has an evident reference to the Jewish sabbath, and to that favourite calumny (Egyptian in its origin) concerning the object of Jewish worship. Joseph. c. *Apion.* ii. 10. Plutarch. *Sympos.* iv. 5. Tacit. *Hist.* v. 2. In fact, this animal is the well-known symbol of Typhon; and thus considered, the meaning of the calumny seems to be that Typhon was the God of the Jews.—Further, in the religious mythus. Typhon is conquered by Horus son of the deceased Osiris, yet he is suffered to escape, and does escape into Syria, where he begets Hierosolymus and Judæus. In the historical fable, the Hyksos are overcome by the son of the deceased Amenophis, yet are they suffered to escape, and in Syria they found Jerusalem.—Then, too, the catalogues give the very names, Osiris and Horus, just at the fitting place. For User-Cheres (surely Osiris-Cheres) stands next to Mencheres or Mycerinus (Manetho iv. v.), with whom perhaps he is identical: with this further coincidence, that Usercheres reigns 28 years, and of Osiris it is said that he was slain in the 28th year, some

say of his life, some of his reign. (Usercheres is followed by *Sephres* 13 years, as Amersis, Amensis, or Amenophis, is by *Misaphres* 13 years)¹. Again, the xviiith dynasty furnishes the name Horus, its 9th king, and in the reckoning of the Old Chronicle, the year of the expulsion of the Shepherds falls within his reign. Horus, then, I take to be the impersonation of Egypt's recovery from the calamities of the Exode². Accordingly, in the mythus related by Diodorus i. p. 22, we read that Horus was slain in the revolt of the Titans (Typhon), *that his dead body was found by Isis floating on the water*, and by her restored to life: *εὐρεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀθανασίας φάρμακον, δι' οὗ τὸν υἱὸν Ὠρον ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων ἐπιβουληθέντα καὶ ΝΕΚΡΟΝ εὐρέθεντα ΚΑΘ' ὙΔΑΤΟΣ μὴ μόνον ἀναστῆσαι δοῦσαν τὴν ψύχην ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας ποιῆσαι μεταλαβεῖν.*

§ 560. But Horus is further identified with the times of the Exode by Manetho's story of Amenophis wanting "to see the gods, as *Horus*, one of his predecessors, had done," § 520. Herodotus ii. 42, tells the story how *Hercules* (i. e. Horus)³ insisted upon seeing Zeus (Ammon), who refused; but when the other persisted, the god appeared to him concealed in the skin of a ram which he flayed for that purpose: hence, he says, Ammon is figured ram-faced with horns⁴ and the Egyptians abstain from sacrificing sheep. May not this abstinence from *sheep*, along with the prohibition of *woollen* to the votaries of Isis, be referred to the abhorrence of the Israelite Shepherds?—Again: in the list of Eratosthenes, at its 719th year (= 1548 B. C.), therefore nearly coincident with the time of *Horus*, we find "Semphrocrates, which is *Hercules Harpo-*

¹ In the work on *Egyptian Antiquities* referred to in p. 603 *note*, it is said, p. 187, that the name SHEPHER, as that of the founder of the second pyramid, has been deciphered in a tomb adjacent; as that of Cheops, *Soufo*, *Shoufo*, *Koufo*, has been found in a sepulchre adjoining the great pyramid.

² Dr. Pritchard endeavours to shew, that Osiris, Typhon, and Horus, form the Egyptian Triad of the generative, destructive, and restoring powers of nature, *Anal. of Eg. Mythol.* p. 84. This may be true of a later age, when the materials of the national ritual were formed into theological and philosophical systems; but the basis of the ritual was historical.

³ The Greeks, indeed, identify Horus with *Apollo*, (Herod.), viz. as *Apollo* is the sun, for Horus is clearly a solar God. But the Egyptian Hercules is also the

Sun: "the Egyptians suppose that Hercules is seated in the sun and moves round the world with him." (Plut. *de Is. et Os.*) "The Egyptian ritual signifies...that Hercules is the Sun that exists in all and through all." (Macro.) According to Plutarch, c. 67, the books of Hermes ascribe to *Horus* the guidance of the sun's movements. See Montfaucon, *Antiq. Expl.* t. ii. p. 2. pl. 119, where Horus is figured with the sun on his head.

⁴ Probably the Zeus or Ammon in this story means Osiris, who, it is well known, is frequently figured with the horns of Ammon (e. g. in the Temple at Carnak, Hamilton *Ægyptiaca* p. 122). This story then would be another version of what is related concerning Osiris returning from the shades and appearing to his son Horus (Plut.)

*crates*¹." Now Harpocrates is son of Osiris and Isis," and probably the same with Horus². He is usually imaged with his forefinger upon his lips as enjoining silence, as may be seen in Montfaucon *Antiq. Expl.* t. ii. part ii. p. 300 ff. What is meant by this gesture? If we may believe Varro as reported by S. Augustin *de Civ. D.* xviii. 5, it means that no man must dare to divulge the fact communicated in the mysteries, that Osiris (Serapis) and Isis were mortals: *constitutum esse ut quisquis eum hominem dixisset fuisse, capitale penderet pœnam. Cum autem in quibus templis Isis et Serapis colebantur aliud esset simulacrum quod digitum ori admoveret ut silentium commendaret, existimabat Varro illo significari tacendum esse neque dicendum illos fuisse homines*, Montfaucon, u. s. A very significant emblem, when viewed in connexion with the present hypothesis.

§ 561. It is remarkable that the account given of *Horus* in the Rosetta Inscription exhibits him as a human king, the conqueror of an impious race which infested Egypt³. Παραγινόμενος δὲ καὶ εἰς Λυκωνπόλιν τὴν ἐν τῇ Βουσφιρῖτῃ ἣ ἐν κατειλημμένη καὶ χωρῶμενη πρὸς πολιορκίαν ὄπλων τε παραθεσεί δαφιλεστερα καὶ τῇ ἀλλῇ χορηγία πασῇ ὡς ἀν ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου συνεστεικίας τῆς ἀλλοτριότητος τοῖς ἐπισυναχθεῖσιν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀσεβείσιν οἱ ἦσαν εἰς τὰ ἱέρα καὶ τοὺς ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ κατοικοῦντας πολλὰ κακὰ συντετελεσμένοι καὶ ἀντικαθίσας χῶμασιν τε καὶ ταφροῖς καὶ τειχεσιν αὐτὴν ἀξιολογοῖς περιελαβὲν (l. 26) ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τὴν τε πόλιν κατὰ κράτος εἶλεν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσεβεῖς πάντας διεφθέρειν καθάπερ — ἡς καὶ Ὀρος ὁ τῆς Ἰσίδος καὶ Ὀσιρίδος υἱὸς ἐχειρωσάτο τοὺς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τοποῖς ἀποστάντας πρότερον τοὺς ἀφηγησάμενους τῶν ἀποστάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν χῶραν ἐ—αντας καὶ τὰ ἱέρα ἀδικήσαντας παραγινόμενος εἰς Μემφιν ἐπαμυνῶν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείᾳ πάντας ἐκόλασεν καθηκόντως. "Ptolemy having come to *Lycopolis* in the *Busirite nome* which had been occupied, and fortified against siege by storing up of arms in abundance and all other munitions, seeing that of a long time there was settled there an alien and hostile disposition in the impious persons who were gathered therein, who had perpetrated great evils against the temples and the dwellers in Egypt, he (Ptolemy) beset it with large embankments, trenches and walls, . . . and in brief time took the city, and destroyed all the impious therein in like manner as — *es* and *Horus* son of *Isis* and *Osiris* subdued them who aforetime in the same parts had revolted: them who had been leaders of the rebellion in the time of his own father, and had — ed the

¹ Jablonsky reads Σεμφουκράτης, and explains it as a compound of Sem = Hercules, and Phocrates = Phoch-rat, *Claudicans pede*. Dr. Pritchard conceives the prefix Har in Har-pocrates to be only another form of the name Horus. *Ana-*

lysis of Egypt. Mythology, p. 87.

² "It would appear that Harpocrates was but faintly distinguished from Horus, of whom he seems to have been a particular form." Pritchard, u. s. p. 88.

³ Hamilton, *Ægyptiaca*, p. 432.

country and wronged the temples, he, on his arrival at Memphis, punished as was meet &c." The description of the persons subdued by the Horus here spoken of, persons such as those subdued by this Ptolemy, *aliens, impious, who had perpetrated great evils against the temples and dwellers in Egypt*, exactly answers to that of the Hyksos; in other words, the mythus of demi-gods and giants is dropped, and Horus *son of Isis*, aided by another whose name is unfortunately obliterated, is exhibited as a conqueror of men, like the Amenophis, Messenes or Ramesses of the historical mythi.

§ 562. Of the origin of *brute-worship* the Egyptian priests had a story which they kept secret, Diodor. i. p. 54. But there was a popular story (which passed from them to the Greeks) how that "the original gods being few and overpowered by the violence and lawlessness of the earth-born men, took to themselves the likeness of animals: whereupon, when they had regained their supremacy, they consecrated the forms to which they owed their preservation." Diodor. *ib.* Compare with this the story of Amenophis § 520, where it is circumstantially related, as if it were somehow an important part of the story, how in his flight to Ethiopia he took with him the sacred brutes. The worship of *living* brutes certainly had not been heard of in Egypt before the Exode, seeing that Moses is wholly silent concerning this grossest form of idolatry. That the *form* of the ox was sacred even before the Exode, seems to be a natural inference from the history of the golden calf in the wilderness, which was intended to "be a god after the manner of Egypt." Nay, some have even inferred, from the symbols of the seven fat and seven lean kine in Pharaoh's dream, that the ox or cow was even at that period an object of worship to the Egyptians. This however is but a doubtful inference; since it is possible that the sacred import of that animal was derived from that dream, so momentous in its consequences. Waiving the discussion of this question, I would remark that the deification of *Apis*, the emblem of Osiris, is assigned in the *Egyptian accounts themselves to the precise time of the Exode*. For Syncellus appends this notice to the name Aseth (*i.e.* Seth, Typhon) the last Shepherd-king, expelled by Amosis at the end of the 259 years, § 521: "*In his time the heifer was deified and called Apis;*" and again, "He added the five days which complete the circuit of the year," the days which in the mythology are related to 1. Osiris, 2. Arueris, 3. Typhon, 4. Isis, 5. Nephthys. Manetho refers the deification to the time of Chous (or Kæechos), which time we have already identified with 1589—1550 B.C. § 547. Hence in the religious mythus we have the gods fleeing before Typhon in the forms of animals, which forms they therefore deified: in the historical mythus, Amenophis flees from the Shepherds and lepers into Ethiopia with the sacred animals: and lastly, in the chronographies the apotheosis of Apis and Mnevis and Mendes, is assigned to the exact time of the expulsion of these same Shepherds and lepers. Surely it is not fanciful to allege all this as highly confirmatory

of previous inferences which go to identify the mythology of Osiris with the facts of the Hebrew history as its historical basis.

§ 563. Besides: as Tacitus relates that according to one account the Exode occurred in the reign of *Isis*, so Polemo was informed that it happened in the time of *Apis* son of Phoroneus. Ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀπίδος τοῦ Φορωνέως μοῖρα τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων στρατοῦ ἐξέπεσεν Αἰγύπτου, οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καλουμένη Συρία οὐ πόρρω Ἀραβίας ἤκησαν, αὐτοὶ δηλονότι οἱ μετὰ Μωσέως. *Fragm. ap. African. Euseb. Pr. Eu. x.* That this was the Argive *Apis* makes no difference, for others identified him with the Egyptian: so we learn from Clem. Alex. *Strom. i. 21. § 106.* Ἀπίς τε ὁ Ἀργεὺς βασιλεὺς Μέμφιν οἰκίζει, ὥς φησιν Ἀρίστιππος ἐν Ἀρκαδικῶν· τοῦτον δὲ Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἐπονομασθῆναι φησι Σάραπιν καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι ὃν οἱ Αἰγυπτῖοι σέβουσιν. In the Argive list *Apis* is third from *Inachus*, and Clement's date for the latter is 1667 a. c. There is yet another account of the apotheosis, viz. S. Clem. Alex. *Protrept. iv. § 48.* says on the authority of Athenodorus, Σέσωστριν ἐπανελθόντα εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐπαγάγεσθαι τεχνίτας ἱκανούς· τὸν οὖν Ὅσιριν τὸν προπάτορα αὐτοῦ δαιδαλθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸς πολυτελῶς. This account evidently points to *Usirei* the immediate predecessor of *Amun mai Remeses* in the Table of Abydos, which *Osiris* this writer (whether rightly or wrongly) identifies with the *Osiris* of mythology. Similarly, Dicaearchus (*ap. Schol. in Apoll. Rhod. iv. 272.*) says, that next to *Horus* son of *Osiris* and *Isis* reigned *Sesostris*. Hence, too, we may explain the circumstance that in the canon of Syncellus *Serapis* is made the immediate predecessor of *Sesonchosis*, i. e. of *Sesostris*, for the name *Sesonchosis* is derived from *Manetho's* 12th dynasty.

§ 564. From these accounts it seems evident that the apotheosis of *Osiris* took place not very long before the time of *Sesostris*, i. e. at some time during the 18th dynasty. And hence perhaps we may explain *Manetho's* artifice of throwing back the reign of *Sesostris* to the very beginning of his second book. For, since in an earlier stage of its genesis that book was designed to begin with *Menes*, the time of *Sesostris* was thus brought to the confines of the time of the demigods, *Osiris* and *Horus*. If *Manetho* had left the name and description of *Sesostris* where he found it, would it not have been asked, "How can this be? for was not the great *Sesostris* near in time to our gods *Osiris* and *Horus*?"

§ 565. I have reserved for the last an intimation on the subject of *Apis*, which seems to me to complete and consolidate the evidence which has been adduced. I allude to the remarkable story concerning *Mycerinus*, whose times we have in various ways identified with the times of calamity.

"After the reigns of the brothers, *Cheops* and *Chephren*, which together lasted 106 years, *Mycerinus*, son of *Cheops*, became king. He liked not the deeds of his father, and opened the temples, and released the people, worn down to extremity of wretchedness, that they should return to their

own works and sacrifices. He was also most just in administering judgment; in which respect the Egyptians extol him above all the kings they ever had. . . . Now the beginning of his misfortunes was the death of his daughter, who was his only child. And because the king, being grieved above measure, would bury her in an unusual fashion, therefore he caused an heifer to be made of hollow wood, covered with gold, and in this he enclosed the body of his daughter. This heifer was not buried, but was kept above ground even to my times, in the city Sais, where they burn incense before it every day, and all night a lamp is kept burning. And near this heifer, in another chamber, are colossal images of the concubines of Mycerinus, twenty in number. . . . Between the horns of the heifer is a golden Sun. . . . This heifer is brought forth in public every year; *at the time when the Egyptians bewail HIM whose name I dare not use on such an occasion [Osiris], then they bring forth this heifer.*" The heifer, in short, is simply an image of Isis¹, a memorial of the sufferings of Osiris, which sufferings in this story are clearly identified with those of king Mycerinus; in other words, with the calamities which came upon Egypt through the Israelites. But the rest of the story is worth quoting. "And after the loss of his child, there came to the king an oracle from the city Buto, that he must live only six years more and die in the seventh." [Observe here that Nitocris, in Eratosthenes, reigns six years.] "So he sent to the oracle complaining that whereas his father and uncle, who had shut up the temples, and remembered not the Gods, and wasted and destroyed men, had lived each a long time; and yet he, being religious, must die so soon. Then came a response from the oracle the second time, that for this very reason the Gods cut short his life: namely, in that he did not that which was fated to be done: for Egypt must needs be afflicted *an hundred and fifty years*, and this his two predecessors had understood, he not." [Here one is reminded of

¹ All Egyptian antiquarians are agreed in referring the image of which Herodotus speaks, to Isis. Zoëga, for instance, *de Obeliscis*, p. 415. *Sed quamquam sane haud libens Herodoti fidem reprobem ista tamen nimium distare vereor a reliquis Egyptiorum moribus, neque apud ipsos Græcos fidem meruisse videntur, quorum præter Herod. nemo hujus facti meminit: neque omnino credibile est, mulierculam nullo facinore claram tantæ habitam fuisse apud posteros. Suspicio autem veterem scriptorem, sive interpretes, quibus ipse usus est in Ægypto, Isisidis dea simulacrum, lugubribus cæremoniis destinatum, pro regis juvenis conditorio acceperisse: errore inde potissimum nato, quod in sacerdotum*

mythis Isis, quæ luna est, tranquillitatis sive noctis filia appellaretur.—Doubtless the image had relation to the theology of Osiris and Isis: what I contend for is, that this same theology rests upon a basis of fact in which the builder of the third pyramid, Mycerinus, Moscheres, Mencheres, MENKARE, was intimately concerned: consequently that the priests, in their conversation with Herodotus, let out some portion of the truth.—Plutarch, *de Is. et Os.* is evidently speaking of this same image, where he says, *καὶ βοὺν διάχρυσον ἱματίῳ μέλανι βυσσίνῳ περιβάλλοντες ἐπὶ πένθει τῆς Θεοῦ δεικνύουσι· βοὺν γὰρ Ἰσιδος εἰκόνα καὶ γῆν νομίζουσι.* See Creuzer *Comment. Herodot.* p. 127.

the 157 years of shepherd rule before the 18th dynasty—with which the Old Chronicle has confused the 103 years of calamity under the 18th dynasty.] “When he heard this, Mycerinus caused many lamps¹ to be lighted so as to turn night into day [the preternatural darkness before the Exode], and feasted and revelled day and night without intermission, wandering into the marshes and the groves . . . because he would fain falsify the oracle, making the six years twelve by turning the nights into days.” [Here we may observe that Nitocris, in Manetho, has a reign of 12 years: we are also reminded of the 13 years of calamity predicted by the oracle in Manetho’s story.]

§ 566. In conclusion, I have to observe a curious fact connected with the Egyptian Calendar which seems to confirm the foregoing results. We have seen it stated (from Manetho or some other authority) by Syncellus that it was in the time of Asseth the last Shepherd King, that Apis and Mnevis were deified, and *the five intercalary days added to the year*. Now the reign of Asseth lies at the close of the 259 years of the shepherds, therefore ends at 1565 B.C. The statement therefore means that at this time the Egyptian year was altered in its form, from 360 days to 365 days.—The ἀφανισμός or disappearance of Osiris, which I understand to denote the calamity of Egypt at the Exode of Israel, is referred in the account above cited from Plutarch to the 17th of Athyr, and was celebrated by mournful solemnities during three days, i.e. 17, 18 and 19 Athyr. (In c. 42, he says it was celebrated at the *full moon* of Athyr).

Now on the supposition that the alteration of the calendar took place in 1565 B.C. we can calculate the time of Athyr in the year of the Exode. Thus: since 1565 lies 243 years before 1322 (in which year 1 Thoth = 20 July), therefore in 1565 the 1st of Thoth lies 60 days later than 20 July, i.e. 18 September. But 21 years (1586—1565) of 360 days fall short of 21 Julian years by $7671 - 7560 = 111$ days, consequently 1 Thoth in the first of these 21 years would lie 111 days after 18th Sept. i.e. 7 January 1585, and in 1586 it would fall still 5 days later, i.e. 12 January, whence 1 Phaophi would fall 11 February, 1 Athyr = 13 March, 17 Athyr 29 March, i.e. 15 days before the day of the great disaster itself. Moreover the *three days of the solemnity* may relate either to the three days of preternatural darkness, Ex. x. 22, or to the like interval between the destruction of the first-born and the overthrow in the Red Sea. If the change in the calendar took place in 1562, the 17 Athyr would coincide in 1586 with the 13 April, the day of the final overthrow: if in 1563, then 19 Athyr 1586 would coincide almost with the very day of the destruction of the first-born. At all events, it is very remarkable that the full moon of the month Athyr, on the hypothesis, was that of the month Abib in the year of the Exode.

¹ Comp. Herodot. ii. 62. on the yearly λυχνοκαΐα observed throughout Egypt at the solemnity of Athena (Neith, Nit-

ocris) of Sais. ὅταν δὲ εἴνεκα φῶς ἔλαχε καὶ τιμὴν ἢ νύξ αὐτῇ, ἔστι ἱρὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος λεγόμενος.

§ 567. These are the grounds on which I think it in a high degree probable that the mythology and cultus relating to Typhon, Osiris, Isis and Horus rests upon a basis of historical fact, which is in truth that of which we have in Scripture the authentic record. This is certain beforehand—that a series of overwhelming calamities such as befel the Egyptians could not pass from the recollection of the nation which suffered them: the memory of such disasters could not fail to deposit itself in historical tradition, and, withal, to leave an abiding impress upon the national religion. We have seen that sundry lines of *historical tradition* lead up to the times and calamities in question—the story of Salatis and his shepherds, that of the godless pyramid-builders Cheops and Chephren and their unhappy successor Mycerinus, and again that of the queen Nitocris, are all referred to this origin by the marvellous coincidence of their chronological characters with the chronology of the facts recorded in Scripture, and by other internal marks. On the other hand, the *religious mythus* of Typhon and Osiris, Isis and Horus, is in many respects interblended with the former series. For example; Typhon is the father of Hierosolymus and Judæus; and it was in the reign of *Isis* that the Jews went out of Egypt; how are these statements to be accounted for except by the supposition that the mythus of Typhon originally related to the Israelites? Assuredly they could not be inventions of the age of the Ptolemies, in which the time of Osiris was thrown back to a period vastly anterior to the very moderate antiquity which the Egyptians of that age were willing to concede to the Jews: they must be regarded as traits of an earlier tradition, surviving in spite of the modern artifices and the gradual accretions of intermediate ages. But these statements do not stand alone: the Scripture story, the religious mythus, the legendary history, all meet in numerous other points. We do seem then to find in this mythology that which in the nature of the case we are bound to look for somewhere in the Egyptian system, that which, if not here, exists nowhere else, a relation to the fact of a time of calamity which must needs have left a lasting impress upon the religion and mythology of the nation. Of course I do not mean to affirm, that the whole of this mythology is as an allegory every part of which may be translated into the language of fact, as soon as we apply to it the truth of facts as related by Moses. For the mythology, as it now exists, is a congeries of many ideas, reflections, and theories, formed in the course of many ages. A physical, an astronomical, a moral and a mystical sense, have gradually grown around and well-nigh overwhelmed the original relation, and this whole mass detached, as it were, from its original bearings, is sent afloat, like that *πλωτή νῆσος* (Herod. ii. 156), on the stream of time, touching at many points and remaining fixed at none. Thus much, however, I venture to pronounce highly probable, that Osiris, Isis, Horus, in this mythus denote Egypt suffering grievous disasters through Israel symbolized by Typhon. And so I leave the subject to the candid examination of those whose knowledge of these matters qualifies them to say whether the theory be irreconcilable with any indubitable monument of Egyptian antiquity.

The Egyptian Dynasties of MANETHO, according to AFRICANUS.

§ 568. THE FIRST BOOK.

1st Dynasty, 8 kings.

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------|---|
| 1. Menes the Theinite | 62 ^r | ὃς ὑπὸ ἰπποποτάμου διαρπαγείς διεφθάρη. |
| 2. Athothis, his son ... | 57 | ὃ τὰ ἐν Μέμφει βασιλεία οἰκοδομήσας, οὗ φέρονται βίβλοι ἀνατομικαί, ἱατροὺς γὰρ ἦν. |
| 3. Kenkenes, his son.. | 31 | |
| 4. Venephes, his son.. | 23 | ἐφ' οὗ λιμὸς κατέσχε τὴν Αἴγυπτον μέγας. οὗτος τὰς περὶ κωχώμην ἤγειρε πυραμίδας. |
| 5. Usaphædus, his son | 20 | |
| 6. Miebidus, his son ... | 28 | |
| 7. Semempses, his son | 18 | ἐφ' οὗ φθορὰ μεγίστη κατέσχε τὴν Αἴγυπτον. |
| 8. Bieneches, his son.. | 26 | (l. 16?) |

Ὅμου ἔτη συγ'. 253 [263]

2nd Dynasty, 9 Thinite kings.

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|--|
| 1. Boethus | 38 ^r | χάσμα κατὰ Βούβαστον ἐγένετο καὶ ἀπώλοντο πολλοί. |
| 2. Kaiechos..... | 39 | οἱ βόες Ἄπις ἐν Μέμφει καὶ Μνεῦις ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει καὶ ὁ Μενδήσιος τράγος ἐνομήσθησαν εἶναι θεοί. |
| 3. Binothris..... | 47 | ἐκρίθη τὰς γυναῖκας βασιλείας γέρας ἔχειν. |
| 4. Ilas..... | 17 | |
| 5. Sethenes | 41 | |
| 6. Chaires | 17 | |
| 7. Nephhercheres | 25 | μυθεύεται τὸν Νεῖλον μέλιτι κεκραμένον ἡμέρας ἔνδεκα ῥυῆναι. |
| 8. Sesochris..... | 48 | ὃς ὕψος εἶχε πηχῶν ε', πλάτος γ'. |
| 9. Cheneres..... | 30 | |

Ὅμου ἔτη τβ'. 302

3rd Dynasty, 9 Memphite kings.

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|---|
| 1. Necherophes | 28 ^r | Λίβνες ἀπέστησαν Αἰγυπτίῳ καὶ τῆς σελήνης παρα λόγον ἀξηθείσης διὰ δεὸς ἑαυτοὺς παρέδωκαν. |
| 2. Tosorthrus.. | 29 | Ἀσκληπιὸς Αἰγυπτίοις κατὰ τὴν ἱατρικὴν νενόμισται· καὶ τὴν διὰ ξεστῶν λίθων οἰκοδομίαν εὗρατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ γραφῆς ἐπεμελήθη. |

- | | |
|-------------------|----|
| 3. Tyris | 7 |
| 4. Mesochris ... | 17 |
| 5. Sôyphis..... | 16 |
| 6. Tosertasis ... | 19 |
| 7. Aches..... | 42 |
| 8. Sephuris..... | 30 |
| 9. Kerpheres... | 26 |

Ὅμου ἔτη σιδ'. 214

The same, according to EUSEBIUS (Chron. Armeno-lat.)

1^{ma} *Dynastia regum VIII.*

1. *Menes Thgnites.. 307 ab hippopotamo raptus est.*
2. *Athotis, fil. 27 in Memphi urbe regiam ædificavit: medicinam exercuit.*
3. *Cencenis, fil. 39 fames regionem occupavit: pyramidas ad Chovonem erexit.*
4. *Vavenephis..... 26*
5. *Usaphais 20*
6. *Niebais 26*
7. *Mempses 18 plurima facinora facta sunt maximæque corruptiones.*
8. *Vibethis 26*

Omnes simul cCLII. [228]

2^{da} *Dynastia regum IX.*

1. *Bochus, sub quo ingens terræ hiatus in Bubastone factus est, multique perierunt.*
2. *Cechous, qui (?) et Apis et Mnevis nec non Mendesius caper tanquam Dii habiti sint.*
3. *Biophis, sub quo lex sancita qua feminis quoque regni honor delatus est.*
4. } *alii tres, quorum ætate nullum insigne opus factum est.*
6. }
7. *sub septimo, commentores subularum Nilum fl. diebus XI malle aqua perminto fuisse aiunt.*
8. *Sesochris, cujus proceritas cubitis v et latitudo palmis 3 fuisse dicitur.*
9. *sub nono....*

Regnaruntque simul annis ccxcvii.

3^{ta} *Dynastia Memphitarum regum VIII.*

1. *Necherochis, sub quo Libyes adversum Ægyptios rebellarunt, quumque Luna importune aucta fuerit, metu ducti seipsos rursus in servitutem dedidere.*
2. *Sesorthus, qui ob medicam artem Æsculapius ab Ægyptiis vocatus est; hic etiam sectis lapidibus ædificandi modum invenit, atque literis exarandis curam impendit.*
3. }
4. }
5. } *sex cæteri nihil memoria dignum gesserunt.*
6. }
7. }
8. }

Quique regnarant annis 197.

*The Egyptian Dynasties of MANETHO, according to AFRICANUS.*4th Dynasty, 8 Memphite kings, συγγενείας ἐτέρας.

| | | |
|---------------------|-----|---|
| 1. Soris..... | 29' | |
| 2. Suphis..... | 63 | ὅς τὴν μεγίστην ἤγειρε πυραμίδα ἣν φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ὑπὸ Χέοπος γεγονέναι· οὗτος δὲ καὶ ὑπερόπτης εἰς θεοὺς ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν συνέγραψε βίβλον, ἣν ὡς μέγα χρῆμα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενόμενος ἐκτησάμην. |
| 3. Suphis..... | 66 | |
| 4. Mencheres..... | 63 | |
| 5. Rhatoeses..... | 25 | |
| 6. Bicheres..... | 22 | |
| 7. Sebercheres..... | 7 | |
| 8. Thamphthis..... | 9 | |
| <hr/> | | |
| Ὅμου ἔτη σοδ'. | 274 | [284] |

5th Dynasty, 9 Elephantine kings.

| | | |
|--------------------|-----|-------------------------------|
| 1. Usercheres..... | 28' | [No notices of these reigns.] |
| 2. Sefhres..... | 13 | |
| 3. Nephcheres..... | 20 | |
| 4. Sisires..... | 7 | |
| 5. Cheres..... | 20 | |
| 6. Rhathures..... | 44 | |
| 7. Mencheres..... | 0 | |
| 8. Tancheres..... | 44 | |
| 9. Obnus..... | 33 | |
| <hr/> | | |
| Ὅμου ἔτη σμη'. | 248 | [218] |

6th Dynasty, 6 Memphite kings.

| | | |
|----------------------|-----|--|
| 1. Othoes..... | 30 | ὅς ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων ἀνιρέθη. |
| 2. Phios..... | 53 | |
| 3. Methu-suphis..... | 7 | |
| 4. Phiops..... | 100 | ἐξαέτης ἀρξάμενος βασιλεύειν διεγένετο μέχρι ἐτῶν ρ'. |
| 5. Menthesuphis..... | 1 | |
| 6. Nitocris..... | 12 | γεννικωτάτη καὶ εὐμορφοτάτη τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν γενομένη, ξανθὴ τὴν χροιάν, ἣ τὴν τρίτην ἤγειρε πυραμίδα. |
| <hr/> | | |
| Ὅμου ἔτη σγ'. | 203 | |

(The sum of i, ii, is specified by Syncellus as 555

| | | |
|----------------------------|------|-----------|
| i, ii, iii..... | 769 | |
| i, ii, iii, iv..... | 1046 | [qu. 1043 |
| i, ii, iii, iv, v..... | 1294 | 1291 |
| i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi..... | 1497 | 1494 ?].) |

The same, according to EUSEBIUS, (Chron. Armeno-lat.)

4th Dynastia Memphitarum regum xvii ex alia stirpe regni.

Quorum tertius Suphis qui magnam illam pyramidem erexit quam a Cheope factam Herodotus dicit: qui et superbus in Deos inventus est, usquedum eum poenituit, et libros Sacrarum conscripsit; quos velut magnas opes habebant Ægyptii. De cæteris vero nihil memoria dignum scriptum est.

Quique regnarunt annis 448.

5th Dynastia regum xxxi Elephantiniorum.

Quorum primus Othius: hic a satellitibus suis occisus est.

Quartus Phiops, sexennis regnare coepit tenuitque usque ad annum (centesimum?)

6th Dynastia.

Mulier quædam Nitocris nomine regnavit; quæ omnium sui temporis virorum fortissima erat atque omnium foeminarum pulcherrima, flavo colore et rubris genis; ipsam quæ aiunt tertiam pyramidem ædificasse; quæ est moles erecta collis instar.

Qui regnaverunt annis 203.

[Eusebius omits Africanus's 5th and splits the 6th into two, which he calls 5th and 6th. The number of years belonging to the 5th is not specified. The sum of the numbers specified is 1397].

The Egyptian Dynasties of MANETHO, according to AFRICANUS.

The 7th Dynasty of 70 Memphite kings, who reigned 70 days.

The 8th, of 27 Memphite kings, who reigned 146 years.

The 9th, of 19 Heracleopolite kings, who reigned 409 years.

Ὁν ὁ πρῶτος Ἀχθόης δεινότατος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος τοῖς ἐν πάσῃ Αἰγύπτῳ κακὰ εἰργάσατο, ὕστερον δὲ μανίᾳ περιέπεσε, καὶ ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου διεφθάρη.

The 10th Dynasty of 19 Heracleopolite kings, who reigned 185 years.

The 11th, of 16 Diospolite kings, who reigned 43 years.

Μεθ' οὗς Ἀμμενέμης ἔτη ις' (16').

Μέχρι τοῦδε τὸν πρῶτον τόμον καταγέοχε Μανεθῶ.

Ὁμοῦ βασιλεῖς ριβ', ἔτη β,τ', ἡμέραι ὁ. (192 kings, 2300' 70^d), read, ἔτη β,τῇ, ἡμέραι ὁ': the ἡ at the end of the numeral was mistaken for the same letter at the beginning of the following word.

(Syncellus makes the sum of i - viii = 1639', 70^d, which shews that the amount of i - vi is 1493 years. Hence the joint amount of ix, x, xi, which he does not specify, should be 669': there is therefore an error in the three last. The total amount of the actual lengths of dynasties is

$$\begin{array}{r} 1497 + 783' 70^d + 16' = 2280' 70^d \\ \text{or } 1493 \qquad \qquad \qquad = 2276' 70). \end{array}$$

§ 569. THE SECOND BOOK.

The 12th Dynasty, 7 Diospolite kings.

| | | |
|----------------------------|-----|---|
| 1. Sesonchosis..... | 46' | (son of the former Ammansemes.) |
| 2. Ammanemes | 38 | |
| 3. Sesostris | 48 | Conquered all Asia, &c. in nine years: erected phallic monuments. Ὡς ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων μετὰ Ὅσιριν πρῶτον νομισθῆναι. |
| 4. Lachares | 8 | τὸν ἐν Ἀρσενοῖτῃ λαβύρινθον ἐαυτῷ τάφον κατεσκεύασε. |
| 5. Ammeres | 8 | |
| 6. Ammenemes | 8 | |
| 7. Skemiophris, his sister | 4 | |
| Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ρξ' | 160 | |

The 13th Dynasty, 60 Diospolite kings, who reigned 453 years.

The 14th, of 76 Xoïte kings, who reigned 184 years.

The same, according to EUSEBIUS, (Chron. Armeno-lat.)

7^{ma} Dynastia Memphitarum regum v qui regnaverunt annis 75.

8^{ma} Dynastia Memphitarum regum v qui regnaverunt annis 100.

9^a Dynastia iv regum Heracleopolitarum qui regnaverunt annis 100.

Quorum primus Ochthovis omnium qui ante eum reges fuerunt crudelissimus fuit ; itaque tot tantaque in universa Ægypto scelera ac flagitia patravit, ut demum dementia laborans a crocodilo bestia devoratus fuerit.

10^{ma} Dynastia Heracleopolitarum regum xix, annis 185.

11^{ma} Dynastia Diospolitarum regum xvi, annis 43.

Post quos Ammenemes annis 16.

Huc usque primum totum producit Manethus. Simul reges 192, anni 2,300.

[The sum of the actual numbers is but 1397 + 619 = 1916 ; hence either the epigraphe or the numbers are greatly corrupt.]

12^{ma} Dynasti Diospolitarum regum vii.

- | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|--|
| 1. Sesonchosis..... | 46 ⁷ | Ammanemis fil. |
| 2. Ammenemes ... | 38 | a suis eunuchis occisus. |
| 3. Sesostris | 48 | quem 4 cubitorum, palmarum 3, digitorum 2 (procerum) fuisse dicunt. Conquered all Asia, &c. ... adeo ut ab Ægyptiis post Osirim habitus sit. |
| 4. Lambares | 8 | In Arsenoite labyrinthum sibi construxit. |

Hujus successores. 42

Simul omnes 245 [182]

13^{ma} Dynastia, Diospolitarum lx, annis 453.

14^{ma} Dynastia, Xoitarum lxxvi, annis 484, '[qu. 184?]

The Egyptian Dynasties of MANETHO, according to AFRICANUS.

The 15th, δυναστεία Ποιμένων. Ἦσαν δὲ φοίνικες ξένοι βασιλεῖς 5', οἱ καὶ Μέμφιν εἶλον.

| | | |
|----------------|-----|---|
| 1. Saïtes..... | 19' | ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Σαΐτης νομός, οἱ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σεθροῖτῃ νομῇ πόλιν ἔκτισαν, ἀφ' ἧς ὀρμώμενοι Αἰγυπτίους ἐχειρώσαντο. |
| 2. Bnon..... | 44 | |
| 3. Pachnan.. | 61 | |
| 4. Staan | 50 | |
| 5. Archles... | 49 | |
| 6. Apophis.. | 61 | |
| Ὅμου σπδ'. | 284 | |

The 16th Dynasty, ποιμένες Ἕλληνες [ἄλλοι?] βασιλεῖς λβ', 518 years.

The 17th, ποιμένες ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς μγ (λγ') καὶ Θεβαῖοι Διοσπολίται μγ', 151 years.

The 18th Dynasty, of 16 Diospolitan kings.

| | | |
|----------------------------|----------------|---|
| 1. Amōs..... | — ¹ | [The Exode, Afr.] |
| 2. Chebrōs | 13 | |
| 3. Amenōphthis | 24 | |
| 4. Amersis..... | 22 | |
| 5. Misaphris (Misphris)... | 13 | |
| 6. Misphragmuthosis | 26 | [Deucalion's flood, Afr.] |
| 7. Tuthmosis..... | 9 | |
| 8. Amenophis | 31 | οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μέμνων εἶναι νομιζόμενος καὶ φθεγγόμενος λίθος. |
| 9. Orus | 37 | |
| 10. Acherres | 32 | |
| 11. Rhathōs | 6 | |
| 12. Chebres..... | 12 | |
| 13. Acherres | 12 | |
| 14. Armeses | 5 | |
| 15. Rhameses | 1 | |
| 16. Amenōphath | 19 | |
| Ὅμου ἔτη σξγ'..... | 262 | |

¹ His number of years is not specified.

The same, according to EUSEBIUS, (Chron. Armeno-lat.)

15th Dynastia, Diospolitarum regum, annis 250.

16th Dynastia, Thebanorum regum v, annis 190.

17th Dynastia, Pastorum, qui erant fratres Phœnices peregrini reges, qui Memphin etiam ceperunt.

1. Saïtes 19' A quo Saitarum Nomus nomen habuit : qui in Sethroite quoque nomo condiderunt urbem ; ex qua irruptione facta Ægyptios ipsos subegere.
2. Bnon 40
3. Archles .. 30
4. Apophis. 14

Summa... 103 [Horum tempore ut imperaret Ægyptiis Josephus apparuit : Eus.]

18th Dynastia, regum xiv. Diospolitarum.

| | | |
|----------------------|-----|--|
| 1. Amoses | 25' | |
| 2. Chebron | 13 | |
| 3. Amophis | 21 | |
| 4. Memphres | 12 | |
| 5. Myspharmuthosis.. | 26 | |
| 6. Tuthmosis | 9 | |
| 7. Amenophis | 31 | |
| 8. Orus | 23 | 38 Jerom. <i>Hic est qui Memmon existimatus fuit, lapis loquax.</i> |
| 9. Achencheres..... | 16 | 12 |
| 10. [Achoris | | 7] |
| 11. [Chencheres..... | | 18]* |
| 12. Acherres | 8 | |
| 13. Cherres | 15 | |
| 14. Armais | 5 | <i>Qui et Danaus, annis v exactis Ægypto pulsus, adiens Helladem Argo capta regnat in Argivos.</i> |
| 15. Ramesses | 68 | |
| 16. Amenophis | 40 | |
| Summa | 348 | [317] 348 |

* The omission of this pair in Armeno-lat. is evidently accidental, occasioned by the similarity of the names 9 and 11. The Ar-

menian at 9 has the remark, hujus ætate Moyses Judæorum ex Ægypto egressus dux fuit.

*The Egyptian Dynasties of MANETHO, according to AFRICANUS.**The 19th Dynasty, 7 Diospolite kings.*

| | | |
|-----------------------|----|--|
| 1. Sethos | 51 | |
| 2. Rhapsares | 61 | |
| 3. Ammenephthes | 20 | |
| 4. Rhameses | 60 | lege 66. |
| 5. Ammenemnes.. | 5 | |
| 6. Thuoris | 7 | ὁ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ καλούμενος Πόλυβος, Ἀλκάνδρας ἀνὴρ ἐφ' οὗ τὸ Ἴλιον ἐάλω. |

Ὅμοῦ σθ'. 209. [204] 209

Ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δευτέρου τόμου Μανεθῶ βασιλεῖς 45'. (96) ἔτη β. ρκα'. (2121).

§ 570. THE THIRD BOOK.

The 20th Dynasty, 12 Diospolite kings, οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ρλέ'. 135 years.

The 21st, 7 Tanite kings.

| | |
|-------------------|----|
| 1. Smendes | 26 |
| 2. Psusennes | 46 |
| 3. Nephelcheres | 4 |
| 4. Amenophthis | 9 |
| 5. Osochor | 6 |
| 6. Psinaches | 9 |
| 7. Psusennes | 14 |

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη ρλ'. [114]

The 22nd, 9 Bubastite kings.

| | |
|----------------------------|----|
| 1. Sesonchis | 21 |
| 2. Osorthon | 15 |
| 3, 4, 5. <i>innom.</i> ... | 25 |
| 6. Takelothis ... | 13 |
| 7, 8, 9. <i>innom.</i> ... | 42 |

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη ρκ'. [116]

The 23rd, 4 Tanite kings.

| | | |
|------------------|----|------------------------------------|
| 1. Petubastes.. | 40 | (ἐφ' οὗ Ὀλυμπιάς ἦχθη πρώτη. Afr.) |
| 2. Osorcho | 8 | ὃν Ἡρακλέα Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσι. |
| 3. Psammus.... | 10 | |
| 4. Zet | 31 | |

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη πθ'. 89

24th Dynasty.

Bocchoris the Saite, 6 years, ἐφ' οὗ ἀρρίον ἐφθέγγατο.

The same, according to EUSEBIUS, (Chron. Armeno-lat.)

19^a Dynastia, Diospolitarum regum v.

| | | |
|----------------------|-----|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Sethos | 55 | |
| 2. Rampses | 66 | |
| 3. Amenephthis | 8 | |
| 4. Ammenemes | 26 | |
| 5. Thuoris | 7 | <i>Homero, Polybus: Ilium captum.</i> |
| Summa cxciv. | 162 | |

Insinul, ex secundo Manethi tomo, xcii regum anni 2121.

20^{na} Dynastia Diospolitarum xii regum, annis 172.

21^{na} Tanitarum vii.

| | | |
|---------------------|-----|--|
| 1. Smendis | 26 | |
| 2. Psusennus | 41 | |
| 3. Nephhercheres... | 4 | |
| 4. Amenophthis... | 9 | |
| 5. Osochor | 6 | |
| 6. Psinnaches | 9 | |
| 7. Psosennes | 35 | |
| Summa cxxx. | 130 | |

22^{da} Bubastitarum iii.

| | | |
|-------------------|------|--|
| 1. Sesonchusis... | 21 | |
| 2. Osorthos | 15 | |
| 3. Tacellothis... | 13 | |
| Summa xliv. | (49) | |

23^{da} Tanitarum iii.

| | | |
|------------------|----|------------------------------------|
| 1. Petubastis... | 25 | |
| 2. Osorthon... | 9 | quem Herculem appellarunt Ægyptii. |
| 3. Psammus ... | 10 | |
| Summa xlv. | 44 | |

24^{ta} Dynastia.

Bocchoris Saites, 44. sub quo agnus loquutus est.

*The Egyptian Dynasties of MANETHO, according to AFRICANUS.**25th Dynasty, 3 Ethiopians.*

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. Sabacon | 8. Took Bocchoris captive, and burnt him alive. |
| 2. Sebichus, or Sevechus | 14 |
| 3. Tarkus | 18 |
| 'Ομοῦ ἔτη μ'. | 40 |

26th Dynasty, 9 Saite kings.

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Stephinates | 7 |
| 2. Nechepsos..... | 6 |
| 3. Nechoa | 8 |
| 4. Psammetichus | 54 |
| 5. Nechoa II. | 6 |
| 6. Psammuthis..... | 6 |
| 7. Vaphris..... | 19 |
| 8. Amosis | 44 |
| 9. Psammecherites | 0 . 6 months. |
| 'Ομοῦ ἔτη ρν', μῆνας ε'. | 150'. 6 ^m . |

27th Dynasty, 8 Persians.

1. Cambyses,
- &c.

§ 571. *Dynasty of Gods and Demigods: MANETHO.*

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| 1. Hephæstus ψκδ', ἡμισυ, καὶ τέσσαρες ἡμέρας, or ψκδ' δ'. = 724½ (Dindorf.) | 724½ or 724½ Dind. |
| 2. Helios s. of Hephæstus..... | 86 or 80½ |
| 3. Agathodæmon (56½, 10 ^d .)..... | 56½ or 56½ |
| 4. Cronos..... | 40½ |
| 5. Osiris and Isis | 35 |
| 6. <i>Hiatus.</i> | |
| 7. Typhon | 29 |

(But these numbers were obtained by later computists, from the original numbers which they chose to consider as lunar months. Syncellus says, First reigned 7 Gods, 1985 years in all (*al.* 1988), the first of whom, Hephæstus, reigned 9000 years. These 9000 years considered as months give 724 years nearly. Hence it is clear that we must read 11,985 or 11,988. Now the sum of the above numbers as given by Dindorf is 965 years; but 11,988 lunar months at 29½ days make 968 years. Hence the missing number at No. 6 is probably 3.)

8. Horu

The same, according to EUSEBIUS, (Chron. Armeno-lat.)

25th *Dynastia regum Æthiopum III.*

| | | |
|-----------------------|-----|--|
| 1. Sabbacon | 12. | Captivum duxit Bocchorin et vivum combussit. |
| 2. Sebichos, fil. ... | 12 | |
| 3. Taracos | 20 | |
| Summa XLIV. | 44 | |

26th *Dynastia regum Saitarum IX.*

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| 1. Ammeres Æthiops ... | 18 |
| 2. Stephinathis | 7 |
| 3. Nechepsus | 6 |
| 4. Nechao | 6 |
| 5. Psammetichus | 44 |
| 6. Nechao II. | 6 |
| 7. Psammuthes alter ... | 17 |
| 8. Vaphres | 25 |
| 9. Amosis | 42 |
| Summa CLXVII. | (171) |

27th *Dynastia Persarum, &c.*

| | | |
|-------------------------|----|---|
| 8. Horus the Demigod... | 25 | } (The sum of these nine demigods is 214 years: it should, doubtless, be 216 or 217.) |
| 9. Ares | 23 | |
| 10. Anubis | 17 | |
| 11. Heracles | 15 | |
| 12. Apollo | 25 | |
| 13. Ammon | 30 | |
| 14. Tithoes | 27 | |
| 15. Sosus | 32 | |
| 16. Zeus | 20 | |

§ 572. *Another Account of the Gods and Demigods: EUSEB.*

The first man (*homo*) was *Hephæstus*, inventor of fire.

From him, *Sol*.

After him, *Agathodæmon*.

Then, *Cronus*.

Next, *Osiris*.

Then, Typhon brother of Osiris.

Then, Horus son of Osiris and Isis. These were the first Egyptian kings.

Then the empire descended through a long succession to Bites, by the space of 13,900 years (which Eusebius takes to mean so many months).

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Then <i>after the Gods</i> , a race of Demigods... | 1255 years. |
| Item, <i>alii reges</i> | 1817 |
| <i>Alii xxx Memphisæ reges</i> | 1790 |
| <i>Alii x Thymitæ reges</i> | 350 |
| <i>Manium ac Semideorum regnum</i> | 5813 |
| <i>Simul omnes anni, myrias et mille</i> | (11,025) |
| | 13,900 |
| | (24,925) |

*Simul omnes anni Deorum, ac Semideorum
atque Manium duæ myriades, quatuor millia,
et dcccc (24,900.)*

§ 573.

The Old Egyptian Chronicle.

Φέρεται παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις παλαιόν τι Χρονογραφεῖον περιέχον λ' δυναστειῶν ἐν γενεαῖς πάλιν ριγ' χρόνον ἄπειρον, ἐν μυριάσι τρισὶ καὶ σφκέ' (36,525) πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Αὐριτῶν, δεύτερον δὲ τῶν Μεσστραίων, τρίτον δὲ Αἰγυπτίων, οὕτω πως ἐπὶ λέξεως ἔχον.

Kingdom of the Gods.

Hephæstus: hath no time, for he shineth night and day.

Helius son of Hephæstus 30,000 years.

Kronos and all the other twelve Gods γ,θ,δ'... 3,984

Demigods eight (r. nine) kings 217

Καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς γενεαὶ ιε' ΚΥΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΥΚΛΟΥ ἀνεγράφησαν ἐν ἔτεσιν υμγ', 15 Generations..... 443 years.

| | | |
|-------------------|----------------|-----|
| The 16th dynasty, | 8 Tanites | 190 |
| ... 17th | 4 Memphisites | 103 |
| ... 18th | 14 Memphisites | 348 |
| ... 19th | 5 Diospolites | 194 |
| ... 20th | 8 Diospolites | 228 |
| ... 21st | 6 Tanites | 121 |
| ... 22d | 3 Tanites | 48 |
| ... 23d | 2 Diospolites | 19 |
| ... 24th | 3 Saïtes | 44 |
| ... 25th | 3 Ethiopians | 44 |
| ... 26th | 7 Memphisites | 177 |
| ... 27th | Persians, &c. | |

§ 574. *Castor's* reckoning is thus reported by the *Excerptor Barbaro-latinus* ap. Scalig.

| | | |
|---------------------------------|------|---|
| Gods: Hephæstus | 680 | } <i>Colliguntur Deorum regna</i> 1,550. (The sum is 1250. Suidas s.v. gives Hephæstus 1680'.) |
| Sol Hephæsti fil. | 77 | |
| Osinesiris | 420 | |
| (Isis et Osiris ?) | | |
| Orus Stoliarchus | 28 | |
| Typhon | 45 | |
| Demigods: Anubis, | 83 | |
| Apion (Apis?) | 77 | |
| <i>Ecymii</i> (ιε' Κυρκου?) ... | 2100 | |

Hæc finis de primo tomo Manethonis habens annos 2100.

| | | | |
|----------------------------|--------|----------------------------|--------|
| Mineas and 7 descendants.. | 253 | Dynasty of Diospolites.... | 9 |
| 8 others | 302 | Bubastites.... | 153 |
| Nechocheus and 8 others | 214 | Tanites..... | 184 |
| 17 others | 214 | Sebennites ... | 224 |
| 21 others | 258 | Memphites ... | 318 |
| Othoes and 7 others | 203 | Heliopolites.. | 221 |
| 14 others | 140 | Hermopolites | 260 |
| 20 others | 409 | | (1369) |
| 7 others | 204 | | |
| | (2197) | | |

Usque ad 17^{mem} potestatem (dynastiam) secundus scribitur tomus habens 1520 annos. The sum of the sixteen preceding items is 2197 + 1369 = 3566 : therefore we may perhaps read 3520 for 1520. Then, reading with Suidas 1680 instead of 680 (Hephæstus), the sum of the numbers is,

$$\begin{array}{r}
 1680 + 570 = 2250 \\
 83 + 77 = 160 \\
 2100 \\
 3520 \\
 \hline
 8030
 \end{array}$$

which is 3×2160 (= 6480) plus 1550 ("Deorum regna").

§ 575. *List of 38 Egyptian Kings: Eratosthenes (ap. Syncelli Chron.)*

| | <i>Years of reign.</i> | <i>Years of Bra elapsed.</i> | B. C. |
|---|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Menes the Thebinite | 62 | 0 | 2267 |
| 2. Athothis his son | 59 | 62 | 2205 |
| 3. Athothes | 32 | 121 | 2146 |
| 4. Diabies his son | 19 | 153 | 2114 |
| 5. Pemphos son of Athothes | 18 | 172 | 2095 |
| 6. Toegar Amachus, Momcheiri a Memphite | 79 | 190 | 2077 |
| 7. Stoechus = Ὁ Ἀπὸ ἀναίσθητός | 6 | 269 | 1998 |
| 8. Gosormies | 30 | 275 | 1992 |
| 9. Mares | 26 | 305 | 1962 |
| 10. Ansyphis | 20 | 331 | 1936 |
| 11. Sirius | 18 | 351 | 1916 |
| 12. Chnubis Gneurus | 22 | 369 | 1898 |
| 13. Rauosis = Archicrator | 13 | 391 | 1876 |
| 14. Biyris | 10 | 404 | 1863 |
| 15. Saophis I. | 29 | 414 | 1853 |
| 16. Saophis II. | 27 | 443 | 1824 |
| 17. Moscheres | 31 | 470 | 1797 |
| 18. Musthis | 33 | 501 | 1766 |
| 19. Pammes Archondes | 35 | 534 | 1733 |
| 20. Apappus Megistus (all but 1 hour) | 100 | 569 | 1698 |
| 21. Echescosocaras | 1 | 669 | 1598 |
| 22. Nitocris, a Queen who reigned instead of her husband | 6 | 670 | 1597 |
| 23. Myrtaeus | 22 | 676 | 1591 |
| 24. Thyosimares the strong | 12 | 698 | 1569 |
| 25. Thinillus = Augmenter of his Country's strength | 8 | 710 | 1557 |
| 26. Semphrocrates | 18 | 718 | 1549 |
| 27. Chuther Taurus, tyrannus | 7 | 736 | 1531 |
| 28. Meures | 12 | 743 | 1524 |
| 29. Chomaephtha | 11 | 755 | 1512 |
| 30. Soecuniosochus tyrannus | 60 | 766 | 1501 |
| 31. Peteathyres | 16 | 826 | 1441 |
| 32. Stammenemes II. | 23 | 842 | 1425 |
| 33. Sistosichermes = Hercules the Strong | 55 | 865 | 1402 |
| 34. Maris | 43 | 920 | 1347 |
| 35. Siphos | 5 | 963 | 1304 |
| 36. (hiatus of name) | 14 | 968 | 1299 |
| 37. Phruron = Nilus | 5 | 982 | 1285 |
| 38. Amuthantæus | 63 | 987 | 1280 |
| Sum... | 1050 | 1050 | 1217 |

§ 576. *Account of the Shepherds and 18th Dynasty reported from MANETHO by JOSEPHUS, c. Apion. i. 15. (comp. Theoph. Ant. ad Autolyc. iii. 20.)*

| | |
|------------------|-------|
| 1. Salatis..... | 19' |
| 2. Beon..... | 44 |
| 3. Apachnas..... | 36. 7 |
| 4. Apophis..... | 61. 0 |
| 5. Janias | 50. 1 |
| 6. Assis | 49. 2 |

[Sum... 259.10]

| | Jos. | Theoph. | Correct. | Sums. | Date. B. C. |
|------------------------------|----------|---------|----------|---------|--|
| 1. Tethmosis | 25. 4 | ... | 25. 4 | ... | 1667 § 515. |
| 2. Chebron | 13. 0 | ... | 13. 0 | 25. 4 | 1642 |
| 3. Amenophis..... | 20. 7 | ... | 20. 7 | 38. 4 | 1629 |
| 4. Amesses | 21. 9 | 21. 1 | 21. 1 | 58. 11 | 1608 |
| 5. Mephres..... | 12. 9 | ... | 12. 9 | 80. 0 | 1587 Exodus 1586. |
| 6. Mephramuthosis | 25. 10 | 20. 10 | 25. 10 | 92. 9 | 1574 |
| 7. Thmosis | 9. 8 | ... | 9. 8 | 118. 7 | 1549 |
| 8. Amenophis | 30. 10 | ... | 30. 10 | 128. 3 | 1539 |
| 9. Orus | 36. 5 | 35. 3 | 35. 3 | 159. 1 | 1508 |
| 10. Akenchres..... | 12. 1 | ... | 12. 1 | 194. 4 | 1473 |
| “his daughter,” Theoph. | ... | 12. 3 | | | |
| 11. Rathotis | 9. 0 | om. | 9. 0 | 206. 5 | 1461 |
| 12. Akenchères I. | 12. 5 | ... | 12. 5 | 215. 5 | 1452 |
| Mercheres, Theoph. | ... | 12. 3 | | | |
| 13. Akenchères II. | 12. 3 | om. | dele | | |
| 14. Armais | 4. 1 | 30. 1 | 30. 1 | 227. 10 | 1439 |
| 15. Ramesses | 1. 4 | 1. 4 | 1. 4 | 257. 11 | 1409 |
| 16. Arnesses Miammu | 66. 2 | 6. 2 | 66. 2 | 259. 3 | 1408 { Artificial epoch of Rameses, 1404. |
| 17. Amenophis..... | 19. 6 | ... | 19. 6 | 325. 5 | 1342 |
| | [333. 0] | | 344. 11 | 344. 11 | 1322 { Other artificial epoch of Sesostriis: actual epoch of the Sothic cycle. |
| 18. Sethosis | 59. 0 | | | | |
| 19. Rampses..... | 66. 0 | | | | |

Remarks on this and the other Lists of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

§ 577. The foregoing list seems to have been framed for the purpose of reconciling the two artificial epochs assigned to Rameses the Great, or Sesostriis. By one account, his epoch lay 5×216 years before the Philippine æra of Egyptian Chronology (324 B. C.) therefore 1404 B. C. By the other, his reign and the Sothic Cycle began together, therefore 1322 B. C.

Here, both data are secured by assuming a pair of kings, the one named *Rameses Mei Amun* (true name of Sesostris), the other *Sethos* (disguised name). A manifest vestige of this artifice remains in the statement recorded (as from Manetho) by Josephus, *c. Ap.* i. 16, 26; ii. 2, to the effect that from the expulsion of the shepherds by Tethmosis, who is (falsely) set at the beginning of the 18th dynasty, to the two brothers Sethos and Hermæus, otherwise *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*, are 393 years: then Sethos expelled Danaus, who thereupon fled to Argos, and Sethos reigned 59 years, then Rampses 66 years. Now this Hermæus is manifestly the *Armais* of Dyn. xviii. No. 14, (see the list of Eusebius), and Sethos is no other than *Rameses Miammu*, No. 16, (who however is made into two, No. 15 and 16). And further, he is given once more as Rampses No. 19. This is manifest, for only so is the number 393 made good: viz., No. 1—17 = 333 *plus* Sethosis 59 = 392. Whence it appears once more how little reliance is to be placed on the detailed statements of this list.

§ 578. Now, this term of 393 years is not set down accidentally. It enters, in fact, into all the lists of these two dynasties.

The *epigraphe* of the Second Book of Manetho notes a period of 96 reigns (*Eus.* 92), occupying 2121 years (*African.* and *Euseb.*) But the actual sum of the amounts assigned to the several dynasties is, in *Africanus* 2222 years, in *Eusebius* 2267 years. What then may be the meaning of this term 2121? It explains itself thus:—

$$\begin{array}{r} 8 \times 216 = 1728 \text{ years.} \\ \text{add} \quad \quad \quad 393 \\ \hline \text{the sum is} \quad 2121 \text{ years.} \end{array}$$

It means then, that the Second Book, either the whole of it or a part ending at some conspicuous epoch, exceeded 8 times 216 by 393 years.

First then take *Africanus*. His *declared* epoch of the 18th dynasty is 1797 B. C., though his *implied* date is 1667.

| | | | | |
|----------------------|------------|--------|------|--------|
| 18th dynasty ... | 2637 | begins | 1797 | (1667) |
| Sethos, r. | 51 ... 314 | ..... | 1534 | (1404) |
| Rapsaces | 61 ... 375 | ..... | 1483 | (1353) |
| Amenephthes ... | 20 ... 395 | ..... | 1422 | (1292) |
| <i>Rameses</i> | 60 | | 1402 | |

So that this scheme contrives to get a *Rameses* holding almost exactly the same place (5×216 before the Philippine æra), as *Sethos* or Sesostris does in the more original construction. Moreover, this year 1404 lies just the period of 393 years after the epoch of the 18th dynasty. (Hence we should perhaps read Rapsaces 60, Amenephthes 19; $263 + 51 + 60 + 19 = 393$). Moreover, in an earlier stage of the fabrication, the scheme probably lay thus:

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{B. C. dynasty xii—xvii. ...} \quad 1728 = 8 \times 216. \\ \text{xviii. to xix. 4.} \quad 393 \\ \hline 2121 \text{ years.} \end{array}$$

For if we reduce the Shepherd dynasty 284 years to 259 or 260, the sum of xii—xvii. will from 1750 become 1725 or 1726, just what it is in the existing list of Eusebius. Then $1726 + 395 = 2121$. Look now at the corrected list of Josephus. Here we find from the beginning of the dynasty to *Rameses Mei Amun* a period of 259' 3" almost fractionally identical with the term assigned to the Shepherds, 259' 2". This may enable us to reconstruct the scheme in an earlier stage of its growth, viz.: This term of 259 or 260 years was designed to be the length of the 18th dynasty. It was enlarged into 263 years because the period of $8 \times 216 = 1728$ was reduced to 1725: viz. $1728 + 260 = 1988$, and $1725 + 263 = 1988$.

§ 579. Turn now to the list of Eusebius. Here,

1. xii—xvii = 1725: and $1728 + 393 = 2121$, the number expressed in the epigrapha.

2. The sum of the numbers set down in xviii. dynasty, is 338 or 348, for the text varies. Now $338 + 55 = 393$ years ending at Rampses = *Rameses*.

3. The sum of the numbers upward from Cambyses to xxth dynasty inclusive is 651: hence the reign of *Thuoris* (7 years), to which the taking of Troy is referred, ends 1176, and begins 1183, just a year after the received date of the fall of Troy. This proves that the sum of 651 years is that which Eusebius contemplated, and not corrupt.

4. The sum of the 19th dynasty is expressed as 194 years; yet the items amount to only 162: hence at least 32 years are omitted. Then, from Rampses (No. 2) to the end of the dynasty, are $194 - 55 = 139$ years, and $1176 + 139 = 1315$ B. C., for the epoch of Rampses. This comes so near to 1322, that one is inevitably led to suppose a further error. Suppose *e. g.* that Eusebius placed the fall of Troy at the end of *Thuoris*, then the epoch of Rampses is precisely 1322 B. C., and the dynasty may be thus restored:

| | | | | |
|------------------|----|------------|--------------------|------------|
| 1. Sethos | 55 | 1377 B. C. | | |
| 2. Rameses | 66 | 1322 ... | | |
| 3. Amenephtes.. | 40 | 1256 ... | or 3. Amenephtes.. | 47 1256 |
| 4. Amenemes | 26 | 1216 ... | 4. Amenemes | 26 1209 |
| 5. Thuoris | 7 | 1190 ... | 5. Thuoris..... | 7 1183 |
| | | to 1183 | | to 1176 |

5. Eusebius refers the Exode to the reign of *Chencherres*, of course to the end of it. His date of that event is 1511 B. C.

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 11. Chencherres..... | 18 years. |
| 12. Acherres | 8 |
| 13. Cherres | 15 |
| 14. Armais..... | 5 |
| 15. <i>Rameses</i> | 66 so read for 68. |
| 16. Amenophis | 40 |
| | <hr/> 134 |

Hence his date for the last year of *Chencherres* is $1377 + 134 = 1511$ B. C., if his date for Rampses be 1322 B. C. This greatly establishes the foregoing determinations.

It appears then that Eusebius's scheme, whoever were its author, aims, like that of Africanus, at getting a period of 8×216 *plus* 393 or 2121 years, ending at *Rameses*: but Eusebius makes the epoch of *Rameses* also the epoch of the *Sothiac* cycle 1322 B.C., while Africanus places him at 1404 B.C. or 5×216 years before the *era* of the Greeks.

§ 580. We may now reconstruct this part of the Chronology according to the mind of both authors.

| AFRICANUS. | | EUSEBIUS. | | AFRICANUS. | | | | EUSEBIUS. | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------|-----------|-----|------------|-----|------|-----|-----------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|---------|-----|
| | | | | Yrs. | | Sum. | | Epochs. | | Yrs. | | Sum. | | Epochs. | |
| 1. Amosis | id. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 25 | ... | 1715 | ... | 1667 | ... | ... | ... |
| 2. Chebron ... | id. | 13 | ... | 1797 | ... | 1667 | ... | 13 | 28 | 1690 | ... | 1612 | ... | ... | ... |
| 3. Amenophis | id. | 24 | 13 | 1784 | ... | 1654 | ... | 21 | 38 | 1677 | ... | 1629 | ... | ... | ... |
| 4. Amersis ... | om. | 22 | 37 | 1760 | ... | 1630 | ... | om. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5. Misaphris... | id. | 13 | 59 | 1738 | ... | 1608 | ... | 12 | 59 | 1656 | ... | 1608 | ... | ... | ... |
| 6. Misphrag- muthosis } | id. | 26 | 72 | 1725 | ... | 1595 | ... | 26 | 71 | 1644 | ... | 1596 | ... | ... | ... |
| 7. Tuthmosis. | id. | 9 | 98 | 1699 | ... | 1569 | ... | 9 | 97 | 1618 | ... | 1570 | ... | ... | ... |
| 8. Amenophis | id. | 31 | 107 | 1690 | ... | 1560 | ... | 31 | 106 | 1609 | ... | 1561 | ... | ... | ... |
| 9. Horus | id. | 37 | 138 | 1659 | ... | 1529 | ... | 28 | 137 | 1578 | ... | 1530 | ... | ... | ... |
| 10. Acherres ... | Achencheres | 32 | 175 | 1622 | ... | 1492 | ... | 16 | 165 | 1550 | ... | 1502 | ... | ... | ... |
| 11. Rathos | Achoris | 6 | 207 | 1590 | ... | 1460 | ... | 7 | 181 | 1534 | ... | 1486 | ... | ... | ... |
| 12. Chebres ... | Chencherres | 12 | 213 | 1584 | ... | 1454 | ... | 16 | 188 | 1527 | ... | 1479 | ... | ... | ... |
| 13. Acherres .. | { Acherres... | 12 | 225 | 1572 | ... | 1442 | ... | 8 | 204 | 1511 | ... | 1463 | ... | ... | ... |
| | { Cherres ... | om. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 15 | 212 | 1503 | ... | 1455 | ... | ... | ... |
| 14. Armeses ... | Armais | 5 | 237 | 1560 | ... | 1430 | ... | 5 | 227 | 1488 | ... | 1440 | ... | ... | ... |
| 15. Rameses... | id. | 1 | 242 | 1555 | ... | 1425 | ... | 66 | 232 | 1483 | ... | 1435 | ... | ... | ... |
| 16. Amenophis | id. | 19 | 243 | 1554 | ... | 1424 | ... | 40 | 298 | 1417 | ... | 1369 | ... | ... | ... |
| 1. Sethos | id. | 51 | 262 | 1535 | ... | 1405 | ... | 55 | 338 | 1377 | ... | 1329 | ... | ... | ... |
| 2. Rapsaces ... | Rampses | 60 | 313 | 1484 | ... | 1354 | ... | 66 | 393 | 1322 | ... | 1274 | ... | ... | ... |
| 3. Amme- nephtes } | id. | 20 | 373 | 1424 | ... | 1290 | ... | 47 | 459 | 1256 | ... | 1208 | ... | ... | ... |
| 4. Rameses.... | om. | 60 | 393 | 1404 | ... | 1274 | ... | om. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5. Ammenemes | id. | 5 | 453 | 1344 | ... | 1214 | ... | 26 | 506 | 1209 | ... | 1161 | ... | ... | ... |
| 6. Thuoris | id. | 7 | 458 | 1339 | ... | 1209 | ... | 7 | 532 | 1183 | ... | 1135 | ... | ... | ... |
| | | | 465 | 1332 | ... | 1203 | ... | ... | 539 | 1176 | ... | 1128 | ... | ... | ... |

§ 581. One or two remarks must be added to what has been said.

1. Africanus's epoch of Amosis is, of course, $1797 + 25 = 1822$ B.C., just the epoch of Joseph = Salatis. In other words, the epoch of the 18th dynasty is carried back to the true epoch of the Shepherds. Africanus assigns to the Shepherds 284 years. This number is derived from the 259 years 2 months of the earlier account by adding thereto the 25 years of Amosis. The scheme, in this stage of its growth, consisted of these items:

| | | |
|-------------------------|------|--------|
| Shepherds | 259' | } 284. |
| Amosis | 25 | |
| | 284 | { |
| Chebron to Sethos | 259 | |

The retrojection of the first period of 284 years to the 15th dynasty, belongs to a later stage. Then the whole period xii—xvii. was expanded into 1728, making xii—xviii = 1728 + 259 = 1987 years, which subsequently was distributed thus,

| | |
|-----------|-------------------------|
| xii—xvii. | 1725, still later 1750. |
| xviii. | 262 |
| | 1987 |

The grounds of these processes have been already described.

2. Between the scheme of Africanus and that of Eratosthenes, are these coincidences :

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------|---|----------|
| Chebron | 1797 | Moscheres | 1797 |
| <i>Achoris</i> (Eus.) } | 1590 | <i>Echescos-ocaras</i> | 1598 |
| <i>Rathos</i> (Afr.) } | | (<i>Nitocris</i> | 1597 |
| | | <i>Myrtæus</i> | 1591) |
| <i>Ar-mais</i> (<i>Mai-Re</i>) ... | 1560 | <i>Thyosi-Mares</i> | 1560 |
| <i>Ramesses</i> | 1555 | <i>Thinillus</i> , "augmenter of country's strength" ... } | 1557 |
| <i>Ammenephtis</i> | 1424 | <i>St-amenemes</i> | 1425 |
| <i>Rameses</i> (= <i>Sesostris</i>) | 1404 | <i>Sistosichermes</i> } | ... 1402 |
| | | (= <i>Sethosis-Ra-me?</i>) } | |

And from Moscheres to Sesostris-Rameses are 395 years, as in Africanus from Amosis to Rameses 393.

3. It deserves also to be remarked, that in this scheme the *true* date of the Exode lies very nearly (1584) at the *beginning* of the reign of that Chencherres to which Eusebius (placing it 75 years later than the truth) assigns it.

4. The scheme of Eusebius gives xii—xvii = 1725, representing an earlier statement of 1728 = 8 × 216. He rightly places the Shepherds with a reign of 103 years (for which replace 106) immediately prior to the 18th dynasty. Hence his epoch of the Shepherds is 1715 + 106 = 1821, which is, again, the true epoch of Salatis = Joseph. Then from this epoch to the first *Ramesses* are 1821 – 1483 = 338 years: and from *Amosis* to *Sethos* also 338 years. This is a further indication of what I before said, that *Ramesses*, No. 15, is the duplicate of *Sethos*.

5. Lastly, *Horus* in Eusebius begins to reign almost exactly at the true time of the Exode, 1578 B.C. or 1587, if his reign lasted 37 years (as Africanus). This is significant in connexion with the mythus of the God *Horus*.

IV.

OUTLINES of a CHRONOLOGICAL HARMONY of the GOSPEL HISTORY of our LORD'S MINISTRY; with an Attempt to explain the Structure of that part of the First Gospel which is included between the Baptism of Christ and the Martyrdom of John the Baptist.

§ 582. IN our investigation of the time of our Saviour's Passion, it appeared that the astronomical element of the question pointed to the year 29, in which alone of the years within which that great event must necessarily be placed, the 14th Nisan could coincide with the sixth day of the week. This determination seemed the more likely to be the true one, because it appeared that the year thus marked is precisely that which is given in a great majority of ancient testimonies, especially in the almost unanimous tradition of the early Latin Church. Nay, the very day, Friday 18 March, stood recorded in a document of which at least the ground-work was derived from the most venerable antiquity, § 83. We have since found a further attestation in the fact that the Churches of the first two centuries made the 18th March their paschal terminus, § 429. It was shown further, that the Chronology of S. Paul's history implies this year as the year of the Crucifixion, § 100. And lastly, a great number of very remarkable arrangements belonging, as it would appear, to an Order of Divine Providence, point precisely to this year and day : § 342, 343, 344, 346, 348, 352, 359, 360, 361, 372—5, 382, 390, 391.

But it resulted from this conclusion, that our Saviour's Ministry, from the Baptism to the Crucifixion, occupied a period of only *one* year and a few weeks. For not only is the year of the first Passover of that Ministry defined by an historical note of time, § 72, but it would be almost impossible, on any other supposition to reconcile, with that conclusion the chronological statement with which S. Luke opens his history of the Lord's Ministry. On the supposition that our Lord was baptized early in the year 28, that statement is attended with no great difficulty, inasmuch as the *consular* year in which the 15th of Tiberius began is the year 28. Besides, in our subsequent investigation of the O.T. chronology, we have discovered at least one clear instance of an anticipation similar in kind to that which we suppose in the present case : § 234, *note*, and § 267.

Moreover, *this* result, also, was found to be in accordance with the most venerable tradition of early opinion, § 85 ff. It seemed, too, when taken in connexion with the concurrent testimony of antiquity in respect of the *day* of our Saviour's Baptism, to be stamped with a peculiar character in respect of Prophecy : § 348. But then directly at variance with this conclusion was a text of S. John, in which there is mention of a Passover intermediate between the Passover after the Baptism and the Passover of the Crucifixion. It appeared however that there are strong grounds for doubting the genuineness of that mention. It is

almost certain that the word "Passover" was not found in the copies of the fourth gospel which existed in the three first centuries, in some copies even later, § 89—92. To which I will now add a further piece of evidence, the value of which, however, must be left for the consideration of those who are more versed in the history of the Ecclesiastical Calendar.—It is certain that the first miracle of feeding occurred soon after the return of the Twelve Apostles from their first mission, Luke ix. 7 ff. compared with Matt. xiv. 12 ff.: but that return nearly coincided in time with the martyrdom of John the Baptist, for it was upon receiving tidings of that event that our Lord retired into the wilderness on the very day of the miracle, Matt. xiv. 13. Now the Roman Calendars, from which our own was formed, place the 'F. of S. John Baptist beheaded' at 29 August. I am aware (indeed any one may learn from Wheatley) that according to Durandus the true original name and intent of the Festival was 'F. collectionis S. Johann. B.', the celebration of the miraculous discovery and collection of the remains of S. John: but how little credit is due to this monkish comment will be evident on inspection of the *Paschal Chronicle* p. 174 (217 ed. Par.), where the *beheading* of S. John is assigned to the 29th of Lous = August, the very day to which the Latin Calendars assign the *F. decollationis S. Johannis Baptiste*¹.

It seems that this date must have been assigned on one or other of these two grounds. Either there existed an original tradition purporting that S. John's martyrdom occurred about this time of the year, in which case the time of the miracle of feeding could not have been near the *Passover*: or, those with whom the date originated, and from whom it was derived to the Calendars of both Greeks and Latins, were led to it by comparing the Gospels, and perceiving that the miracle occurred shortly before the Feast of *Tabernacles*. Certainly, one cannot see how they came to fix on this time of the year, if their copies of S. John, like ours, called that Festival the *Passover*.

It remains now that we should consider whether it be possible to comprise "all that Jesus did and taught," from His Baptism to His Crucifixion, within the period of time thus defined, that is, within the space of about 440 days. In discussions relating to the chronology and harmony of the Gospels, it is often asserted that our Lord's ministry must have occupied a much longer period than this; and this is assumed on *a priori* considerations which I cannot but deem very much misplaced, and somewhat rationalistic and irreverent. Thus we are told, that the vastly greater dignity of our Saviour's ministry necessarily implies a longer space of time in comparison with the Baptist's ministry; that such and

¹ It appears that the modern *Zabians* or disciples of S. John (representatives of the ancient *Hemerobaptists*) celebrate the Festival of their Prophet in the month of August: so says Kämpfer in

Augusti *Denkw. aus der Chr. Archäologie* iii. 367. who does not mention the day. Ignatius a Jesu *ibid.* refers this celebration to the month of April, perhaps confounding it with some other.

such lengths of time are requisite to account for the attention drawn to Christ's miracles, "the increasing celebrity of His reputation," the animosity of the Pharisees, the spread of His doctrine. Surely those who write thus forget of WHOM and what they speak. The dignity of the work undertaken by God Incarnate, the energy of Him to whom one day is as a thousand years, the conditions of His influence over the hearts of men, are not to be scanned by such tame and trivial considerations! Nay, apart from His Eternal Power and Godhead, it should have been remembered what manner of times those were, and what disposition of mind was prepared in the nation of the Jews for Christ's public appearing. At a time of intense expectation, "when all men mused in their hearts" concerning the manifest signs of His approach—at a time when all spiritual needs and distresses, all belief and unbelief, all good and all evil affections, were risen to their utmost height, the fame of Jesus of Nazareth could not fail to pass rapidly through the length and breadth of the land; it could not need many months or even weeks to make it known "in all that land" "that a great Prophet was risen up, and that God had visited His people." At such a time, and in such a posture of men's minds, belief and unbelief, love and enmity, would speedily come to maturity. There are crises in the lives of men and of nations—and this even under a human point of view was one of them—when a few days of intense moral and intellectual activity do the work of years; when a word uttered, or the very appearing of some Great One, shall in an instant call forth the result to which ages of expectation have silently tended: as there are chemical mixtures which when they have long held their ingredients quiescently in solution need at the last but a touch which shall cause them to rush together into new combinations.

Dismissing, then, the shallow and vapid rationalism which pretends to mete out time to Christ for the moral and spiritual procedure of His Work, we have simply this question before us: namely, what portions of time are actually expressed in the Gospels, or virtually involved in the mention of physical acts, such as His journeyings from place to place with His disciples, which, as He and they were men, were performed under simply human conditions? and whether these amount to a greater length of time than that which lies between the limits of our chronological determination? In order to settle these questions, we must review the course of our Lord's history as related by the four Evangelists, for which end it will be necessary to frame a harmony of the several accounts. We need not enter into minute details, since our object here is only to ascertain the general order of events. But since the sequence of the several incidents in the first Gospel, that is, in that part of it which lies between the Baptism of our Lord and the martyrdom of John the Baptist, differs materially from that which appears in the second and third Gospel, we cannot avoid taking up the consideration of this further question—viz. what is the nature of that discrepancy, and how it is to be accounted for.

§ 583. I assume then for the basis of this Harmony the cycle of Festivals noted by S. John, § 94, viz. *Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles, Encænia, Passover*. These festivals are to be regarded as so many centres around which the narratives of this Gospel are grouped. Down to the death of Lazarus, S. John relates no incidents of our Lord's ministry fully, except in connexion with one or other of His visits to Jerusalem. For example, the discourse with the woman of Samaria occurred not long after a Passover, on His return to Galilee: the feeding of the Five Thousand not long before a festival, which we have defined as the Feast of Tabernacles. With these two principal exceptions, the scene of S. John's narrative is Jerusalem. Thus is this Gospel distinguished from the other three.

For the three Gospels omit all the visits to Jerusalem except the very last. *Why* they do so,—why the towns of Galilee, and the other country parts of Palestine, are exclusively the scene of their narrative, I am not concerned to inquire. Such is the plain fact, and hence it becomes necessary to ascertain some rule or measure by which we may adjust to the vacant spaces in S. John's narrative the incidents related by the three former Evangelists.

§ 584. One connecting link, or common thread, is afforded by the history of the Five Thousand, which is related by all four Evangelists. But S. Luke's narrative affords some others of a less obvious kind. Namely, the *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον* was of course a sabbath near the Pentecost, since the corn in the fields was then ripe. Besides, we find our Lord journeying in the direction of Jerusalem at that time, vii. 11—17. S. Mark also notes the presence of scribes *from Jerusalem*, at a conjuncture which indicates the Pentecost not long over, iii. 22. A similar mention occurs after the Feast of Tabernacles, Matt. xv. 1. Mark vii. 1. And lastly, S. Luke expressly notes a journey to Jerusalem at a conjuncture which must coincide with the Encænia.

If then we can harmonise the three first Gospels, there may be no great difficulty in adjusting them to the fourth. But, inasmuch as they do not all follow the same order, the question is, which of the three follows the order of time? And this question seems to have its answer at the very instant in the statement of S. Luke, that he writes *καθεξῆς*, which must be coupled with the obvious fact, that S. Luke's notes of time are generally much more explicit than those of S. Matthew and S. Mark.

§ 585. But when we come to compare the third Gospel with the other two, we are struck by one remarkable peculiarity. Namely, after it has related, in common with them, the history of the transfiguration and its dependent incidents, it mentions our Lord's departure from Galilee, as the others do. But then follows a collection of incidents from xi. 1. to xviii. 14. i.e. interposed between this departure and the incident which is placed next to the departure in the other two. Of these incidents, some were related in a different connexion by S. Matthew and S. Mark, and some are evidently not placed in the order of time.

I regard this portion of S. Luke's gospel in the light of an *appendix* or *episode*, in which, at the close of the detailed history of the ministry in Galilee, the Evangelist brings together a number of incidents, conversations, and discourses, some perhaps belonging to the time of that journey, others certainly to earlier occasions; connected, however, throughout by a *unity of purpose*, which seems to consist in a pervading allusion (symbolical or prophetic) to the mystery of the rejection of Israel and the calling of the Gentiles¹.

But if S. Luke, in the period between the Baptism and the Martyrdom of John the Baptist, adheres to the order of time, so, on the whole, does S. Mark, for he observes nearly the same sequence as S. Luke. And then it will follow that S. Matthew does not observe the order of time.

§ 586. With a view to perfect clearness, we will first analyse the contents of each Gospel, in this portion of the history.

1. A detailed explanation of the grounds on which this conclusion rests would require more space than can be afforded within the limits of this Essay. The following is a bare outline of the facts.—The contents of this portion of the Gospel are these: 1. The Lord's Prayer, xi. 1—13.—2. Hints and warnings of impending reprobation, xi. 14—xiii. 9. At the head of this series stands a peculiar recital of the memorable incident related by the other three Evangelists, No. 19, 20 Mark, No. 16 Matt. (see the analysis on the following page).—3. Healing of the woman bowed down with a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, xiii. 10—17: in this there seems to be a symbolical meaning, relative to the Church's release from "the 'spirit of bondage'" to the Ceremonial Law.—4. xiii. 18—end: two of the parables delivered on the memorable occasion above noticed: followed by a warning of the reprobation of Israel, the calling of the Gentiles, and a lamentation over Jerusalem.—5. xiv. 1—23. The central object is the parable of the marriage-feast, denoting the rejection of the Jews and substitution of Gentiles in their room:—the necessity of abandoning the ties of kindred for Christ's sake; the reference here is obvious:—"the salt which has

lost its savour."—6. The three parables in the 15th Chapter manifestly relate, in their mystical and prophetic sense, to the calling of the Gentiles. The parable of the unjust steward seems to me to be attended with inexplicable difficulties until we interpret it in reference to this same mystery. It is closely connected with the subsequent discourse; indeed, the whole chapter, ending with the parable of Lazarus, the meaning of which is obvious, forms one continuous discourse, connected by this idea. In xvii. 1—10, the same vein of allusion is still carried on.—7. The incident of the ten lepers, xvii. 11 ff., admits of a symbolical interpretation, in which the *Samaritans* represents the *Gentile* believers: the Chapter ends with a portion of the Lord's Prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem.—8. The series began with prayer, and so it ends, xviii. 1—14. The whole series is introduced as an episode or appendix at that point of the history where the Lord having finished His work in Galilee and pronounced a woe upon the places in which He had taught and wrought, passes thence on His way to Jerusalem, where, as He had so often foretold, the sin of the nation was about to be consummated.

S. LUKE.

1. Enters Capernaum from Nazareth . . . iv. 31, 32.
2. Demoniac in synagogue . . . 33-37.
3. From synagogue to Peter's house . . . 38, 39.
4. Crowds at the door . . . 40, 41.
5. Departs to preach in adjacent towns . . . 42-end.
6. Attended by disciples: call of the four related here . . . v. 1-11.
7. In a certain town, a leper, &c. . . 12-15.
8. Withdraws into wilderness . . . 16.
9. One Day as was teaching.
Paralytic borne of four . . . 17-26.
After these things went forth and saw Levi: entertainment: answer to Pharisee on fasting . . . 27-end.
10. Σαββ. δ. π. walks through corn . . . vi. 1-6.
11. On another sabbath, withered hand . . . 6-11.
12. Conspiracy . . . 11.
13. In those days, retired to a mountain to pray . . . 11, 12.
14. In the morning, election of XII. . . 13-16.
15. Sermon (on the Mount) . . . 16-end.
16. Enters Capernaum: centurion . . . vii. 1-10.
17. Next day, at Nain . . . 11-17.
18. John's Message . . . 18-36.
19. At Simon's (Bethany?) . . . 36-end.
20. Extensive tour, accomp. by women . . . viii. 1-4.
21. When much people, &c.: Parables: Mother and brethren . . . 5-31.
22. On a certain day, to Gadara: return: 22-40.
23. Jairus and the woman . . . 41-end.
24. Mission of XII. . . ix. 1-6.
25. John's martyrdom.

S. MARK.

1. Call of the four disciples . . . i. 16-20.
2. Enters Capernaum . . . 21, 22.
3. Demoniac in synagogue . . . 23-28.
4. Forthwith to Peter's . . . 29-31.
5. Crowds at door . . . 32-34.
6. Departure to adjacent towns . . . 35-40.
7. And there came a leper, &c. . . 40-46.
8. Was in desert places . . . end.
9. After some days, ret. to Cap. . . ii. 1.
10. Straightway the paralytic . . . 1-12.
11. Went forth again, saw Matt.: the entertainment: ans. to Ph. and John's disc. on fasting . . . 13-22.
12. Walk through corn-fields . . . 23-end.
13. Ent. again into syn.: w. hand. . . iii. 1-5.
14. Conspiracy of Ph. and Her. . . 6-12.
15. Withdraws to sea, foll. by multitude . . . 13-19.
16. Election of XII. . . 13-19.
17. 18-18. om.
18. Ερχομαι εις οικον, return home . . . 19.
19. Family would apprehend: blasphemy of scribes from Jerusalem: visit of mother and brethren: began again to teach by sea-side, in parables. . . iii. 21-iv. 35.
20. Same day, to Gadara: return to Cap. . . iv. 36-v. 20.
21. Jairus and the woman . . . v. 21-end.
22. To Nazareth. (b.) Mission of XII. . . vi. 1-13.
23. John's martyrdom.

S. MATTHEW.

1. Comes to Cap.: call of four. . . iv. 18-22.
2. Preaches in Gal., foll. by mult. . . 23-end.
3. Sermon on the Mount . . . v. 1-viii. 1.
4. The leper . . . vii. 2-4.
5. Enters Capernaum: centurion . . . 4-13.
6. Peter's wife's mother . . . 14-17.
7. Because of the mult. departs . . . 18-22.
8. εις το πέραν, to Gadara: return to Capernaum . . . 23-ix. 1.
9. Paralytic borne of four . . . ix. 1-8.
10. Going thence, saw M.: Feast: ans. to Ph. and J.'s disc. . . 9-17.
11. Ταῦτα λαλοῦντος, . . . 18-26.
12. Jairus: woman, Going thence, two mir. . . 27-end.
13. Went about all cities, mult. . . 27-end.
14. a. Called unto Him the XII: their mission: b. Himself departed to preach in their cities . . . x. 1-xi. 1.
15. Message from John . . . xi. 1-end.
16. At that time, w. through corn . . . xii. 1-8.
17. Thence to synag., w. hand . . . 9-13.
18. Conspiracy: withdrew . . . 14-21.
19. Τότε, a Demoniac: blasph. of Phar: visit from mother and brethren. . .
20. Same day began par: which ended, departed thence. . . xii. 22-xiii. 53.
21. To Nazareth . . . xiii. 54-end.
22. John's martyrdom.

§ 587. It appears that the order of S. Luke and S. Mark is the same. It is no exception to the truth of this remark that S. Luke relates the call of the four fishermen, No. 6, after the departure from, Mark before the entry into, Capernaum. The explanation is obvious: S. Luke having omitted it in its place, supplies it when about to relate our Lord's tours from Capernaum.

But in S. Matthew the several events are mixed up in a way which at first sight is very perplexing. For instance, the incident of the Centurion and that of Peter's wife's mother are referred to one and the same day, and that the day of the departure to Gadara, while in S. Luke the three incidents are referred to three several days. Again, the healing of the paralytic, the call of Matthew, and its dependences, are referred to the time of the return from Gadara, whereas according to S. Luke they occurred on the return from the tour among the *καρμπούλες*. These and other such discrepancies it is simply impossible to reconcile on the supposition that all three narratives follow the order of time. Neither will it avail to say that the first Gospel is careless of the order of time; it *has* in fact some very express notes of time; and I venture to say that no unprejudiced person reading the 8th chapter for the first time would imagine otherwise than that the Sermon on the Mount was followed by the healing of the leper, of the Centurion's servant, of Peter's wife's mother, and these on the same day, by the departure to Gadara. There must have been somewhere not a mere neglect, but an actual misconception, of the order of time. All that we can do is (perhaps) to *account for* these discrepancies, to shew how the incidents came into their present order and connexion.

§ 588. Now on attentively comparing the third column of the preceding analysis with the other two, it will be seen that the incidents are by no means scattered about at random: there are series of incidents in S. Luke, to which if we single out the corresponding ones in S. Matthew, we shall find that these lie in the same relative order, only that between them, here and there, other incidents are interposed, and these interposed incidents being singled out will be found to constitute another series of incidents following each other in S. Luke's order. So that the contexture of large portions of S. Matthew is formed by interjoining two or more series of items related in the other gospels. My meaning may be rendered clearer by the following comparison, in which the figures refer to the several items in the analysis.

| Matthew. | Luke. | Mark. | |
|-------------|---------|-------|--|
| 1 | 1, (6) | 1 | Here, with the exception of No. 4, the incidents of Matthew lie in the same relative order as in Luke and Mark. Rejecting for the present No. 4, we have here a series of incidents identical with 1, 11 b, 13, 14 of Luke and Mark, and reaching from the commencement of our Lord's Ministry at Capernaum to the day of His departure thence to Nain (i.e. as I shall presently shew, to Jerusalem for the Pentecost). |
| 2 (general) | compare | 11 b. | |
| 3 | 13 | om. | |
| [4 | 7 | 7] | |
| 5 | 14 | om. | |

Again:

| Matthew. | Luke. | Mark. | | | |
|----------------------|--------|--------|--|-------|-------------|
| 6 | 3 | 4 | Here two series are interjoined | | |
| 7 departure | 5 dep. | 6 dep. | without displacing the sequence of events in either: | | |
| [8 | 20 | 20] | | | |
| 9 | 9 | 9 | | | |
| [10 | 21 | 21] | | | |
| 11 (general) | | 11 b. | I. | Matt. | Luke, Mark. |
| 12 a. calls the XII. | 12 | 12 | | 6 | 3 |
| [b. sends them out. | 22 | 22 b.] | | 7 | 5 |
| 13 | 16 | om. | | 9 | 9 |
| [14 | 10 | 10] | | 11 | 11 b. |
| | | | | 12 a. | 12 |
| [15 | 11 | 11] | | 13 | 16 |
| 16 | 19 | 19 | II. | 8 | 20 |
| 17 | om. | 22 a. | | 10 | 21 |
| 18 | 23 | 23 | | 12 b. | 22 |

And, rejecting No. 14 and 15, which form a section by themselves, the rest, 16—18, is the continuation of the former series.

§ 589. Having thus brought the phenomena in a general way before the eye of the reader, I will explain, as briefly as may be, what has presented itself to my mind as an adequate solution of the difficulties.

The second and third Gospels note the following occasions of our Lord's departing from Capernaum, the place of His stated abode :

- I. No. 5, 6, on a tour among the *κωμοπόλεις*.
- II. No. 15, to Nain (and Jerusalem.)
- III. No. 20, to Gadara.

In the first Gospel the three departures are identified. That is, whereas the first was preceded by the miracle in Peter's house and the flocking together of multitudes at the door, and the second by the Sermon on the Mount, the return to Capernaum, and healing of the Centurion's servant, all these the first Gospel brings together as preceding one and the same departure, viz. the departure to Gadara.

Again, Mark and Luke discriminate the following returns to Capernaum :

- I. No. 9, from the tour among the *κωμοπόλεις* : followed by the healing of the Paralytic, call of Matthew, &c.
- II. No. 19, (from the visit to Jerusalem.)
- III. No. 20, from Gadara, followed by the incident of Jairus's daughter, &c.

Of these the first Gospel confuses the first and third, viz. by interweaving into one series the events which followed upon those two returns.

Here then we seem to have detected one source of the discrepancies. The first Gospel has confused departures from, or returns to, Capernaum, which lie perfectly distinct in the other two narratives.

Again: it appears from Luke and Mark that the election of the Twelve Apostles occurred on the eve of the departure to Nain, their mission some time later, viz. after the return from Gadara. The first Gospel speaks of

the election only in passing, and relates their *mission* where the others place the election, i. e. just before the tour in the course of which the message was sent by the Baptist: comp. Matthew No. 12-13 with Luke 12-16. This seems to have resulted from the anticipation of the visit to Gadara with which the mission of the Twelve stood in close proximity.

§ 590. The following theory is designed to account for the phenomena which have been noticed.

It is presumed that the first Gospel, in its original Hebrew form, § 143, consisted, in *this part of it*, of a certain number of *περίκοπαι*, or sections, each comprising a series of actions and discourses of our Saviour, included between a return to and a departure from, or a departure from and return to, *Capernaum*, the abode of *S. Matthew*: that the present order of this Gospel is due not to him, but to the uninspired though doubtless apostolic man, who rendered it into Greek: that as the several series began and ended with some such general formula, as *καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Καπ., καὶ μετέβη ἐκεῖθεν*, the Translator, wishing to educe an orderly narrative, referred these to such and such particular movements.

And first, I suppose that the original Hebrew Gospel, in this part of it, began with the following series, reaching from the beginning of our Lord's ministry at Capernaum to the departure thence for Jerusalem (at Pentecost): which, however, was only expressed in a general way as a departure.

- A. a. Having entered Capernaum, and called the four fishermen,
- b. Our Saviour began His ministry and journeyings in Galilee: "went about *all* Galilee, teaching in their synagogues and preaching... and healing all manner of sickness, &c." (This is quite general, not relating to one circuit in particular, but to the aspect and character of His ministry as a whole).
- c. One special scene of Christ's ministry, iv. 25—viii. 1, how, on an occasion when great multitudes were gathered from all parts (comp. Mark No. 11, iii. 8) He went up into a mountain, and when He was set, His disciples (the Twelve Apostles then elected) came unto Him, and he opened His mouth, and taught them—viz. the Sermon on the Mount.
- d. How He entered Capernaum again, and healed the Centurion's servant:
- e. And then departed from Capernaum for a season [viz. to Jerusalem].

This series is just such as might naturally have been composed by a person who was living at Capernaum during the time to which it relates. In general, its principal object seems to have been to deliver a copious representation of our Saviour's teaching. With this view, the narrative passes on at once to the discourse which He delivered on the occasion of the election of the Twelve Apostles, but without specifying that occasion.

This section the Greek Redactor preserved entire, only inserting between *c* and *d* the incident of the leper. The reason for inserting it *there* will be manifest from the following comparison :

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. The call of the four disciples. | 1. Call of the four. |
| 2. Circuit in adjacent towns. | 2. General description of the first and all the other circuits. |
| 3. Teaching there. | 3. Summary of teaching, as shown in Sermon on the Mount. |
| 4. The leper healed. | 4. Healing of the leper. |

The Redactor knew that this of the leper was the first instance of healing which occurred during the first *actual* circuit from Capernaum, therefore he places it during the first *recorded* circuit.

§ 591. Secondly : I assume another section comprising the following particulars.

B. *a.* How the Lord, having come to Capernaum, healed Peter's wife's mother.

b. On the same evening, there were great crowds assembled, in consequence of which our Lord withdrew for a season from Capernaum, [viz. on a tour of preaching in the adjacent towns: which however was not specified in the original document.]

c. How, having returned to Capernaum, He healed the paralytic; went forth and called Matthew, sat down to meat in his house, made answer to the Pharisees, and to the disciples of John.

d. Elected Twelve Apostles, and departed from Capernaum [viz. on the journey to Jerusalem.]

(This series, then, *so far*, is synchronous with the former.)

e. How during that journey, John the Baptist sent messengers to Christ.

f. How during this earlier portion of our Lord's ministry the chief ground of enmity on the part of the Pharisees was the alleged violation of the Sabbath-day: this is exemplified by two incidents which befel ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, viz. the walk through the corn-fields and the healing of the withered hand. [These are but slightly out of place in order of time, having occurred at most a few days before *d.*] How a conspiracy was formed in consequence, and our Lord retired from those parts [viz., as in *d.*]

g. How the enmity of the Pharisees assumed a more malignant character: viz. in imputing His miracles to Satan. In consequence of which, He that same day began to teach in parables; and after He had delivered a series of seven parables, departed thence.

This series then, composed perhaps of several, but for our purpose to be regarded as one, extends from the opening of our Saviour's ministry at Capernaum to the day of the departure to Gadara. The Redactor, however, has annexed it to the former series as if instead of being parallel

with that, it were its continuation: i.e. he identifies the return Ba with the return Ad, and the departure Bb with Ae.

§ 592. But thirdly, we find another series containing the following particulars:

- C. a. How our Saviour went over the sea to Gadara; healed the demoniacs, &c.; and returned to Capernaum.
- b. How, having returned, He restored to life the daughter of Jairus and healed the woman diseased with an issue of blood; and departing thence, restored two blind men, &c.
- c. And in the course of a lengthened circuit sent forth the Twelve Apostles.

This series is in reality continuous with the former, but the Redactor has identified the departure Ca with Ae, and consequently with Bb. In consequence of this anticipation, Cb and Cc were drawn up, viz. the return Cb was identified with Bc, i.e. the incident of Jairus, &c. was referred to the same return as that of the paralytic, &c.; and place was made for this insertion immediately after the conversations to which Matthew's feast gave rise. With this view, I suppose, the Redactor supplied *de suo* the words ταῦτα λαλοῦντος, No. 10. Then Cc, the mission of the Twelve, naturally fell into the place (Bd) already assigned to their election. The visit to Nazareth, which probably accompanied, as in Mark, the account of the mission of the Apostles, was rejected to its proper place, No. 17, I suppose because of its connexion with the incident which occurred on the day of the Parables, viz. the visit from the Lord's mother and brethren.

What has been said may be represented at one view, thus:

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|----|---|---|---|-----|---|------|---|--------|
| True order: | A. | a | b | | | c | d | e | |
| | B. | | a | b | (4) | c | (14) | d | e f g |
| | C. | | | | | | | | a b c. |
| Intermixed order: | A. | a | b | c | (4) | d | e | | |
| | B. | | | | | a | b c | d | e f g. |
| | C. | | | | | a | b c | | |

§ 593. Having thus¹ adjusted the first gospel to the second and third, we have to adapt this narrative to the points of time noted by S. John,

¹ The theory here proposed is not to be confounded with that of *Whiston*, which called forth from *Jeremiah Jones* his *Vindication of the former part of S. Matthew's Gospel*. Whiston justly assumes a dislocation in the order of S. Matthew's Gospel (down to the death of John the Baptist), and nothing that Jones has written is conclusive (as it seems to me) against the assumption. The palpable absurdity of Whiston's theory consists in his notion of a Gospel written parcel-wise on scraps of paper,

some score of them, which were shifted out of their places in the hands of the translator. This is very different from my view of three sections, originally distinct and combined into a wrong order, in consequence of a confusion between sundry departures from, and sundry returns to, Capernaum. Let me not therefore be charged with attempting to revive an exploded hypothesis:—in fact, I was not even aware of the existence of Whiston's theory until these pages were passing through the press.

namely, the festivals. I assume, then, that the departure to Jerusalem, at Pentecost, John v., falls at that point of S. Luke's narrative where our Lord after healing the Centurion's servant left Capernaum, and on the following day arrived at *Nain*. For—

1. In general, the *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*, whatever be the true explation of the phrase, must certainly mean a sabbath near Pentecost. Else had not the corn been ripe.

2. *Nain* lies almost exactly on the direct road from Capernaum to Jerusalem; its distance from Capernaum is one fourth part of the whole journey.

3. It would indeed have been nowise surprising had John, from his prison in Machærus, sent messengers to our Saviour even at the extremity of Galilee: but if on other grounds it seems likely that the message reached our Saviour in the vicinity of Jerusalem, therefore comparatively at no great distance from John's prison, this in itself seems so natural that the coincidence strengthens those other grounds. Now such is the fact: whatever the circuit may have been in the course of which our Lord arrived at *Nain*, it was on that circuit that John's messengers presented themselves.

4. At the close of Luke vii. *i. e.* after the message from John, we find our Saviour, as it seems, at Bethany near Jerusalem. At least one can scarcely forbear referring the beautiful incident at the close of that chapter to the same locality, if not to the same person, as the like incident which occurred a few days before the last Passover. It is well known that many of the ancients assume that it was the same person on both occasions who anointed our Lord and wiped His feet with her hair, *i. e.* that the "woman who was a sinner," and Mary Magdalene, and Mary sister of Lazarus, are one and the same person. There may be serious objections to this view, nor is it necessary to my purpose to assume its correctness; but certainly the occurrence of an act so extraordinary on two occasions, and on each in the house of a *Simon*, prompts the inference that the place was the same, and that the act on the latter occasion was suggested by the recollection of what had occurred on the former.

5. Lastly, there seems to be no other place in the narrative at which the 5th chapter of S. John can be so conveniently let in. Perhaps indeed it might be inserted between No. 9 and 10 of the Analysis, *i. e.* after the call of Matthew and before the *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*. But Luke and Mark give no hint of an extensive journey at that point of their narrative.

In general, we may remark how aptly the narrative in John succeeds to and completes the series in the synoptical Gospels, in these two respects.

1. According to the first three Gospels, the chief ground of offence in this part of our Lord's ministry was found in the alleged violation of the Sabbath. In the very next scene of His ministry, Luke and Mark No. 19, Matthew No. 16, the opposition assumed a different character. Just before the election of the Twelve, there was a conspiracy of the Pharisees with the Herodians to destroy Him, because of His works on the Sabbath-day, Mark

ii. 23—iii. 6. Immediately after their return home, No. 19, we find the Pharisees from Jerusalem, blaspheming Him, not as a sabbath-breaker, but as working miracles by the aid of the power of darkness. Intermediate between these two occurrences we find Him working a miracle on the Sabbath at Jerusalem, for which "the Jews persecuted Jesus and sought to kill Him, because He did these things on the Sabbath-day." And upon His saying, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work," "the Jews sought the more to kill Him because He not only did break the Sabbath, but said that God was His own Father, making Himself equal with God." John v. 16—18. In which occurrence we seem to see the two distinct *moments* of the Jewish opposition, the transition from the one to the other.

2. One cannot but feel how aptly our Lord's sayings concerning the Baptist in John v. concur with what is related in the synoptical accounts. In these we find Him speaking of the greatness of John's mission and ministry, the eagerness with which men flocked into the wilderness to see him, the levity and unbelief with which they received his preaching. It is just so here: "there is another which beareth witness of Me, and I know that his witness is true: ye have sent unto John, and he hath borne witness unto the truth. He was the lamp which burneth and shineth: and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light." On which we may further remark that the very words imply that, when these words were spoken, John was yet living indeed (*μαρτυρεῖ*), but that his ministry was at an end (*ἐκεῖνος ἦν... ὁ μὲν ἡθελήσατε*).

§ 594. The place of the 6th chapter of S. John is obvious: the 7th 8th, 9th, and part of the 10th (to v. 22), containing the history of the Feast of *Tabernacles*, must be inserted as early as possible after the 6th. And we find a vacant space for this insertion between the 6th and 7th of S. Mark. For the description with which the former chapter ends implies a journey ("whithersoever He entered, into villages or cities or country, &c." vi. 56), and the 7th chapter begins with a notice relating to the presence of "certain of the scribes which came from Jerusalem."

The time of the feast of *Dedication* (John x. 22) manifestly lies after the final departure from Galilee, Matt. xix. 1. Mark x. 1. The particulars of this journey are related by S. Luke ix. 51, ff. The route lay through Samaria, *ib.* 52, and the Lord's arrival at Jerusalem, though not expressed, is implied at x. 38, ff., where He is seen at Bethany.

There remains of S. John only the 11th chapter, and this may be inserted between the sojourn in Persæ, Matt. xix. 1, and the final visit to Jerusalem, xx. 17¹.

¹ It is not necessary for my purpose to construct a harmony of the events of the Passion Week. The chronology I arrange thus. *Sunday* 13 March, 9 Nisan, the Lord arrives at Bethany, and is anointed that evening by Mary sister of

Lazarus, John xii. 1—11, (Matt. xxvi. 6—13, Mark xiv. 1—9). *Monday*, the procession into Jerusalem; the Lord enters the Temple, and "looks round on all things," then, evening being come, returns to Bethany. Matt. xxi. 1—11,

*Calendar of Jewish and Julian Days from the Baptism A.D. 28,
to the Pentecost A.D. 29.*

| A. D. 28. | A. D. 29. |
|---|---|
| Tu. Jan. 6, Tebeth 20. Baptism. | Tu. Jan. 4, Shebat 1. |
| Su. Feb. 15, Adar 1. End of 40 days. | Th. Feb. 3, Adar 1. |
| Sa. ... 28, ... 14. <i>Purim</i> . | We. Feb. 16, Adar 14. <i>Purim</i> . |
| Mo. Mar. 15, Nisan 1. | Sa. Mar. 5, Nisan 1. |
| Su. ... 28, ... 14. <i>Pascha</i> . | Sa. ... 12, ... 8. |
| Mo. Apr. 5, Nisan 22. End of <i>Azuma</i> . | Su. ... 13, ... 9. |
| Sa. Apr. 10, 17, 24: May 1, 8, 15 : Sabbaths betw. <i>Pascha</i> and <i>Pent</i> . | Mo. ... 14, ... 10. |
| Tu. May 18, Sivan 6. <i>Pentecost</i> . | Tu. ... 15, ... 11. |
| Sa. June 12, Thammuz 1. | We. ... 16, ... 12. |
| Mo. ... 28, ... 17. | Th. ... 17, ... 13. Supper. |
| | Fr. ... 18, ... 14. Crucifixion. |
| | <i>Pascha</i> . |
| Su. July 11, Ab. 1. | Sa. ... 19, ... 15. <i>Azuma</i> . |
| Tu. ... 20, ... 10. | Su. ... 20, ... 16. Resurrec- tion. |
| Su. Aug. 29, Elul 20. John Baptist beheaded? | Su. ... 27, ... 23. |
| We. Sept. 8, Tisri. 1. | Th. Apr. 28, Ijar 25. The 40th day from the Resurrection ; Ascension. |
| Tu. ... 17, ... 10. The Great Day of Atonement. | Su. May 8, Sivan 6. <i>Pentecost</i> : Descent of the Holy Ghost. |
| We. Sept. 22, Tisri 15. <i>Tabernacles</i> . | |
| Fr. Oct. 8, Marchesvan 1. | |
| Sa. Nov. 6, Kislev 1. | |
| Tu. ... 30, ... 25. <i>Encenia</i> . | |
| Mo. Dec. 6, Tebeth 1. | |

Mark xi. 1—11. The Gentiles desire to see Jesus : the beginning of the Saviour's agony : the voice from Heaven. Here S. John, who adds these particulars, closes his history of our Saviour's preaching to the Jews, xii. 12—50. Mr. Greswell has well observed the mystical import of this visit to the Temple, viz. that our Saviour as the True Paschal Lamb presented Himself before God on the day appointed for that purpose, *Diss.* iii. 85 (see also the "economy" noted in § 349). — *Tuesday*, the barren fig-tree cursed, em-

blem of Jerusalem's reprobation, Mark xi. 12—19 : comp. Luke xix. 41—44, which belongs to the same time :—the cleansing of the Temple, symbolical of Jerusalem's judgment, Matt. xxi. 12—17.—*Wednesday*, on the way to Jerusalem the disciples remark that the fig-tree is withered up, Mark xi. 20—26 ; discourses in the Temple, *ib.* xi. 27—xii. end. The Prophecy on the Mount of Olives, xiii.—*Thursday*, the Last Supper, &c.

S. JOHN.

S. LUKE.

S. MARK.

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| | Christ baptized | iii. 21, 22. | | i. 9—11. |
| | The temptation | iv. 1—13. | | 12, 13. |
| John's testimony: call of | | | | |
| Andrew, &c. | i. 19.—end. | | | |
| (space of 4 days, 29, 35, 43.) | | | | |
| Departure to Galilee | i. 43. | Return to Galilee | 14, 15. | |
| Marriage at Cana, 3rd day: | | | | |
| to Capernaum, ("not | | | | |
| many days") | ii. 1—12. | | | |
| At Jerusalem, <i>Passover</i> , | | | | |
| | ii. 13—iii. 21. | | | |
| Residence in Judæa: dis- | | | | |
| ciples baptize | iii. 22.—end. | | | |
| Through Samaria (2 days) | | | | |
| to Galilee | iv. 1—42. | To Nazareth, on a Sab- | | |
| From Cana to Capernaum: | | bath: "A Prophethath no | | |
| "Jesus testified that a | | honour, &c." departure | | |
| Prophet," &c. | iv. 43.—end. | to Capernaum | iv. 16—31. | |
| | | [Call of 4 disc., v. 1—11.] | | |
| | | Demoniac in synagogue, a | | |
| | | <i>Sabbath</i> . | <i>id.</i> | |
| | | <i>Same day</i> , Peter's wife's mo- | | |
| | | ther. | <i>id.</i> | |
| | | <i>Evening</i> , multitude at door. | <i>id.</i> | |
| | | Departure from Caper- | | |
| | | naum on circuit to adja- | | |
| | | cent towns | iv. 31.—end. | i. 17—39. |
| | | * A leper healed, | v. 12—16. | <i>id.</i> i. 40.—end. |
| | | | | <i>After some days</i> , returned |
| | | | | to Capernaum . ii. 1. |
| | | Paralytic borne of four, | | <i>id.</i> ii. 1—12. |
| | | v. 17—26. | | |
| | | Call of Levi: feast: an- | | |
| | | swer to Pharisees and | | |
| | | John's disc., v. 27—39. | <i>id.</i> | ii. 13—22. |
| | | Walk in corn-fields, on a | <i>id.</i> | |
| | | <i>Sabbath</i> . On another Sab- | | |
| | | bath the withered hand, | | |
| | | vi. 1—12. | | ii. 23—iii. 6. |

S. MATTHEW.

TIME.

SERIES A.

SERIES B.

. iii. 13.—*end*.
 iv. 1—11.

Baptism, 6 Jan. A.D. 28.

End of February.

Passover, 14 Nisan, 28 Mar.

John imprisoned. Jesus left
Nazareth, and came to
Capernaum iv. 12—17.

Sabbath at Nazareth, 17
 April.

id. 18—22.

A general description of the
 ministry in Galilee: [fol-
 lowed by a summary of
 the Lord's teaching, viz.
 Sermon on the Mount,]
 iv. 23; viii. 1.

Sabbath at Capernaum, 24
 April.

Healing of Peter's wife's
 mother . viii. 14, 15.

Multitudes: a departure
 from Capernaum 16 ff.

Leper healed . viii. 1—4.

A return to Capernaum
 ix. 1.

Paralytic healed.

Call of Matthew: feast:
 answer to Pharisees and
 John's disc. ix. 1—17.

[These two incidents given Sabb. in corn-fields, 1 May.
 later: not in order of Next Sabbath . 8 May.
 time . . xii. 1—21.]

S. JOHN.

S. LUKE.

S. MARK.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | Followed by multitudes from all parts iii. 7—12. |
| Elect. of Twelve vi. 12—16. | | <i>id.</i> 13—19. |
| Sermon on Mount 17.— <i>end.</i> | | |
| Centurion's servant, vii. 1—10. | | |
| Departure: next day to Nain . . . 11—17. | | |
| Message from John, 18—35. | | |
| At Jerusalem: Feast of <i>Pentecost</i> . . v. 1—47. | At Bethany . . 36.— <i>end.</i> | |
| | Circuit . . . viii. 1—3. | |
| | | Return home: ἐρχομαι εἰς οἶκον . . iii. 19. |
| | | Blasphemy of Scribes from Jerusalem. Visit of Mo- ther and brethren, iii. 19.— <i>end.</i> |
| Parables . . viii. 4—21. | <i>Same day</i> , Parables. | |
| One day, departure to Ga- dara. | <i>Same evening</i> , departure to Gadara. | |
| Return to Capernaum, 22—30. | Return to Capernaum, iv. 1; v. 21. | |
| Jairus: healing of the wo- man which had an issue, 40.— <i>end.</i> | <i>id.</i> v. 21.— <i>end.</i> | |
| | | Departure to Nazareth, vi. 1—6. |
| Mission of Twelve, ix. 1—6. | Mission of Twelve, vi. 7—13. | |
| Martyrdom of John | 7. Martyrdom of John | 14. |

S. MATTHEW.

SERIES A.

SERIES B.

id.

iv. fin.

Sermon on Mount v, vi, vii.

Return to Capernaum :

Centurion's servant,

viii. 5—13.

Departure.

Departure from Capernaum

xi. 1.

. Message from John,

xi. 2.—*end.*

Pentecost : Tuesday

18th May.

From the

latter

part of

May

to the

end of

August.

Healing of demoniac : blas-
phemy of scribes.

Visit of Mother and bre-
thren.

SERIES C.

Departure to Gadara.

Same day, Parables.

Departure thence,

xii. 22—xiii. 53.

Return to Capernaum,

viii. 18—34.

Jairus : woman ix. 18—28.

Healing of blind and dumb :

renewed blasphemy of

Pharisees.

A departure and circuit,

ix. 29—35.

Departure to Nazareth,

xiii. 53.—*end.*

Mission of Twelve,

ix. 35—10.—*end.*

Martyrdom of John, xiv. 1. 29 August? A.D. 28.

[From this point the order of S. Matthew accords with
that of Luke and Mark.]

November, A.D. 28.

| | | |
|---|--|-----------------------|
| Peter's confession: and after 8 days (Mark, Matt. 6) the Transfiguration. ix. 13—36. | id. at Cæsarea Ph. | id. |
| <i>Next day</i> , the lunatic. 37—45. | viii. 27—ix 13. | xvi. 13.—xviii. 13. |
| Dispute for pre-eminence: One casting out devils. 46—50. | ix. 13—29. Journey through Galilee to Capernaum: by the way dispute for pre-eminence. One casting out devils.....30—50. | xvii. 14—23. |
| | Arrival at Capernaum: Tribute money: 24— <i>end</i> . | |
| | Dispute for pre-eminence reproved: on forgiveness. | |
| | xviii. 1—35. | |
| "And as the days were being completed that He should be taken up, He set His face to go towards Jerusalem." | "Having risen up thence, He came to the confines of Judea...and was teaching there." x. 1. | yond Jordan." xix. 1. |

| S. JOHN. | S. LUKE. | S. MARK. | S. MATTHEW. | Time. |
|---|---|---|--|------------------------------|
| <p>Journey from Galilee through Samaria. Mission of the LXX. Denunciation on the towns of Galilee. Return of the LXX. Parable of the good Samaritan. ix. 51—x. 37. <i>Jesus at Bethany.</i> Here follows the "Appendix." xi. 1—xviii. 14.</p> <p>At <i>Jerusalem</i>, Feast of Encenia 25 Kasleu. x. 22—30.</p> <p>Knowing that the Jews sought to take Him, retires beyond Jordan, where John baptized at first, and many resorted unto Him. x. 39—42.</p> | <p>Journey from Galilee through Samaria. Mission of the LXX. Denunciation on the towns of Galilee. Return of the LXX. Parable of the good Samaritan. ix. 51—x. 37. <i>Jesus at Bethany.</i> Here follows the "Appendix." xi. 1—xviii. 14.</p> <p>Question of Pharisees concerning divorce. x. 2—12.</p> | <p>"To the confines of Judea beyond Jordan, and the people resort unto Him again, and he was there teaching." x. 1.</p> <p>id. xix. 3—12.</p> | <p>"To the confines of Judea beyond Jordan, and great multitudes followed Him." xix. 1.</p> <p>From the beginning of</p> | <p>30 November, A.D. 29.</p> |

December,
A.D. 28,
to
the
second
week in
March,
A.D. 29.
Sunday
13 Mar. 29.

id. xix. 13—30.
The Parable of the Le-
bourners in the vine-
yard. xx. 1—17.

id. x. 13—31.

The young children:
the rich young man:
the discourse on rich-
es. xviii. 16—30.

Sickness and death of
Lazarus: resurrec-
tion, not long before
Passover. Jesus re-
tires to Ephraim, near
the wilderness, E. of
Jordan. xi.

Departure on last jour-
ney to Jerusalem,
through Jericho. Ar-
rival at Bethany.
xviii. 31.—xix. 27.

id. id. xx. 17—34.

x. 32—52.

Here begins the History of the last week before the Crucifixion.

§ 595. And now let the unprejudiced Reader consider whether the portions of time here laid out be sufficient for the series of incidents severally allotted to them.

I. And first, with respect to the interval from Passover to Pentecost, which is here made to include the occurrences in John ii. 13—iv. 54, and Luke iv. 16—vii. *end.* Is the space of *seven weeks* too scanty for this series of incidents? Let us examine.—The Pentecost of A. D. 28 fell on *Tuesday* 18 May. Now since the distance from Capernaum to Jerusalem, being eighty miles, is more than could well have been accomplished in two days (Sunday and Monday), it follows that *one Sabbath*, Saturday 15 May, intervened between the departure from Capernaum and the Festival. Suppose then either that Saturday 15 May was passed on the way to Jerusalem, or else that it was the Sabbath noted in John v. the day on which the Lord healed the impotent man at the pool of Bethesda. Then the Sabbath (at Capernaum) on which our Lord healed the man with the withered hand, may be Saturday 8 May: the Sabbath of the walk through the corn, Saturday 1 May: the Sabbath at Capernaum, on which He healed the demoniac and Peter's wife's mother, Saturday 24 April: the Sabbath at Nazareth, Saturday 17 April. There remain then three weeks (from the Passover) for the residence in Judæa and the return to Galilee through Samaria. I can discover no sufficient reason for thinking three weeks too short an allowance. Suppose (as is likely) that our Saviour remained in or near Jerusalem until the end of the Paschal week, one week more is sufficient for the contents of John iii. 22.—*end.* At a time when Judæa was swarming with the multitudes which had come up for the Festival, a very few days would suffice to attract to Him and His disciples the attention which is spoken of in S. John's account, iii. 26. iv. 1. A week more, of which two days were spent in Samaria, would bring Him to Nazareth.—The next week, 17—24 April, presents no difficulty. To the next after that, 24 April—1 May, I have assigned the tour among the *καρμποπόλεις*, which we know to have begun early on Sunday morning, and to have occupied but a few days, Mark i. 40: the healing of the leper occurred during that tour: and on the return to Capernaum we have the history of just *one day*, *viz.* the healing of the paralytic and the Call of Matthew. After this, *two Sabbaths* are mentioned, which being assigned to the 1st and the 8th of May, there remains a week or nine days for the subsequent occurrences down to the time of our Lord's arrival at Jerusalem. These are, the Election of the Twelve and the Sermon on the Mount, followed, perhaps on the same day, by the return to Capernaum and healing of the Centurion's servant. The Mountain (*τὸ ὄρος*) on which the Sermon was delivered was, probably, close by Capernaum (the expression denotes, I think, the ridge which skirts the lake on both sides nearly its whole length). *On the next day* we find our Lord at Nain: for the rest of the journey (including the interview with John's disciples, and the entertainment in Simon's house) there is ample time even though the Sabbath at Bethesda (John v.) should be the Saturday preceding the Pentecost, *i. e.* the 15th May.—Those who are accustomed to

the large demands of time which are commonly made by writers on the Harmony and Chronology of the Gospels, will be surprised perhaps to find how very gratuitous such demands are—how small a portion of time is really of necessity implied in the narrative. For my own part, it seems to me that the facility with which the story fits itself into the measures prescribed by the cardinal points of the present scheme, is no slight evidence of the truth and reality of the scheme itself. Nor can I forbear to remark, that an arrangement which gives a continuous series of occurrences, and a portion of time so aptly commensurate with the requirements of the narrative, carries with it much clearer verisimilitude than one which necessarily leaves whole months an entire blank, and represents the history of the Redeemer as shewing a day or two here and a day or two there abruptly prominent amid wide spaces of vacancy. I cannot find that the course of events, on this scheme, becomes unduly crowded: but should any of my readers be of a different opinion, I may remark that ample room will be obtained by inserting the Pentecost and 5th chapter of S. John higher up in the series—suppose between the Call of Matthew and the Σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον: a less probable construction, it seems to me, but still possible.

§ 596. And this leads to a question which must not be passed over in silence: viz. what may be the meaning of that strange and much-disputed expression Σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον?

According to the analogy of the language observable in compounds of this kind, the term must mean one or other of the following things:—
1. "Second from the first," i.e. implying a series of Sabbaths or days of which one is "first," and another second, as reckoned from that first: as that unique word (quoted in the lexicons from a writer of the Lower Empire) δευτερέσχατος "second from the last." But I scarcely need remark that such a compound of πρῶτος were simply idle, since every δεύτερος is second from some πρῶτος. This then may be rejected.—2. "Secondarily first," holding the first place in the second order or rank. So δευτεράγωνιστής, &c.: and we find the phrase δευτέρων πρωτεύειν "to hold the first place among (cities, or the like) of the second rank," which, condensed into a compound, might, perhaps, give such a phrase as δευτεροπρώτη πόλις, "a city holding the first place among second-rate cities." Similarly, applied to a Sabbath, the word might mean "a Sabbath which is first or chief in the second degree of importance." Then one would say (with *Valckenār*) that the expression was descriptive of the Saturday, in the week of Pentecost: that the Sabbath in the paschal-week being preeminently Σάββατον μέγα (perhaps Σαβ. πρῶτον, though there is no proof that it ever had this name), the corresponding Sabbath in Pentecost would be called δευτερόπρωτον, nay, perhaps also that of Tabernacles τρίτοπρωτον. Of all the explanations known to me this seems the best, indeed the only likely one. But it falls under the same fatal objection with the rest. S. Luke, writing for Gentiles, was not likely to invent such a description: if he used the word in this technical sense, it must have been because

he found it in use among the Jews, as a familiar well-known designation: yet not a trace of its use is to be met with (so far as I am aware) in any Jewish writer ancient or modern. Moreover, unless we suppose that the designation was familiarly understood by Gentiles as well as Jews, it is very unlikely that S. Luke, if he used it at all, would have omitted to annex some introductory phrase, such as $\Sigma\alpha\beta\beta. \tau\acute{o} \lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu \delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu$. These objections, as I said, apply to this particular explanation in common with all others which assume a technical hierological meaning of the term.—3. Like $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\gamma\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma$, $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\tau\mu\omicron\varsigma$, the word may mean “first a second time:” but there seems to be no conceivable sense in which a Sabbath could be so described.—4. It is possible, etymologically, that the compound denotes that which is at once first and second, first in one respect, second in some other, somewhat like the $\epsilon\upsilon\eta \kappa\alpha\iota \nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ of the Greek Calendar. This is the sense in which Mr. Greswell explains the term; but the explanation seems to me so far-fetched, and the assumption on which it rests so unmeaning, that I shall not occupy the reader’s time with any further notice of it. See the *Dissertations*, Vol. II. 301—319.

The explanation which is most commonly received, that of Scaliger, according to which this compound is condensed from the formula “*first sabbath* (or week) after the *second* day of unleavened bread,” has no support in the analogy of the language. It may well be doubted whether it would ever have occurred to any writer of Greek to represent that formula by so harsh and obscure a phrase: nor is any evidence produced to shew that any such formula was in use among the Jews.—“*First sabbath of the second month*” and “*first of two contiguous sabbaths*,” i.e. an ordinary and an extraordinary, are interpretations equally unwarranted by grammatical analogy and hierological usage.—The mystical senses given by some of the Fathers, serve only to shew that the phrase was as perplexing to them as it is to us moderns.

§ 597. In brief then: since the expression seems to be philologically inexplicable; since there is nothing to shew that any such designation ever existed among the Jews; since, supposing it to have existed, there seems to be nothing in the circumstances of the incident which could make it interesting or important that the Sabbath in question should be so designated by S. Luke; since, supposing him to have used the term at all, he was not likely to have used it so nakedly; lastly, since the phrase is unknown to the other Evangelists—on all these accounts it seems to me that the word itself is wholly or partially interpolated. Several MSS. and versions omit the word: and the patristic evidence is such as to leave it at best doubtful. So at least *Lachmann* represents the matter, indicating the questionable authenticity of the word by enclosing it in brackets. *Ancipitia censenda sunt testimonia, cum longinquorum testimoniorum consensus aliorum item locis diiunctorum in diversa testificatione consensu elevatur*, p. viii. Agreeably with which canon of criticism he says, p. xxxvi., *Quæ tam Græci quam Latini partim habent alii ignorant uncis inclusimus: qualia.....ἐν σαββάτῃ [δευτεροπρώτῃ]*. Now suppose the Evangelist

to have written ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ διαπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ., then the intrusion of the word *δευτεροπρώτῳ* may be thus accounted for. First *δευτέρῳ* might come into the text from a marginal gloss intimating that this was the *second* Sabbath in S. Luke's account of our Lord's ministry in and about Capernaum: the account began with the *general* statement καὶ ἦν διδάσκων ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν, "He made a practice of teaching on the Sabbath," and the *first* such occasion was the particular Sabbath there noted (iv. 31), this the *second*, and another following at v. 6. Then the *text* being ἐν σαββάτῳ *δευτέρῳ*, the *πρώτῳ* may be referred to another marginal note interrogatory, or explanatory, or perhaps corrective, in respect of *δευτέρῳ*. On the whole, however, I think it more likely that S. Luke himself wrote ἐν σαββάτῳ *δευτέρῳ* in the sense above described, i. e. meaning that this incident happened on the next Sabbath after that which he had spoken of at iv. 31. In short, I conceive that the Evangelist in this part of his history is giving an account of each Sabbath as it occurred: the *first* at iv. 31: the *second*, here: *another*, at v. 6. The reason for this several mention and enumeration of Sabbaths, may perhaps be found in the circumstance above noticed, viz. that the enmity of the Pharisees first manifested itself in a charge of violating the Sabbath. It appears from our construction, that each Sabbath in this portion of our Saviour's ministry supplied materials for such accusation, and it may have been the writer's intention to intimate that such was the case¹.

§ 598. II. The period between Pentecost and Tabernacles, of 120 or 130 days, is amply sufficient for the events which have been assigned between those limits. In fact, we have here, *in detail*, the history of only a few days, viz. (1) the day on which our Lord began to teach in parables, very soon after which He sent forth the Twelve Apostles: before this lies an extensive circuit, Luke viii. 1—3: (2) the day of the miracle in the wilderness, which occurred on the return of the Apostles from *their* circuit, which may well be supposed to have occupied several weeks.

The former of these days stands marked in awful characters as a day of Provocation, and portentous of judgment ready to go forth. On that day it was, that the malignity of the "Pharisees and Scribes which came from Jerusalem" revealed itself in that atrocious blasphemy, "By the Prince of the Devils casteth He out devils." That occurrence imparts a character of peculiar solemnity to all the incidents which are recorded of this and the following day. First, there was the warning

¹ I know not what may be the antiquity of the order of "Lessons" described in the Jewish Calendars, as constructed by *Lamy* and *Calmet*, but the following coincidence is too curious to be passed over in silence. The Sabbath of the walk in the corn-fields was, according to my construction, Saturday,

1 May; Pentecost = 6 Sivan fell in that year on Tuesday 18 May, therefore 1 May was 19 Ijar. Now the Calendar at that very day gives for the Lesson from the Law the portion beginning at Levit. xxi. 1. and ending at xxv. 1. the very portion of the Law which contains the ordinance of the shew-bread xxiv. 5—9.

concerning the Irremediable Sin: its dire consequences to the guilty Nation, seven devils worse than the one which had been cast out for a while, entering in and taking up their abode there: then, the impending reprobation of the Nation symbolized in act by the Lord's refusal to admit His kindred after the flesh, His mother and brethren, and at the same time in words, in His reply to the woman of the company who lifted up her voice and blessed the womb which bare Him, and the breasts which nourished Him¹: then His going forth from the house and discoursing to the people in *parables*, so veiling the truth from their eyes, "to the intent that seeing they might see and not perceive, and hearing might hear and not understand, lest they should convert and their sins should be forgiven them," Mark iv. 12; expressions which we must not soften down, nor attempt to mitigate the stern emphasis with which they betoken the judicial blindness all but even now inflicted, by Him clearly foreseen, upon a people which stood upon the verge of the unpardonable Sin. For whatever may be the idea of the Lord's parables in general, certainly the parables of *that* day were not designed to convey in easy popular forms truths meant to be apprehended by the multitude of "those that were without." No: the Lord's purpose is too plainly expressed to admit of such a representation. The subjects, too, of that day's teaching were "mysteries of the kingdom of God," "dark sayings, hidden from the foundation of the world," intimations respecting the kingdom of God and the kingdom of darkness, meet to be withheld even in mercy, though judicially withheld, from a people unprepared to hold the Truth in a pure heart and loving spirit. After this, the history relates His departure to the other side (from the Jews to *Gentiles*); the storm which surprised the ship on her passage (the Church as she passed from the Jewish to the Gentile world); the wretched condition of the *heathen* demoniac (the Gentile world as possessed by Satan); the blessed healing; the devils rushing into the herd of swine (Satan's host cast out of heathendom, taking possession of reprobate Israel, and precipitating it to its destruction).—All these incidents form a continuous symbol, an acted prophecy, as it were, of that great crisis which was approaching in the destinies of the People of God.

This prophetic and symbolical connexion of the incidents of those two days, furnishes evidence to the reality of the *historical* connexion in which they stand in S. Mark and S. Luke. In the first Gospel, the symbol is disrupted, the voyage to Gadara does not stand there as the significant sequel and complement of the day of Parables. Instead of it, the narrative passes on at once to the Lord's visit to Nazareth, which has indeed a symbolical significance of the same kind, on which account perhaps the Redactor retained that place for it, when otherwise he might have drawn it higher up in his narrative, viz. along with the story of the mission of the Apostles, ix. 35.

¹ See above p. 638, note.

As for the *time* of this momentous epoch, I may remark that it cannot (upon our premisses) lie very wide of a day recorded and commemorated as a day of provocation—the 17th of the fourth month¹. See above § 361, 394.

§ 599. How long a time the Apostles were absent on their mission is not expressed. We may well suppose that it occupied several weeks. The exact date of John the Baptist's martyrdom may be the very day assigned in the tradition, 29 August; from that day to the Feast of Tabernacles, 22 Sept., are about three weeks, and it must have been during these weeks that the Apostles returned and told the Lord of John's death and burial, of Herod's consternation at the fame of Jesus, and how he desired to see Him. Else, at the time of the miracle of feeding, which occurred presently after their return, it could not have been said that "the Feast of the Jews was at hand."—Here I will notice an objection which may be raised from an assumed physical fact: viz. at the time of the miracle "there was much green grass in the place," John vi. 10. Mark vi. 39: which, it is asserted, could not be the case in the month of September, after the heats of summer and before the fall of "the former rains." Now I suppose it may be assumed as a fact that the pastures of Palestine generally have a very arid appearance at that time of the year; but surely in watered hollows the case may be different, and why may not the desert place belonging to Bethsaida have been such? The very situation of Bethsaida *Julias* (for that was the scene of the miracle) at the spot where the Jordan enters the lake, points it out as likely to have answered this description.—One more remark must be made in this place. A difficulty has been raised (see Baronius ann. 32 and Casaubon *Exercitat.*) with respect to the tardiness with which the fame of Jesus reached Herod; and not a needless difficulty upon the usual assumption; for if our Saviour's miracles and teaching commenced a full year, nay, as some say, two years, before John's martyrdom, it certainly is singular that Herod should not have heard of Jesus until a time when he could imagine that this Worker of miracles was John himself risen from the dead. Upon our construction, the difficulty is scarcely worth noticing. The imprisonment of John occurred early in April of this year; the reason for it was the reproof concerning Herodias, "it is not lawful for thee to have her:" the time of this reproof was, I presume, anterior to the actual marriage, namely, the time when the daughter of

¹ The 17th of the 4th month in this year would be the 28th of June. Now the Mission of the Twelve Apostles occurred soon after the return from Gadara, the visit to Nazareth being the only incident intervening. Perhaps then the time of the Mission may lie at the end of June. It is curious that the Greek

Menologies shew a festival on the last day of June in honour of *all the Apostles*. This I state on the authority of Gretser, *Observ. in Georgii Codini Cap. xv.* (p. 214 of the Venice collection of Byzantine writers, 1729.) Was it the original meaning of this Festival to commemorate the Mission of the Apostles?

Areias, πίστειν αὐτῇ τῶν πρὸς Ἡρωδιάδα συνθηκῶν γενομένης, made her escape to her father, Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 5. 1. This was before the arrival of Herodias from Rome; and how Herod's preconcerted plans may have been altered in consequence of this premature discovery, whether he may not even have found it necessary to fetch Herodias from Rome in person, are questions admitting of such an answer as will account for the fact which we are now considering. At all events, occupied as he was in the affair of his marriage in the interval from April to August, it is not so very surprising that he should not have heard, or should have given no heed to, the reports concerning Jesus. Moreover, the narrative seems to imply that it was specially in consequence of the preaching and works of the Apostles that "Herod heard of the fame of Jesus¹."

§ 600. III. The next period, from the close of the Feast of Tabernacles, or end of September, to the Feast of Encænïa or 30 November, that is to say, just two months, is manifestly sufficient for the occurrences here related or implied, *viz.* the return to Capernaum; the tour to the coasts of Tyre and Sidon; the return to the sea of Galilee through Decapolis, *i.e.* east of the Jordan; the second miracle of feeding, at a time when "the multitude had been with Him three days;" the departure to Magdala and thence to Bethsaida: these movements, with the northern tour to Cæsarea Philippi, may very well be comprised within a period of three or four weeks. Then the time of the Transfiguration will lie in the beginning of November², and the rest of the month will go to the progress from Cæsarea to Jerusalem by way of Capernaum. There is nothing to imply a long sojourn at Capernaum: the return thither was perhaps only preparatory to the final departure from Galilee, Luke ix. 51 ff. The journey to Jerusalem seems to have been taken leisurely: the Lord sent before Him seventy disciples, two and two, to every place whither He designed to come, x. 1 ff. S. Luke brings this part of his narrative to a close in the village of Martha and Mary; which we know from S. John was Bethany, near Jerusalem.

¹ The "birth-day," *γενεαία*, might be Herod's proper birth-day, in which case the time cannot be defined:—or it might be his *natalis regni*, and this, if it mean the anniversary of his confirmation by Augustus, may very probably have been in July or August; for his father's death occurred in the spring:—or lastly, it may have been a festival on the anniversary of Tiberius's accession, 19 August.

² In the Greek Church after the sixth century, we find this Festival generally celebrated also under the name "Feast

of Tabor," on the 6th August. In the Latin Church it was adopted by order of Calixtus III. in 1456. *Augusti Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christl. Archäologie* iii. 292. Why was this commemoration assigned to the 6th of August? May not that time have been selected with reference to one of the mystical senses of that incident, the transfiguration of the Mosaic into the Christian Economy? For this transfiguration may be conceived to have been completed when the Temple was destroyed and the Levitical ritual ceased for ever, *i.e.* on the 6th August.

§ 601. IV. Passing by what we have called the "Appendix," which here follows in S. Luke, we find the place of the Encænion in Matthew and Mark sufficiently defined by the following parallelism.

He went away again *beyond Jordan* to the place where John was baptizing at first, and He tarried there. *And many resorted unto Him*, and said, John did no miracle: but all things that John spake of this man were true. And many believed on Him there. John x. 40.

He departed from Galilee, and came into the coasts of Judæa *beyond Jordan*: and great multitudes followed Him, and He healed them there. Matt. xix. 1.

And He cometh into the coasts of Judæa *and beyond Jordan*, and great multitudes come together unto Him, and, as He was wont, He again taught them. Mark x. 1.

Here our Lord seems to have resided during the winter-months, until after the raising of Lazarus, when He withdrew to Ephraim on the border of the wilderness, John xi. 54. Eusebius places this village 8 miles, but Jerome 20, north of Jerusalem. This occurred not long before the Passover, *ib.* 55.

Εἶτ' οὖν οὕτως εἶτ' ἄλλως ἔχει, σαφεστέραν ἐξηγήσιν οὐκ ἔχω ἐξερρεῖν. Καὶ ἡμῖν αὕτη μελέτω, τῷ μὴ κρείττονα ἢ ἀληθεστέραν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν. Τὸ μέντοι εὐαγγέλιον πάντως ἀληθεύει. JULIUS AFRICANUS.

V.

OUTLINES of an ESSAY on the Nature, Intent, and Complex Structure of PROPHECY.

§ 602. IN PROPHECY, as it relates to the Kingdom of Christ, three stages or orders are clearly distinguishable. The ground-work is laid in the PROMISES, which, delivered from time to time to the Patriarchs, and reinforced with additional sanctions in the Law, were finally gathered together in the person of David as the visible Head of the Theocracy, the vicegerent of the Lord's Anointed. This first order, therefore, of Prophecy comes to a close in the beginning of the second æra of the Mosaic Dispensation, the æra of "Samuel and the Prophets." Then begins a second order, the PSALMS. In these, first the Psalmist, then the Levitical Church in its Liturgy, speaks in the person of Christ, as it were by His Breath. They are the liturgical utterance of the voice of Christ, or of the Church His Body: a voice with which, at one time, He Himself tells of His sorrows and sufferings, joys and triumphs, mercies and judgments; at another, the Church confesses, laments or rejoices before Him, or, as His Prophet, proclaims His decrees and denounces judg-

ment upon His enemies. This brief description of the Psalms or *Liturgical Prophecy* must suffice in this place, where we are concerned with the third order of prophetic Revelation, which consists of the written oracles of those men of God, beginning with Jonah and ending (in the Old Testament) with Malachi, who, in respect of the subject-matter of their communications, may be most aptly designated, *PROPHETS OF JUDGMENT, OR HERALDS OF THE DAY OF THE LORD.*

§ 603. Israel was elect to be God's witness on earth, and sooner or later the means by which a Blessing should come upon the whole world. The Law-giver, dismissing the people into the Promised Land, there to work out their calling and election, denounces terrible judgments, issuing in reprobation and rejection, which should come upon them in the event of their unfaithfulness. The *Patriarchal Promise*, the Law, the communications of Samuel and his successors as the interpreters of God's will and counsels, the *Liturgical Prophecy*,—these, from age to age, were to deepen in them the sense of their vocation, to establish them more and more in the faith of God and of His Christ. In process of time, one branch of the Nation is cut off from the sanctuary and the covenant of Levi. A special order of Prophets is raised up for them, exercising, as it would seem, an extraordinary ministry, at once sacerdotal and prophetical, for the benefit of the faithful. But after a while, the time of probation allotted to the kingdom of the Schism draws to an end. The Ten Tribes are to be rejected, and cast out from God's Inheritance. At this conjuncture—that is, about one hundred years before the catastrophe of Israel, begins this new order, the *Prophets of the Day of the Lord*. The judgment, of old conditionally threatened by Moses, is now declared absolutely; it is to begin at Israel, and afterwards to break in upon Judah and Jerusalem. Let the whole Nation hear the warning: "*Thus and thus have I done unto thee, yet have ye not returned unto Me: therefore prepare to meet thy God, O Israel.*"

§ 604. Without adverting, at present, to the manner in which Judah is concerned in the message to Israel, delivered by the earlier Prophets (on which head somewhat has been said already, § 386), let us note the general purport and substance of the message as a whole. The scene, then, which the Prophets describe, begins at their own time, and reaches onward to the Consummation of all things. The Day of the Lord is about to begin; it might come immediately: what length of time it might occupy in running through its course, was left wholly unrevealed. It includes three terms: the Nation's Sin—the coming Judgment—the Mercy succeeding to the Judgment. The message, in substance, is this: *The Day of the Lord is at hand; He will cut off the sinners of His people, who in such and such wise (in act or as seen in the vision) have provoked Him to anger: He will raise up such and such instruments of vengeance (Assyria, Babylon): nevertheless, fear not, ye that wait for Him: the chosen people, the House of David, shall yet continue; for of them must Messiah come, and His coming shall be on such and such wise: therefore He will assuredly bring*

back your captivity, and shall be your king. Then will He judge the heathen that are round about you, and punish them by whom He punished you. And the earth shall be full of His glory. Such is the substance of the revelation. Mixed up with it are predictions of near and seemingly isolated events, such as immediate judgments upon the heathen; these, by their fulfilment, attest the Prophets' divine mission, and give pledge for the reality of the things foretold.

§ 605. Thus looks the Prophecy as beheld from its beginning. To us, the aspect is different. Events, which to the eye of the Seer and of his generation lay contiguous or wrapt up together, now, on the retrospect, appear at wide distances. As in the landscape of a distant mountain-range the nearer heights lie blended with the more remote under one front and sky-line, and the interjacent vales and plains are withdrawn from the view, but as the traveller advances, the scene gradually unfolds itself, the perspective opens more and more, at last the objects lie for him in their true bearings: so is it with the time-scene which the Seer beheld in vision. From age to age the Church has passed through from height to height, from one mounting crisis to the next: and now only the last, which rose towering above the rest in the view of the Prophet, bounds her horizon; the others with their unseen interspaces lie far behind in retrospect.

§ 606. This is no arbitrary and fanciful description. Prophecy is "*vision*," the Prophet a "*seer*." Vision extending through long ages implies perspective and foreshortening. This in general: and the phenomena accord with, and indeed are explained by this representation. For, in the first place, there is a *seeming continuity* or even identification of catastrophes or deliverances which the event has shown to be distinct and wide apart. The Advent of Emmanuel is represented as though it were about to take place in the times of the Assyrian Judgment: the deliverance from Babylon seems as if it were to be wrought by Messiah in person: we think we are reading a prediction of Antiochus Epiphanes,

¹ The entire prophecy of Isaiah is entitled "The vision of Isaiah, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem," i. 1. "The word which Habakkuk saw," Hab. i. 1. "The hand of the Lord came upon me," says Ezekiel, i. 2, "and I saw, and lo it came," v. 3. "Your sons and your daughters shall *prophecy*, your old men shall *dream dreams*, your young men shall *see visions*." The clear objective communication which Moses received (the *gradus Mosaicus revelationis*, as the Jewish theologians speak) is thus distinguished from the prophetic per-

ception (*gradus propheticus*): "If there be a Prophet among you, I the LORD will make myself known unto him *in a vision*, and speak with him *in a dream*. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all My house [to whom is committed the sure regulation of the household of God, for which reason he must be enabled to discern all things clearly]. With him I speak face to face, even apparently, not in dark speeches, and the similitude of the LORD shall he behold." Numb. xii. 6—8. See John Smith's *Discourses on Prophecy*.

and behold, the terms mount up from him to the last Antichrist, from the Maccabean victories to the Resurrection of the just.—There is also this other phenomenon,—namely, an *apparent exaggeration*; that is, the terms in which near events are portrayed do often vastly transcend the reality, to an extent which is inexplicable by the favourite phrases invented for its explanation, “hyperbole,” “Oriental figure,” and the like. Thus, Isaiah seeming to speak of the return from Babylon, makes it an event of such magnitude as certainly nothing in the history of Ezra comes up to; and what is foretold of the overthrow of Jerusalem by heathen armies reads like a description of the Day of Judgment. In every such instance, it is manifest that the lesser event cannot be the whole of that which the Divine Mind contemplated as the object of the prediction, because it cannot be that His performances should fall short of His words. Such prophecies must needs involve a double sense in reference to a nearer event and to one more remote. The relation between the two senses is commonly described as being that which exists between type and anti-type: for example, the temporal deliverance from Babylon is the type prefiguring the spiritual deliverance by Christ. In virtue of *this* connexion, it is said, the lesser event is arrayed in the majesty of the greater. Now there is, undoubtedly, a measure of truth in this view of the matter, but not, I think, enough to account for the facts. And the application of this principle, together with the axiom that “types are always of a *different nature* from the things which they prefigure,” has had its results in a grievous tampering with the Word of God, an unbridled exercise of that “licentious and deluding art, which changeth the meaning of words, as alchymy doth or would do that of metals, making of anything what it listeth, and bringeth in the end all truth to nothing¹.” The true principle of relations, the real ground of the phenomena, is to be sought, I think, in the idea of prophetic vision. “The hand of the LORD came upon the Man of God, and he *saw*”—what? an historical series of acts? a succession of events as they follow each other in time? no, but the scene of the Day of the Lord: saw it, *as one scene*: the sins and *apostasy* of God’s people; the terrible *judgment* by which the elect remnant was to be tried, the rest overthrown; the *mercy* and glory of God in the kingdom of Messiah. Suppose the hearer to ask, as the Disciples did who heard our Lord’s prophecy, “Where, Lord?” the answer will be even that which He rendered, “*Wheresoever the carcase is, thither shall the eagles be gathered together.*” Not simply at this time or at that, but when and *wheresoever*. So oft as the visible congregation of the Lord shall have become as a dead carcase from which the spirit of life has departed, the eagles shall swarm to the prey, but the elect shall be delivered—these taken, the others left. This is the idea, realized objectively in *time* in a plurality of analogous procedures, but in the *vision*

¹ Hooker, *Eccl. Polity*, B. v. lxi. 2.

subjectively beheld, and by the seer portrayed, as one Day of the Lord. Or perhaps my meaning may be more clearly expressed by a different similitude. The subjective representation to the mind of the seer, by him described in words, is to the objective reality contemplated by the Divine Prescience and brought out in time, as an *implicit function* to the same function developed in a series. In the process of expansion term after term comes out, but still the residue is implicit until the emergence of the final term gives the equation between the implicit function on the one side, and the same function explicit on the other.—To explain and justify this view by a detailed examination of facts, would require a volume by itself. All that can be attempted within the limits of the present work is a general description of the theory and some application of it to the more prominent facts of the subject.

§ 607. The idea is realized in certain great crises of the Church's destinies. Now the history of Judah, after the catastrophe of the kingdom of Israel (for at present I prefer to consider the subject under that limitation) exhibits *three* such crises: those, namely, in which BABYLON under Nebuchadnezzar, the Syro-macedonian or GRECIAN power under Antiochus Epiphanes, and ROME under Vespasian and Titus, are severally the divinely-appointed instruments of probation and punishment. Prophecy indicates a *fourth* crisis, namely, that in which the work of trial and judgment is consummated under the ANTICHRIST. *In the prophetic scene all four are beheld perspectiveally as one.* Four times the measure of *iniquity* overflows, the *wrath* of God goes forth upon the apostates, the promised *mercy* is fulfilled to the elect remnant. The intervals *are there* in the prophecy, but withdrawn from sight, and to be brought out by the fulfilment in time. The description commences at the proximate crisis, and mounts up through the rest to the final consummation. Only it should be remarked, that of these four, the first and third are more peculiarly related, and the second and fourth, and also the third and fourth: the second not so closely to the first or to the third.

§ 608. In Isaiah, and the Prophets before the Exile, the terms specify *Babylon* as the avenger, and portray the Babylonian Exile, but there-with the later judgments also—the blindness of Israel at Christ's first Advent, the dispersion which exists at this day, the tribulation of a time yet to come, when the apostasy will be consummated in the acknowledgment of Antichrist for the King of Glory. Immediately behind this scene of judgment appears the vision of Messiah and the Restitution of all things.—When the event had manifested that the Babylonian crisis had not exhausted the fulness of the prediction, fresh revelations succeeded: thus Jeremiah and Ezekiel beheld and announced the same scene—renewed apostasy and judgment, and behind all, Messiah in His Kingdom.—It was to *Daniel*, however, that the fullest, most distinct, and, so to speak, most historical revelation was granted; and it is from his visions that we gather the fact of this principle of relations. In two successive revelations, the “man greatly beloved” is given to understand that God had decreed

the rise of *Four Infidel Powers*, the successive enemies of Christ's kingdom, which as kingdoms of this world should be instruments of His judgments, for the probation of the elect and destruction of such as were not meet for the Kingdom of Heaven. In the first of these visions, the *unity* of the idea is signified by the *One Image* of *four* metals; which is represented as subsisting in its unity until the end of the world, when the Stone cut out of the mountain without hands breaks in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver and the gold. To *Zechariah*, in the beginnings of the second Temple, the same idea was presented under varied emblems: *four* horses, "four horns which have scattered Judah, so that no man did lift up his head...the horns of the Gentiles which lifted up their horn over the land of Judah to scatter it," i. 8, 18: again, four chariots which are also called the "four winds of heaven." And it should be observed, that of one of these it is said, "*These which go toward the north country have quieted My Spirit in the north country*," vi. 8,—implying that *one* crisis is past.

Once apprised of this fact of a fourfold succession, we discover traces of it in the earlier prophets. *Joel*, who opens the series of written prophecy with a vision of the Day of the Lord, described altogether in general terms, beheld the destined instruments of judgment under the emblem of locusts, in *four* successive swarms. And in *Amos*, his successor, the burthen of the word of the Lord is, "For three, yea four transgressions." Perhaps the like reference is involved in what is said in *Jeremiah* (xv. 3), "I appoint over them four families, saith the Lord," and in the "four sore judgments" spoken of by *Ezekiel*. Numerous oracles of *Isaiah* and the other prophets might be mentioned as implying in their structure this same fourfold arrangement.

Before the Exile, the scene, represented as one, includes these four crises. After the return from Babylon, when the first term of judgment was complete and eliminated, or, as it is said in *Zechariah*, when "these that went to the north had pacified the Lord's anger in that country," the three remaining crises still appeared as one great act yet to intervene before the setting up of Messiah's Kingdom, *i.e.* before the final consummation. This residue of judgment is the burthen of the latter chapters (especially) of *Zechariah*; a prophecy which cannot, without the assumption of extreme hyperbole, be referred solely to the Roman siege and destruction of Jerusalem. The reality contained in the scene there portrayed is to be sought in these three distinct crises, the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, of Rome, and of Antichrist—chiefly, indeed, in the last two.

§ 609. At Christ's coming in the flesh *two* of the four judgments were past. And now we find our Saviour Himself, in the memorable prophecy which He delivered shortly before His Passion in answer to the anxious enquiry of His disciples, "When shall these things be, and what is the sign of Thy Coming and of the *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος*?" condescending to the same law of prophetic representation. To refer the *whole* of what He then said to the woes of Jerusalem which were then impending, were alike vain and irreverent. Few refuse to admit that the discourse

relates in part to the end of Jerusalem, in part to the end of the world. Yet it is impossible to draw the line (exegetically) between the two parts: the two distinct actualities are inseparably blended in the terms of the description; and that, because they are one in idea. At that time there remained in the counsel and foreknowledge of God two crises, of sin, and judgment and mercy: the first, in connexion with Christ's Advent in the flesh and the end of the Mosaic αἰών, the other with His Advent in glory and the end of the world. In the first, the chosen nation rejected the true Christ; in the second, the apostasy is consummated in the acknowledgement of the Son of Perdition. In the one, the elect remnant was saved, and "the very image" of Christ's kingdom over all nations succeeded to the "shadow;" in the other, "all Israel shall be saved", and the reality itself will be fulfilled.

§ 610. The *Apocalypse*, like our Lord's Prophecy, of which it is the expansion, exhibits, I think, a complex representation of both crises, but the last so transcendently, that the other is almost absorbed in its terrible majesty. There is reason, as I shall presently shew, to believe that the vision was beheld by the Seer before the destruction of Jerusalem, and the reference to that catastrophe shines out in many significant hints and glimpses.

In this Prophecy the principle of a quaternion of judgment is exhibited in a very impressive manner. I will only mention, without pretending to interpret, the symbols of the "four Living Creatures," "the four horsemen," "the four Angels holding the four winds of heaven;" but I would call particular attention to the following fact. The Beast (Θήριον) of the Apocalypse is by all sound commentators understood to be the symbol of the last Antichrist, and identical with the fourth beast in Daniel. Now this Θήριον unites in himself the characteristics of those four; the monster is *compounded* of the four beasts seen by Daniel. Namely,

In Daniel,

- the first is like a *lion*, having *one* head:
- second, like a *bear*, having *one* head:
- third, like a *leopard*, having *four* heads:
- fourth, *diverse from all*, having *one* head, and *ten horns*.

In the Apocalypse,

the Monster

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">is like a <i>leopard</i>,</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">with feet of a <i>bear</i>,</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">mouth or face of a <i>lion</i>,</div> </div> | } | having <i>seven heads</i> and <i>ten horns</i> . |
|---|---|--|

In Daniel, the beasts, or four infidel persecuting powers, emerge one after the other, Babylon, Greece, Rome, Antichrist. In the Apocalypse, *at the time of the vision*, two of the crises were past, the third close at hand; and the empire of Antichrist, subjectively one, but objectively dual, combines the three first powers with the last, and is the sum and συντέλεια of all. This seems to explain that expression in Daniel, "as for the other beasts, they had their dominion taken away, yet a prolonging in life was granted to them;" that is (perhaps), the elements of their power still

subsist in readiness to meet together in the fourth power, the kingdom of Antichrist.

§ 611. Thus far we have traced the successive exhibitions of the idea in reference to one of its three factors, namely *Judgment*. Let us briefly notice the others: namely, *Apostasy*, and *Mercy*, or the Kingdom of Messiah.

In the earlier Prophets, the *sin* which calls for judgment is described in terms fetched immediately from the particular manifestations of the spirit of apostasy, or "workings of the Mystery of Lawlessness," which they discerned in their own generation: such as idolatry, oppression, hankering after alliance with Assyria and Egypt, and the like. But the terms mount up from the particular to the general, from the specific manifestation to the idea. See, for example, Isaiah lxx. 3 ff. They include the four several consummations of the apostasy which were to be manifested in the days before the Exile, in the time of the Grecian kings, in the rejection of Jesus Christ, in the last "falling away" and recognition of Antichrist for the Messiah.

The *Mercy*, also, or fulfilment of the promise of Messiah, appears in four successive acts, beginning with the restoration of the remnant from Babylon. That was, in a typical sense, a *παρουσία* of Christ: Zechariah speaks of Zerubbabel and Joshua in terms which in their full extent are applicable only to Christ.—In like manner, the Maccabean Restoration is a type of Christ's coming in Mercy.—With respect to the third crisis, we are warranted by our Lord's own Prophecy in saying that the end of the Mosaic *αἰών* in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman armies is connected with a *παρουσία*; not His coming in humility, for that was past, but in His Kingdom.

Generally, whether sin, judgment, or mercy, be predicted, the objective reality was not single, but complex: in Isaiah, a complexus of four; in Zechariah of three; in the Gospels and Apocalypse of two, and chiefly of the last.

§ 612. Such I conceive to be the "principle of relations" in the connected senses of Prophecy as a whole. One particular application of the principle, and that a highly important one, shall now be noticed.—The prophetic descriptions of Messiah's kingdom, the divine glory of Zion, the Heavenly Jerusalem, the Palingenesia, New Heavens and Earth, Restitution of all things—how are they to be understood? The majority, it seems, since the time of Origen, hold that THE VISIBLE CATHOLIC CHURCH, which now is, is the reality corresponding to these descriptions: that the promised glory of Israel is the Universal Church of Christ: that "Israel," "Zion," "Jerusalem," are but so many symbolical expressions of the same fact, the Kingdom of God which has now these 1800 years been set up on earth: that whatever exceeds the limits of sacred figure and oriental hyperbole will have its fulfilment in a future universal spread of Christ's now-existing Church throughout the world. If it be admitted that part of the description was realized in the times after the Exile, recourse is had to the hypothesis of a twofold sense, which is distinguished as the *literal*.

and the *spiritual*. S. Jerome's comments on the Prophets proceed entirely upon this hypothesis.

Others maintain that it is impossible to carry out the spiritual exposition without gross violation of all consistent principles of interpretation. They contend, that whatever be the limits of the spiritual interpretation, there must be a literal sense, and that sense the ultimate intention of the Prophecy;—that if we are at liberty to “spiritualize” the prophecies which exhibit Messiah's Advent in glory and the final establishment of His kingdom upon earth, the Jews have an equal right to spiritualize the prophecies relating to the first Advent, *e. g.* Isaiah liii. ;—that whereas those prophecies were fulfilled in the circumstances of the first Advent, even in the minutest particulars—*e. g.* the Lord riding into Jerusalem “sitting upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass”—nay, in particulars of which prior to the event the reality was unconceivable, as that He should be rejected, and put to death by His own nation—the analogy compels us to anticipate, in spite of all prejudice to the contrary, an equally literal and at present it may be, equally indeterminable realization of the residue, *i. e.* of the crisis which is revealed alike in the Apocalypse, almost un-mixedly, and in the Old Testament complexly.

§ 613. Both views, it seems to me, have been so stated as to err in defect and mutual exclusiveness. We err, on the one hand, if we place *the real ultimate* fulfilment of such prophecies anterior to that Coming of Messiah wherein He destroys the last Antichrist;—yet this we do, if we assign the facts of the Catholic Church as the realities solely contemplated in the prophecies. We err on the other hand, if we exclude from the scope of the vision these present realities; for these do indeed, in virtue of the idea as before defined, constitute *one term* of a series of realizations, in which term mounts above term up to the final climax. For the gradation seems to be of this kind:

I. The exclusive national Church is purified from its tendency to polytheism by the Babylonian judgment.

II. The same Church is purged by the persecutions of Antiochus from practical atheism and indifference.

III. The Church is purged, by the destruction of the Temple and dispersion of the unbelieving remnant, from Sadducean infidelity and Pharisaical hypocrisy and self-righteousness: the spirit of exclusiveness is abolished, and a Universal Church, worshipping God in spirit and in truth, is raised upon the basis of the Old Testament Church. This coming in of the Pleroma of the Gentiles¹ in the times of the rejection of the unbelieving Israel and of the desolations of the literal Jerusalem, is a partial

¹ ἀχρὶς οὐ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐισέλθῃ, Rom. xi. 25. The unfortunate mistranslation of E. V. in this place has led to great misconception of the Prophecies; πλήρωμα here is not “fulness,”

but, as in S. Matt. ix. 16, “that which is inserted to fill up a rent or void”—viz. in this passage the filling in of the place of the rejected branches of the olive-tree with an election of the Gentiles.

realization of the idea of Messiah's kingdom; its "very image" as the old Theocracy was its "shadow," Heb. x. 1.

IV. The final realization of which the preceding is the earnest, is when "all Israel shall be saved," when "the fulness of Israel" shall be "the riches of the world" "much more" than their "diminishing" has been hitherto. Rom. xi. 12.

Therefore, in that the Catholic Church of this dispensation is the earnest of the Kingdom of God, "the very image of those good things to come," of which the Law or Mosaic Dispensation was the "shadow," it is so far the fact contemplated by the Spirit of Prophecy. And as the Restoration from Babylon, the erection of the Second Temple, and a purer acknowledgment of God by His people,—as, again, the deliverance from Antiochus Epiphanes, that great personal type of Antichrist, and the gradual extensive leavening of the nations of the world, by the teaching of the Jews, with the faith of One God, were inchoate fulfilments, earnest and assurances of the future recovery of Israel from all nations whither the Lord has scattered them, of the deliverance from Antichrist, of the times of Restitution, and the covering of the whole earth with the knowledge of the glory of God; so, the *Pleroma* of the Gentiles—(i.e. the filling up, with them, of the void left by the rejection of the unbelieving nation)—the blending of them into one "Israel of God" with the faithful remnant of the Jews, the triumphs of this One Church over the powers of the world, the submission of kings and rulers to its sway, the Unseen Sacramental Presence of Christ in this Church unto the end of the *aión*,—all this is the *ἀπαρχή* of the Spirit, the *ἀρραβών* and assurance of that Time, *aión*, or Dispensation, in which "the restoring" of the now rejected Israel will be "life from the dead" to the whole race of mankind—when "all nations shall come up to Jerusalem to worship," Zech. xii.; when the "nations of them that are saved will walk in the light of the Heavenly Jerusalem, and the kings of the earth will bring their glory and honour into it," Apoc. xxii.; when Christ Himself will be present in His Kingdom *on earth*, in a sense of which we can form at present no adequate conception.—But as well might we say that the promise of Christ's Coming and Kingdom was *fulfilled* in the restoration from Babylon, as that the promises are fully realized in the present subsistence of the Visible Church.

§ 614. We are told by the advocates of the "spiritual sense," that the Israel and Zion and Jerusalem of which such glorious things are spoken, have ceased to have any particular reference to the historical realities denoted by those names in the Old Testament History, for that they now denote the Christian Church. It may or may not be admitted withal, that a future restoration of Israel is predicted in the

¹ πλῆρωμα αὐτῶν, Rom. xi. 12, opposed to ἔσθημα. The grammatical sense is the same as in the passage above

commented upon: "their being filled in," "the Church's being filled up with them."

New as well as in the Old Testament. If they admit the fact, they understand by it the future conversion of the Jews to Christ's Religion, and their absorption into the Christian Church. But they reprove as carnal and judaizing the belief that the residue of Prophecy will be fulfilled upon that nation as literally, *i. e.* unfiguratively, as the former prophecies have been. Although nothing can be more plainly declared in words than is the promise of a future restoration of all Israel—the *ten Tribes* as well as Judah—to their own land and to the worship and favour of God and of His Christ,—though in the Apocalypse the *twelve Tribes* are named one by one, and distinguished from the Gentiles, as the subjects of a Kingdom which is yet future,—though a great future Tribulation is announced, a siege of “all nations” against Jerusalem, in connexion with Messiah's Advent in glory,—yet all these, and the like distinct references to the literal Israel and Jerusalem, are said to be only figures of things pertaining to the Christian Church which now is. We need very express and cogent reasons to authorise so wide a departure from the obvious sense of the Divine Word. Yet all the *authority* alleged will be found to consist in a few expressions of the New Testament taken in a sense which they do not necessarily bear. For instance:

1. “S. Paul, Gal. iv. 26, calls the Church ‘Jerusalem which is above,’ and distinguishes it from the literal Jerusalem. To this ‘Jerusalem which is above’ he applies Isaiah's prophecy, Sing, O barren, &c.—Therefore the Jerusalem of which the Prophets foretell such glorious things is the Christian Church.” Now the Apostle is here distinguishing the spiritual Sarah or *ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ*, from the spiritual Hagar or *ἡ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ*. The latter is the existing visible congregation of carnal Israel which is in bondage to the letter and to be cast out. The former, the elect Church of Abraham and his seed which inherits the promises. This, like Sarah, was long barren, but now is called to be a joyful mother of many children: of us Israelites who believe in Jesus; and of you Gentiles who by faith are Abraham's seed. This is perfectly in accordance with the emblems elsewhere used by S. Paul, viz. of the Church as the Olive Tree with its branches, natural and engrafted, Rom. xi.;—and as a building raised upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets.

2. Heb. xii. 22. “Ye are come to the mount Zion.....the Heavenly Jerusalem, &c.” These expressions, it is assumed, denote the Catholic Church: therefore whatever the prophecies announce of the future glory of Zion and Jerusalem, is to be understood of the Christian Church. Again, this is a hasty inference. The Apostle is contrasting the beginning of a New *αἰών*, that of the Gospel, with the beginning of the *αἰών* of the Law: the one was only terrible, but this is exceeding glorious and majestic, involving more blessed privileges and more awful responsibilities. This new system *began* at Zion and Jerusalem, and *is in order* to the fulfilment of the future glory promised to Zion, in order to the descent of the New Jerusalem out of Heaven from God: therefore says the Apostle, *προσεληλύθατε*, ye are come in as proselytes to this Zion and Heavenly

Jerusalem: ye are called to be citizens, in the *παλιγγενεσία*, of that City of God which is now in Heaven, and shall hereafter descend from God.

§ 615. On the other hand, besides the objections before urged against the exclusive "spiritual interpretation," it is to be considered whether in arrogating to the present Visible Church, irrespectively of the Jews, the promises of the Old Testament, we do not neglect the Apostolic caution, "Boast not thyself against the branches"—and *ἵνα μὴ ᾗτε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς φρόνιμοι*: whether, also, we do not overlook the distinction which S. Paul, Rom. ix. xi., so clearly draws between the present dispensation, wherein to an *ἐκλογή* of Israel is superadded a *πλήρωμα* of the Gentiles, and the future dispensation, wherein the restoration of Israel will be "life from the dead" to the whole world.—In conclusion be it observed, that the scheme of interpretation which refers the Prophecies of Messiah's kingdom to this present Dispensation exclusively, is *not Catholic and Primitive*. First adopted in controversy with Montanists and carnal Chiliasts, it was formed into a system by the Alexandrine school, from which it passed to the East, and thence more slowly to the Western Church. It superseded an older interpretation held either universally or with rare exceptions in the second century¹.

¹ For the proof of this assertion it may suffice to refer the reader to the first volume of Gieseler *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, Mr. Greswell's copious Dissertation in his great work on the *Parables*, Mr. Todd's *Lectures on Antichrist*, Mr. Maitland's *Traacts on Prophecy*, and the "*Essays of Eruvin*." Corrodi's History of Chilianism (*Geschichte des Chilianismus*) may also be consulted, though I cannot recommend it as taking a calm and impartial view of the subject. In the following remarkable passage of S. Justin Martyr, "Eruvin" cogently argues that the writer's sense has been most inconsiderately perverted by omission of the negative. Gieseler had previously come to the same conclusion. I extract his note appended to this statement in his text: "*Chilianismus.....was the universal faith of this age of the Church, and was controverted only among the Gnostics, and at a later date by the opponents of the Montanists.*" A. D. 117—193. p. 182. Note: "To the question put by Trypho, whether Christians really believed in the thousand years reign, Justin answers, *Dial. c. Tryph. c. 80. οὐχ οὕτω*

τάλας ἐγώ, ὡ Τρύφων, ὡς ἕτερα λέγειν παρ' ἡ φρονῶ. ἀμολόγησα οὖν σοι καὶ πρότερον, ὅτι ἐγώ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ταῦτα φρονοῦμεν, ὡς καὶ πάντως ἐπίστασθε, τοῦτο γενησόμενον. πολλοὺς δ' αὖ καὶ τῶν [ΜΗ'] τῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ὄντων Χριστιανῶν γνώμης τοῦτο μὴ γνωρίζειν ἐσήματό σοι. τοὺς γὰρ λεγομένους μὲν Χριστιανοὺς ὄντας δὲ ἀθέους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς αἰρεσιώτας...ἐδήλωσέ σοι..... Εἰ γὰρ καὶ συνεβάλατε ὑμεῖς τισὶ λεγομένοις Χριστιανοῖς, καὶ τοῦτο μὴ ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλασφημεῖν τολμῶσι τὸν Θεὸν Ἀβραάμ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν Ἰσαάκ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν Ἰακώβ, οἱ καὶ λέγουσι μὴ εἶναι νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, ἀλλὰ ἅμα τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, μὴ ὑπολάβητε αὐτοὺς Χριστιανοὺς.... Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ εἰ τινὲς εἰσιν ὀρθογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα Χριστιανοὶ, καὶ σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι ἐπιστάμεθα, καὶ χίλια ἔτη ἐν Ἱερουσαλὶμ οἰκοδομηθεῖση καὶ κοσμηθεῖση καὶ πλατυνθεῖση κ.τ.λ. The insertion of MH is necessarily demanded by the context, see Münscher *Dogmengesch.* Bd. 2. p. 420." Compare Mede, *Clavis Apocalypticæ*, p. 277,

On the Vision of the Image of Four Metals, and that of the Four Beasts.

§ 616. IT is commonly assumed that the Four Empires denoted in the visions of Daniel are Babylon, Persia, Greece and Rome. In modern times this view was first controverted by Lacunza (Ben-Ezra), *Venida del Messias en gloria y magestad*, with arguments of which the following summary is given by Mr. Maitland together with his own remarks (*Attempt to elucidate the Prophecies concerning Antichrist*).

"This (modern view)," says Mr. Maitland, "may be questioned; the arguments of Lacunza on this point I know not how to answer.

"1. The Babylonian Empire was not destroyed or essentially altered by passing into the hands of Darius the Mede: see Dan. v. 30. and ix. 1. Darius the Mede became 'king of the Chaldeans,' as William the Dutchman became king of England. The kingdom was the same: the dynasty was altered: Babylon was not destroyed, but continued to be the seat of empire. Nehemiah calls Artaxerxes king of Babylon. The Empire remained one and the same, and even the subsequent removal of the seat of government from Babylon to Persia did not alter its identity.

"2. If the second Empire was that of the Persians beginning with Cyrus, it did not answer to the terms of the prediction that the second should be *inferior to the first*. The Persian Empire was never less, but equal to or greater, than the Empire of the Chaldeans under Nebuchadnezzar.

"3. If the Empire of the Greeks was the second, it answers to the terms of the prediction; it *was* inferior to the first: but if it *was* the *third*, it does not; for the Greek Empire did not 'bear rule over the whole world.'

"4. This note of universal sovereignty, which is not applicable to the Greeks, does apply to the Romans.

and Tillotson *Rule of Faith*, Part III. who propose to read τῶν οὐ τῆς καθ. It is curious that the modern opponents of the doctrine should, one after another, go on citing this passage as evidence to the fact that "many pure (in doctrine) and pious Christians were of a different opinion" (Bp. of Lincoln on the *Writings of Justin Martyr*, p. 104), without being struck by the palpable contradiction between this clause and the rest. The Martyr plainly implies, in what follows, that any persons, whom Trypho might have met with, calling themselves Christians and not holding this doctrine, were also blasphemers of the God of the Old Testament, deniers of the Resurrection, &c.—I strongly suspect that the omission of

the negative was not accidental, nor the only liberty taken with the text by Antichilist scribes. In the question which led to this statement, Trypho recurs very abruptly to a declaration of faith on this subject which Justin had made in the course of their discussion. "Tell me, do ye (Christians) *truly* profess, &c....or did you resort to such a profession only for the sake of victory in argument?" To which Justin answers, "I professed to you before, &c." No such profession occurs in the dialogue. I cannot but suspect it was designedly omitted by scribes of a later age; and that the text of our passage was made, by a few other slight touches, to speak a different language from what the Martyr intended.

"To these arguments of Lacunza, I add another, which is to my own mind more convincing than any of them. Namely, the Fourth Empire exists until the Ancient of days comes, &c. vii. 22, 26, 27. That time has not yet arrived, and the Roman Empire has long ceased to exist. Those who are hard pressed by the exigency of system may attempt to make a show of nominal Empire, and by long habit, readers and writers of commentaries on the prophecies have come to give and receive very marvellous interpretations with great gravity. But surely, the Roman Empire, the Empire founded by Romulus and ruled over by Augustus and Constantine, has passed through its regular decline and fall to absolute extinction."

§ 617. As for the Four Beasts, Mr. Maitland doubts whether they are parallel with the four portions of the Image. "It is indeed declared that 'the fourth Beast is the fourth kingdom on earth,' and therefore the same with that which is prefigured by the feet and toes of the Image. But I do not know that it necessarily follows that the first, second, and third beasts should be parallel to the gold, silver and brass, each to each." Mr. Maitland adds some arguments, of which I must venture to say that they appear by no means cogent. On the contrary, I conceive that the way in which the Apocalypse describes the Fourth Beast, viz. as the sum and recapitulation of all four of Daniel's¹, implies a *succession* of kingdoms, and if a succession, surely no other than that denoted by the parts of the Image. Nor do I think it so difficult a matter to explain, historically, the principal traits of the three first symbols.

"The first Beast was like a lion, and had eagle's wings:" both these symbols are used by other prophets to denote Babylon as the predestined executioner of judgment upon the chosen nation, Jer. iv. 7. and v. 6. Ezek. xvii. 3. "I beheld until the wings were plucked, and (or, wherewith) it was lifted up from the earth:" i.e. it ceased to be as an eagle preying upon the lifeless body of the Jewish Church. Compare this with the description of Nebuchadnezzar, iv. 33: "his hairs were grown like eagles' (feathers), and his nails like birds' (claws)." After a while, in pursuance of the same symbol (viz. parallel to Nebuchadnezzar's recovery, v. 16, 34, 36,) the Beast is "made to stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart is given it." The rage against God and His Church is taken away, and the power of this Empire, on the whole, is exerted in favour of the chosen Nation.

¹ I perceive that Ewald has partly observed this fact, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin Johannis exegeticus et oriticus*, (cap. xiii. 2.) *Monstrum illud non unius belluæ robur formamque refert, sed multarum fortissimarum, ut belluarum seu regnorum trium a Dan. vii. 4-8. descriptorum robur immani-*

talemque juncta possideat; toti enim terrarum orbi imperat Romana potentia sæva. Igitur maximam quidem partem belluæ oruda et fortissima pantheræ similis est; sed pedum robur comparandum est cum ursi pedibus anterioribus firmis ungulisque immanibus munitis; rictus hiantis voracitas cum leonis ore.

The second Beast is like a bear, and rampant. (The Beast in the Apocalypse has "the feet of a bear," implying this attitude of attack.) "It raised itself up on one side," ולשטר חד הקימת *Marg.* "one dominion," (from שטר). This I do not undertake to explain, for the sense of the words is ambiguous. "And it had three ribs in the mouth of it." This seems to be parallel with the description of the little horn viii. 10, (i. e. Antiochus Epiphanes): "it waxed exceeding great toward the South, and toward the East, and toward the pleasant land:" three provinces or regions of the Empires of Babylon and Alexander. "And they said (= it was said) thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh:" a general description of the rage of conquest, which does not need, nor admit of, an exclusive application².

It is strange that interpreters should ever have dreamt of applying this symbol to the Medo-persian Empire. When did that power ever shew itself as a ravening bear, devouring the pleasant land, the Lord's inheritance? Nothing but "the exigency of system," which required that the Fourth Empire should be that of Rome, could have rendered this interpretation tolerable for a moment. And certainly the attempts of the commentators (see e. g. Bishop Newton and Hävernicks u. l.) are exceedingly helpless and awkward.

§ 618. "The third Beast was like a leopard," or panther, "which had on its back four wings of a bird: the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it." So the third kingdom, of brass, "bears rule over all the earth," ii. 39: which Alexander did not, and Rome did. Here the commentators, following one another implicitly, talk of the quadripartite division of Alexander's Empire, as the reality corresponding to the quaternion of wings and heads. The quadripartite division is a fancy, which let those prove from history who can³. It is plain to common sense that the four heads, looking east, west, north, and south, denote universality of dominion; the four wings, in like manner, universality

² It was remarked, § 607, that the second crisis is more nearly related to the fourth than to the rest. The main feature of both is a personal Antichrist, namely, Antiochus is the type of that last Enemy. So in the Image, the arms and hands correspond with the legs and feet. It is needless, however, to seek an interpretation of the ten fingers, in the Grecian times, any more than of the ten horns of the He-goat in reference to those times.

³ I do not overlook that circumstance in the vision of the Ram and He-goat viii. 8, where the great horn (Alexander)

being broken, "for it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven." For I take that Prophecy to be in its latter part, which relates to the little horn, not a simple prediction of the Syrian Antichrist, but complex, in its reference to the two other crises which were to follow. It is, in short, "an implicit function" involving three terms, of which the course of time has already developed two. In this respect it is parallel with the prophecy of the Wilful King, xi. xii. which had but a partial and adumbrated fulfilment in the times of Antiochus Epiphanes.

of conquest. This aptly symbolizes the *Roman Empire*. So does the nature of the beast. It is a leopard or panther, not fierce as a lion or a bear, but seeming mild, insinuating, and flexible in its policy, yet ready at the last for the deadly spring. (We may remark, in passing, that Jeremiah, v. 6, uses the emblem of three beasts, of which the first and third agree with those of Daniel: "Wherefore a *lion* out of the forest shall slay them, and a wolf of the deserts shall spoil them; a *leopard* shall watch over their cities.") By dint of long habit, certainly not by reading history with open eyes, interpreters have come to persuade themselves that the Roman Empire, and particularly in the East (for with that the prophecy is concerned), answers to the description of the fourth beast, "fierce and dreadful exceedingly, with great iron teeth, devouring and breaking in pieces and stamping the residue with the feet of it." But this was not the way in which Rome dealt with conquered nations: though, when through the stubborn infatuation of the Jews things came to extremities, the third beast did, for them, put on the character of the fourth. And indeed, I admit that the closing scene of the third Empire, which in the eye of prophecy coincides with the *supremus dies* of Jerusalem, is blended in one with the opening scene (after a long interval of ages) of the fourth and last Empire. No prophecy of the Old or New Testament, prior to its fulfilment, not even the Apocalypse, clearly discriminates between the third crisis and the fourth. And the former of these is parallel, even in many of its details, with the latter. Thus the description of the ten horns of the beast, although it denotes a state of things yet future, is nevertheless adumbrated in the last days of the third Empire, where we have a figure of "the ten horns" in the ten Cæsars, *Julius, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius*, and *Vespasian* the Destroyer. And as in the yet future crisis, three of the ten are rooted up before the *eleventh*, who thus becomes as the eighth, so, as a shadow of this, three of the typical ten horns give way before Vespasian the tenth of their order. The "*rebellio trium principum*" Suet. *Vespas.* 1, sinks before the man who was raised up to pre-enact the vengeance which will be wielded hereafter by one greater than he. A little consideration will satisfy us that this prophecy was not intended to be clearly understood before or soon after the end of the Mosaic *aión*. The Church in the Apostolic age believed, and was permitted in the Providence of God to believe, that the end of the world, "the finishing of the mystery of God," was at hand, even at the doors. Christians therefore could not but deem that they were living under the Fourth Empire¹: nor at such a time could they be concerned to test

¹ The earliest expression of such a belief occurs in the Epistle ascribed to S. Barnabas. The next, or perhaps as early a one, is found in the apocryphal *Esdra*s, xii. 11, where the fourth Empire is clearly identified with the Roman.

Lücke, p. 111, f. has shown good cause for assigning this apocryphon to the end of the first century, *i. e.* under Nerva, the 13th Cæsar (from Julius), about 30 years after the destruction of Jerusalem, iii. 1.

their belief by tracing critically the realization of the prophetic symbols through the page of history. Their belief was natural, unavoidable, nay, it may be inferred from the structure of our Lord's own prophecy, it was providentially designed. The future was set before them in its perspective: as in a picture or landscape, the intervals were there, but not to be discriminated by mortal eyes. The same belief of course remained in the succeeding ages of the Roman Empire. The Fathers looked for one who should revive the policy of Augustus, the Empire was but to pass into other hands, not to be changed nor dissolved². But when the course of God's Providence had clearly shown that the Roman Empire had declined, fallen, and vanished away, Christians ought to have sooner learned the true interpretation of the prophecy. We are beginning to learn it at last, but slowly and very reluctantly.

On the Time of the Apocalypse.

§ 619. It was assumed above, § 610, that the Apocalypse was seen by S. John before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman armies. The assumption requires to be proved.

In the first place we may observe that the traditions relating to the authorship and time of this Book are very conflicting. It is ascribed to the fourth Evangelist by S. Irenæus v. 30. Tertullian *Præscr.* c. 36. S. Clem. Alex. *quis div. salv.* c. 42. Origen in *Matt.* t. xvi. § 6. The banishment to the isle of Patmos is mentioned in the same passages. The three latter speak simply of "the king of the Romans" or "the tyrant." The name of *Domitian*, which is found very generally in the later traditions, rests, it seems, on the sole testimony of Irenæus, who in such matters is often inaccurate. S. Epiphanius places the Apostle's return under *Claudius*, Eusebius, in the first year of *Nerva*. It seems useless to discuss these contradictory accounts. We must have recourse to considerations of internal evidence.

§ 620. And first, the eleventh chapter furnishes one note of time, which however is not in itself conclusive. The Temple which the Seer is there enjoined to measure is unquestionably the Temple at Jerusalem, "the Holy City," v. 2—"the city where our Lord was crucified" vv. 8, 9.

² So S. Hippolytus in his treatise *de Antichristo*. Speaking of Antichrist, he says, ὅτι κατὰ τὸν Αὐγουστου νόμον, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία 'Ρωμαίων συνέστη, οὗτος καὶ αὐτὸς κελεύσει καὶ διατάξει πάντα ἐπικυρῶν, διὰ τούτου δόξαν ἑαυτοῦ πλεονα περιποιούμενος. By the

Beast in the Apocalypse he understands the fourth Beast of Daniel: the healing of its head deadly wounded, implies that the Roman Empire, when near to its overthrow, and despised and broken up into Ten Diadems, would be repaired and restored by the craft of Antichrist.

The Temple therefore was contemplated by the Seer as yet standing, whence it would seem that this part, at least, of the Apocalypse was indited before A. D. 70. I am aware that this inference may be set aside by assuming that the Temple here spoken of is *exclusively*, as I admit that it is in the principal and final sense of the vision, that Temple which will be standing in Jerusalem in the days of the Two Faithful Witnesses. Accordingly I do not urge this as necessarily conclusive evidence.

§ 621. But the seventeenth chapter affords another note, which, all things considered, must, I think, be deemed important. I mean the description of the seven heads of the Beast, of which, at the time of the vision, "five are fallen, one is, the other is not yet come;" while the Beast itself (Antichrist) is said to be "the eighth, yet of the seven." Now of the Beast it is said that "it was and is not, yet is, and ascendeth out of the abyss:" which is explained by what is said in the thirteenth chapter: "I saw one of the heads *ὡς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς θάνατον*, and his deadly wound was healed, and all the world wondered after the Beast." That is, one of the seven heads or "seven kings" is slain, either really dead or supposed to be so: but when the seven have fallen, this slain head comes to life again, and is the Antichrist. Thus much is evident as to the meaning of the description. Now there can be no doubt that this description is in some way connected with the notorious fact, that many of the heathen for half a century or more after the death of Nero believed that the Tyrant was still alive and would reappear; which belief was held also by many Christians during the first three centuries, who thought that Nero was either not dead or would be raised to life, and that at his reappearing he would be either Antichrist himself, or the king whom Antichrist would overcome. Accordingly, those modern critics who rank the Apocalypse in point of inspiration with the Sibylline Books, or other apocalyptic apocrypha of the first centuries, affirm without hesitation that the writer of the Apocalypse shared the superstitious notion which was entertained by his heathen contemporaries respecting Nero: in short, that he meant to avow his belief that Nero, supposed dead, would issue from the East with his ten satraps as the eighth Cæsar. Of course, therefore, they infer that the writer lived in the time of the sixth Cæsar (reckoned from Augustus), i. e. in the reign of Galba, Otho, or Vitellius. But this view of the matter leaves a very material difficulty wholly unexplained. How came it about that not only Christians, but heathen, and a whole nation (the Parthians), had so strong a fancy that Nero lived or would come to life again? That Nero, while he lived, would be the subject of a strong foreboding, among Christians, that he was the Antichrist, is most natural: that monster of impiety and cruelty bore upon him clearer marks of Antichrist than had ever been seen on man since the days of the Syrian Tyrant. It could not fail that the faithful, in those portentous times of persecution and approaching judgment, should say in their hearts and whisper it from one to another, *This is the Man of Sin: he will do more awful things than these.* Indeed, I think there is proof that in his

latter years he was considered as the destined Antichrist. For so I regard the following well-known passage of Suetonius: *Spoponderant quidem destituto Orientis dominationem, NONNULLI NOMINATIM REGNUM HIEROSOLYMORUM, plures omnis pristinae fortunæ recuperationem.* Suet. *Ner.* 40. That is, the foreboding which was entertained concerning him by Christians became divulged among the heathen, and it was confidently announced by some that Nero should be king of Jerusalem. But when his death seemed to belie this expectation, how came it that the notion was started, and obtained so much credence as it did, that Nero was either not truly dead or would be miraculously brought to life? Surely there must have been some stronger ground than that which is intimated by Tacitus, *Vario super exitu ejus rumore, eumque pluribus vivere fingentibus credentibusque*; Hist. ii. 8, 9. And such a ground I take to be the existence among Christians of this prophetic description which we are considering. The Christians, I mean, in the years immediately following the death of Nero, believed it, because they read, or thought they read, as much in the *Apocalypse*. They said, *While the monster lived we thought he was the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition. And his death has not falsified our expectation. The head is ὡς ἐσφαγμένη εἰς θάνατον*, but the deadly wound will be healed. *The Beast seen by the beloved Seer in Patmos hath seven heads, which are seven Cæsars. Five are fallen, [Augustus and Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius, and Nero] yet Nero, the last of them, only for a time. The sixth head is now: the seventh will soon come and soon also fall: then will the tyrant come forth from the abyss as the eighth, and one of the seven.* From the Christians, the belief passed to the heathen and especially to the Parthians, inasmuch as it was thought that Nero would issue from their country, from Babylon, together with the kings of the East. This view of the matter furnishes an intelligible explanation of the facts, which, it seems to me, are inexplicable except upon the supposition that the *Apocalypse* existed at the time which has been mentioned. This it will be said is assumption. It is: but so is the sceptical hypothesis against which I allege it. That hypothesis leaves the principal difficulty unexplained: this explains it.

§ 622. Thus much in answer to the sceptical assumption and the slight which is thereby cast upon this book of Scripture. The book, it is insinuated, could not be divine, for, among other fantastic representations, it adopts and enlarges upon the vulgar superstition of the age in respect of Nero. I have met the insinuation by urging that in all probability the notion thus branded was derived originally both to Christians and Gentiles from the *Apocalypse*, not conversely. But whether this be so or not, the description of the seven heads certainly does afford, as the sceptical writers say it does, a very clear note of time. For if the writer meant to set forth *Nero* as the Antichrist, it necessarily follows that the seven heads are seven Cæsars: and on this hypothesis the description could not have been written earlier than Galba, nor later than Vitellius: e. g. it could not have been written in the time of *Domitian*, for in no conceivable

sense was that tyrant the sixth in a series of kings including Nero. On the other hand, if the writer did not mean to represent Nero as the Antichrist, this was nevertheless supposed to be his meaning by those who held that notion. Now if the Apocalypse appeared in the reign of Domitian, no man possessed of common understanding could have derived from, or attached to, the description of the seven heads, the notion that *Nero* was therein set forth as the Antichrist. For, as before argued, it is obvious to common sense, that if the seven heads denote seven Cæsars of whom Nero is one, the series must begin at Julius or Augustus, consequently Domitian could not be considered as the sixth. This description then, taken in connexion with the fact that many both heathen and Christians entertained this portentous expectation concerning Nero, makes it probable in a high degree, if not certain, that the Apocalypse was written after the death of Nero and before the accession of Vespasian.

§ 623. But the subject is too interesting to be treated merely as a chronological question: and I need not apologise for offering some further remarks upon it in connexion with the view of the structure of prophecy which it has been my object to unfold in these pages.

I have expressed my belief that as the acts of Nero induced the Christians, while he yet lived, to regard him as the Antichrist, so, after his death, many were led by the Apocalypse, which was delivered to the Church either before or very soon after that event, to retain that expectation, and to believe that he was either miraculously kept in life, or would be miraculously raised from the dead¹. There are many, doubtless, who will stigmatise this ancient notion as a stupid absurdity. There is proof however that it was firmly believed, and that, not merely by weakminded enthusiasts, but (as Baronius admits) by writers of no mean note. Its sole hold on their minds was by the passage in the Apocalypse, and the prepossession must needs have been a strong one to survive as it did for so long a time, when the course of events had seemingly refuted the interpretation on which it rested. They must have had, or fancied that they had, strong grounds for believing the principal thing—i.e. the reappearance of Nero as Antichrist, when the course of events had carried the Church long past the eighth Cæsar. And it certainly was a very strong ground if they believed that Nero was thus set forth by the beloved disciple. Perhaps we may represent to ourselves the course of opinion on this subject somewhat in this way. First, during the brief interval between the death of Nero and the destruction of Jerusalem, there would be a strong expectation that the

¹ It may be worth while to remark, that on the part of Jewish-Christians this expectation might probably be aided by a calculation of "the name and number of the beast." I am not aware whether in Aramaic "Cæsar" was at that time usually written קסר without the Jod: but

if so, קסר נרון "Cæsar Nero" gives exactly the number 666. While I am upon this subject, I may remark that the name *Teirav*, assigned in the time of Irenæus, probably originated in an attempt to fix this mark upon *Titus*, the destroyer of Jerusalem and the eighth Cæsar.

eighth Cæsar would be Antichrist, viz. Nero revived. But when Vespasian and Titus had completed the judgment upon the reprobate Jews, and still no Antichrist appeared, the most discreet would say, *We mistook the meaning of the vision: the seven heads are now fallen; the series reached only to the completion of the judgment upon Jerusalem; then began a pause of suspense; the Cæsars which succeeded are not included in the scope of the vision; the eighth, which is Antichrist and Nero, is yet to come.* Others would attempt a different reckoning of the heads. Of such we find a trace in the commentary of Victorinus, who wrote in the latter part of the third century², but adopted, without much reflection, the notion of a much earlier period. This writer, namely, supposes that the series of seven heads begins with Galba; that the Apocalypse was written under Domitian, the sixth head; that Nerva was the seventh. This notion, adopted by Victorinus, must have originated in the time of Nerva: for after that reign it is refuted by the course of events, as much as the other. Again, there were probably others who supposed that the seven heads must needs denote seven tyrants and persecutors, beginning, with Sennacherib or Nebuchadnezzar. On the other hand there were some who, not being able to reconcile the prophecy or its old interpretation with the course of events, either rejected the interpretation in respect of Nero, and sought a new one, as that Antichrist would be a Jew, of the tribe of Dan, who would overthrow the Roman Empire,—or called in question the truth of the Apocalypse itself. The latter conclusion was aided by the antichilastic views which gradually supplanted the earlier faith: the opponents of chiliasm opposed also the Apocalypse, until the allegorizing schools of Alexandria furnished in their peculiar scheme of interpretation the means of retaining the Apocalypse without its “judaisms.” Nevertheless, the notion that Nero was Antichrist stood its ground. Not only was it entertained by the writers of the Sibylline prophecies, and by the heretical authors of the Apocrypha relating to Isaiah, but even in the time of Augustine there were many who still entertained it. *Nonnulli illum resurrecturum et futurum Antichristum*

² He was Bishop of Petabium in Pan-
nonia and died about A.D. 303. His ex-
position (*Bibl. Max. Patrum Lugdun.*
t. iii. p. 420. D.) has reached us in a
mutilated state, with many additions.
S. Jerome, for one, is said to have struck
out passages of the original which were
too Chilistic for his liking, and to have
inserted his own comments in their place:
Ambros. Ansb. *Præf. Bibl. Max.*
t. xiii. p. 404. E. For these notices I
am indebted to Lücke, p. 495. Some of
the interpolations however are of a later
date than S. Jerome. One of these is
the passage, which Lücke professes his

inability to understand, about the num-
ber of the Beast. In the text it stands
thus: “AI. N. L. T. CCC. F. V. M.
L. X. L. O. L. XX. CCC. I. III. EUN.
LCC. N. V. III. P. CIX. K. XXOLXX.
CC.” The corruption however is very
slight:—the names are *Αντρεμος* (which
is also given by Primasius, a scholar of
S. Augustine, *Bibl. Max.* t. x. 287, Lücke,
p. 508), and *Γεωργημικος*. The letters and
numerals should be written thus: A, I.
N, L. T, CCC. E, V, M, XL. O, LXX.
C, CC. (= 666). F, III. E, V. N, L.
C, CC. H, VIII. P, C. I, X. K, XX.
O, LXX. C, CC. (666).

suspiciantur. Alii nec eum occisum putant sed subtractum potius cum putaretur occisus, et vivum occulari in vigore ejus ætatis in qua fuit cum crederetur extinctus, donec suo tempore reveletur et restituatur in regnum. Sed multum mihi mira est hæc opinantium tanta præsumptio. As an instance of one of these opinions we may quote Sulpitius Severus: *Unde creditur etiamsi se gladio ipse transfixerit curato vulnere ejus esse servatus secundum illud quod de eo scriptum est, ut, plaga mortis ejus curata, est sub sæculi fine mittendus ut mysterium iniquitatis exerceat, Hist. ii.* The same writer ascribes to S. Martin an opinion which is curious as evidence of an attempt to reconcile two conflicting views on the subject of Antichrist: whom some supposed to be Nero, others a Jew of the tribe of Dan. *Caterum quum quæreretur ab eo de fine sæculi, ait nobis Neronem et Antichristum potius esse venturos: Neronem in occidentali plaga regibus subactis decem imperaturum, persecutionem hactenus exercendam ut idola gentium coli cogat. Ab Antichristo vero orientis imperium esse capiendum; qui quidem sedem et caput regni Hierosolyma esset habiturus; ab illo urbem et templum esse reparandum: illius eam persecutionem futuram esse ut Christum Dominum cogat negari, se potius esse Christum confirmans, omnesque secundum legem circumcidi jubeat. Et ipsum denique Neronem ab Antichristo esse perimendum, atque sub illius potestate universum orbem cunctasque gentes esse redigendas. Dial. ii. in fin.* Victorinus, whose interpretation of the seven heads has been already given, clearly identifies Nero with Antichrist: *Hunc ergo (Neronem) suscitatum Deus mittet dignis et Christum qualem meruerunt Judæi, et quoniam aliud nomen allaturus est aliam etiam vitam instituturus, ut sic eum tanquam Christum excipiant Judæi.* After the time of Augustine and Jerome the notion about Nero seems to have become gradually extinct: and in the eighth century we find Ambrosius Ansbertus, in his commentary on the Apocalypse, declaring "the interpretation of the seven heads as seven Cæsars, and the notion that the eighth is Nero and Antichrist, to be so coarse and vulgar, that its absurdity must be acknowledged by expositors of the most ordinary understanding."

§ 624. It scarcely admits of a doubt that many of those to whose hands the Apocalypse first came supposed the Seer to mean that Nero would reappear in the character of Antichrist, the eighth head of the Beast. But are we then to suppose that in the *true* sense of the vision, as in its received sense at the time, Nero is set forth as the predicted Antichrist? Perhaps we are hardly authorised to answer confidently in the negative. That Antichrist will be a person *ὡς ἐσφαγμένος εἰς θάνατον*, a person who will be an object of wonder to the whole world in respect that "he was, and then was not, and then again was," is clearly enough intimated in the vision itself: where then was the absurdity in the supposition of the Seer's contemporaries that Nero was the person reserved for this remarkable destiny? Nor upon the view of the structure of Prophecy which is here advocated, was the supposition really refuted by the course of events. For, as I have so often insisted, the whole period from the end of the Mosaic *αἰών* to the closing scene of our own, is in the eye of prophecy

a blank: the whole "times of the Gentiles" are withdrawn from the view of the Seer: the rise of the eighth head of the Beast may therefore be regarded as joining on to the fall of the seventh. It may be that the line of the seven Cæsars leads to the verge of this great chasm, unrevealed to the Seers of old, to us made known by the course of Divine Providence, and the eighth rises into view on the further side. That is to say, these seven heads may be exclusively and with no reference to any further futurity, *Augustus and Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius, Nero* and the *three rival emperors*, regarded as one, and lastly, *Vespasian* the Destroyer. With him the αἰὼν comes to a close, and the time of which all the prophets were silent begins (Rom. xvi. 25.): the long night of ages descends upon the Jewish day, the time of Israel's rejection and deep sleep; and when this is passed as a dream in the night, the first event of the morning links itself on to the last of yester even, as though no space of time had been interposed. This *may be* the true sense of the vision: I by no means affirm that it *is*; for a different view may be taken agreeably with the principle. The Apocalypse, I suppose, includes a twofold crisis, the last times of the Mosaic and the last times of the Gentile Dispensation. Now as the former catastrophe is the symbol of that which is to come, it may be that the seven Cæsars are *the symbol* of seven successive heads of that Fourth and yet future Empire which will fall under the power of Antichrist: and Nero, in particular, the symbol of that last persecutor of the Church, who, having like him raged against the Church as a human potentate, and then having come to his end, will be raised up as the eighth and invested with the power of Satan. What has been said has been offered with the view of rescuing what I take to be the true sense of a remarkable passage of the Apocalypse, from the inference which has been thence derived against the divine authority of the Book itself. That the seven heads of the Beast do in some sense denote the seven Cæsars beginning with Augustus, seems to me scarcely to admit of a doubt: but whether this be itself the ultimate sense, or but a shadow and symbol of the reality contemplated by the Divine Mind, is a question on which it were presumptuous to speak positively. Πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται. What I maintain is, that neither the expectation derived from this passage by the Christian contemporaries of the Seer, nor the representation itself, can be said to have been falsified by the course of events: because on the one supposition the whole interval between the seven heads and the eighth is lost in the prophetic perspective, on the other, the perspective blends in one the symbol and the final reality.

NOTE. § 625. The author of an interesting paper in the *British Magazine* (August 1842) has referred "the origin of the *disgracefully absurd notion* that Nero is Antichrist," to that apocryphal and heretical production the *Ascensio Esaiæ*. Of course I do not concur in the censure thus broadly expressed: on the contrary, it seems to me that the notion was a natural

and almost unavoidable inference to such as had the Apocalypse in their hands before the destruction of Jerusalem. Moreover, I think the learned writer would not have adopted the notion of Laurence respecting the date of that apocryphum, if he had been acquainted with the results of more recent criticism on that subject¹. Laurence, namely, supposed that it was written within 332 days after the death of Nero, because it foretels that Nero, *i. e.* Antichrist, should reign 3 years 7 months and 27 days, and then, after 332 days, the Lord would descend from heaven and destroy him. Now there can be no doubt that for 332 in this passage we ought to read 1332, which is the number of days contained in 3 years 7 months (at 30 days) and 27 days. The meaning therefore is, that after a reign of 3^y 7^m 27^d, or 1332 days, Antichrist would be destroyed. The number, for there is but one, is purely apocalyptic, and contains no note of time whatever. It is borrowed, of course, from Daniel's period of 1335 days, Dan. xii. 12, which is reduced however by 3 days, I suppose in order to get the double of the number of the beast, $2 \times 666 = 1332$. The work contains no other note of time. It was probably written in the course of the third or fourth century: certainly not before the destruction of Jerusalem. For a full discussion of this question I must refer the reader to *Lücke's Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis*, p. 125—141.—In the Sibylline oracles, Nero is constantly represented in this light. The most ancient of the passages relating to this subject occurs in the Fourth Book 114—121, 134—136, and was indited (by some Christian) in the first or second year of Titus. This appears from the fact that the writer notices the eruption of Vesuvius A.D. 79, as a sign of the coming of Antichrist and the Day of Judgment. The Fifth Book, in which are numerous passages of this kind, (see v. 34, 100, 146), was written in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

¹ It is impossible not to recognize here the origin of the disgracefully absurd notion that Nero is Antichrist. The 3^y 7^m 27^d counted from the commencement of Nero's persecution are *quasi* 3½ years, the "famous time of Antichrist." Note, p. 131. "Its editor, Laurence, has proved by reasonings equally ingenious and convincing, that this book was composed after 9 June A.D. 68, and before 7 or 8 May A.D. 69, *i. e.* after the death of Nero, but less than 332 days after that event," p. 122. The passage from which this conclusion is drawn is in substance as follows: "After the Beloved, being raised from the dead, has sent forth his twelve Apostles and returned

into heaven, many of his disciples shall prophesy and work miracles: but after a while, men will leave the doctrine of the Apostles, and dispute his coming again: there will be great corruption in the Churches, &c. Then will Berial, the prince of this world, descend in the form of an atheistical king, the murderer of his mother, and the Church shall be delivered into his hands: men will sacrifice to him, and call him God: the world will be full of his signs and wonders: his images shall be set up in all cities, and his reign shall last 3 years 7 months 27 days. But then after 332 days the Lord shall descend from heaven and consume him."

Hints for the Study of Prophecy: Principle of Relations applied.

§ 626. At the head of *Apocalyptic Prophecy*, or the Vision of the Day of the LORD, stands JONAH, who prophesied before, or in, the reign of Jeroboam the Second. Its epoch coincides with a very remarkable conjuncture in the history of the Chosen People. In the northern kingdom, which had been brought very low in a long conflict with the power of Syria, the accession of the son of Joash was the beginning of a time of prosperity such as Israel had never enjoyed since the separation from Judah. This recovery had been foretold by the first Prophet, the leader or precursor of the whole order of Seers which was thenceforth about to be raised up for the purpose of proclaiming the Advent of the Day of God. "Jeroboam restored the coast of Israel from the entering of Hamath unto the Sea of the Plain, according to the word of the LORD which He spake by the hand of His servant JONAH the son of Amittai, the prophet which was of Gath-hepher. For the LORD saw the affliction of Israel that it was very bitter, for there was not any shut up, nor any left, nor any helper in Israel. And the LORD said not that He would blot out the name of Israel from under heaven, but He saved them by the hand of Jeroboam the son of Joash," 1 Kings xiv. 25. Contemporary with the latter part of the long reign of this prosperous king, is part of the reign of Uzziah in Judah, which was also distinguished by a state of prosperity unexampled since the days of Solomon. Under these two kings the whole nation was reinstated in the possession of the land of its fathers, to the full extent of the boundaries of the Abrahamic covenant, "from the entering of Hamath unto the Sea of the Plain" and "unto the River of Egypt and the Red Sea," 2 Chron. xxvi. But for the schism, the twelve tribes stood on almost the same height of prosperity as in the days of Solomon when the Promise received its most signal accomplishment. It was during this second spring of the nation's wealth that the LORD began to reveal His approaching Day of Visitation. In His counsels, the judgment conditionally pronounced by Moses, was now made absolute, and shortly to go forth. First Israel should be visited: for *her* judgment, Assyria stood ready, and waiting the appointed time; within little more than a century, Israel should cease to be a nation. Judah's visitation lay further off in the vista of ages: the armies of the Lord predestined for her chastisement were but now issuing from the womb of nations; while Assyria was wielding the besom of destruction against Israel, Babylon and the Chaldeans with the Medes were struggling into independence; in the isles of the Chittim were the sons of Javan laying the foundations of empire for remote ages; and in the furthest west the Roman Eagle was essaying its first flights among the seven hills. At such a conjuncture of Israel and Judah's, and of the world's history, the great Apocalypse began to be given to the Prophets. The Chosen People was raised up from its prostration and made to stand up on its feet, and to start with renewed strength on the career of its final probation. Thenceforth, one Seer after another

made known the Visions in which they beheld the Advent of the Day of God. And first JONAH, as the leader of their whole order, announced, as we have seen, the LORD's compassion and merciful revival of His People. Then was enacted in his person a significant scene, which forms as it were the overture of the great Drama, the prologue and frontispiece to the volume of the Prophetic Scriptures.

1. "The Sign of Jonas the Prophet."

§ 627. The events related in the book of Jonah must unquestionably be received as real history. I do not see how any other opinion can be entertained, consistently with reverence for the Person of our Lord Himself, Matt. xii. 39, 41; xvi. 4. Luke xi. 29, 32. The sole ground for scepticism exists in the extraordinary character of the events narrated; and as for this, it is sufficient to say with Augustine, *Aut omnia divina miracula credenda non sunt, aut hoc cur non credatur causa nulla est.* But with the plain historical sense there exists, I am persuaded, a deep symbolical or allegorical meaning. This is important to be observed, as it explains the circumstance, otherwise strange, that a narrative relating to a judgment threatened upon a heathen city, and on a first view, having no connexion with the system of Hebrew Prophecy, should have found its way into the scriptures of that system. The symbolical sense, I doubt not, lies deeper than can be fathomed by any merely human exegesis: but enough, I think, can be discerned (by the aid of an infallible comment which we do possess) to shew that this narrative stands in a very significant relation to the entire system, forming, in truth, its *symbolical prologue or frontispiece*.

§ 628. On that memorable and portentous day on which our Lord bade the men of his generation to beware of the irremediable sin, He, being asked for a sign by some of the Pharisees, Matt. xii. 38. comp. Luke xi. 29, answered thus: "An evil and adulterous generation craveth after a sign, and no sign shall be given it, but the sign of Jonas the Prophet," Matt. Luke. "For as Jonas became a sign to the Ninevites, so shall the Son of Man be to this generation," Luke. "For as Jonas was in the whale's belly three days and three nights, so shall the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights," Matt. "The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: for they repented at the preaching of Jonas, and lo! (somewhat) more than Jonas is here," Matt. Luke. Again, on a later occasion (after the second miracle of feeding), when the Pharisees and Sadducees desired a sign from heaven, He answered, "An evil and adulterous generation craveth after a sign, and no sign shall be given it, but the sign of Jonas," Matt. xvi. 4. comp. Mark viii. 11.

§ 629. It is evident that the sign of Jonas lies not merely in the fact of his typical resurrection, but also in his *preaching*. Jonah, raised from the dead in a figure, preaches repentance to the men of Nineveh: the Saviour, *after his resurrection*, preaches by His Apostles, summoning the men of

that generation to repentance. The parallelism is obvious: the sign is, the preaching of the risen Jesus—the last call to repentance by, and in the name of, Him who rose from the dead. And it would seem that Nineveh mystically represents Jerusalem: the allotted respite, “yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown,” seems so clearly to symbolize the closing period of Jerusalem’s probation. On the other hand, Nineveh in her repentance forms the contrast to Jerusalem: “the men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgment with *this generation*, and shall condemn it.” They are placed in the same category with “the Queen of the South:” both, that is, denote the Gentiles who should believe in the preaching of the Spiritual Jonah. It seems to me that both senses are involved in the symbol, and so I shall endeavour to explain it.

§ 630. Christ raised from the dead, and preaching, by His Church, the coming Judgment, is the great characteristic of our whole Dispensation. This is impressively shadowed forth in the very opening of the Dispensation of the Prophets. It is the central figure in an allegory enacted, as it seems, for warning, reproof, and comfort, to the end of the world. How impressive in the opening of a Vision of Judgment is the declaration of God’s willingness to spare the repenting sinner! Were this moral lesson the whole and sole import of the beautiful story, how fitly does it stand as a frontispiece to the whole Apocalypse of God’s threatenings! But it has also a deep and manifold spiritual import in which it shadows forth the mystery of God. The Prophetic Mission of the Seers before Christ and that of His Church since His Resurrection are here prefigured in the person of Jonah, who is made withal to typify the very Person of Christ, the Great Prophet in whom Joel and Isaiah are one with John and Paul. The whole succession of the Seers beginning with Jonah foreshadowed Him, the Apostolic Church images Him, as the One True Prophet and Utterer of “the Apocalypse which God gave Him, to shew to His servants the things which must shortly come to pass.” He, incarnate, dying, descending into hell, and rising again, stands central between two dispensations of that Revelation, which are one in Him, and bear one testimony of His coming and kingdom. Here Jonah prefigures both, and Him between both.—That which is said of his *first* mission seems to import a symbolical warning to the Prophets, his successors of the old dispensation. They must, as God shall severally call them, “arise, go to Nineveh, that great city, and cry against it: for its wickedness is come up before God.” That is, they must declare the sentence of God’s judgment against their own nation. A terrible ministry! and even the more alarming, because they know Him to be “a gracious God, and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and that repenteth Him of the evil,” iv. 2: for they will be in danger to be accounted lying Prophets, if the sentence they proclaim shall fail to be executed. But necessity is laid upon them: preach they must, for they cannot flee from the presence of the LORD: He will pursue them with His storms, and bring them into the great deep, even “into the belly of hell,” and thence raise them up and make them His messengers. Such seems to be

the import of this part of the allegory in reference to the Old Prophets. The storm, the casting into the sea, the devouring monster, may symbolize the inward and outward sufferings, the overwhelming dread and agony which attended the prophetic mission. This however is but a shadow of the true meaning: the main significance in these circumstances of the story fades off from the Prophets, and gathers itself around the Person of Him whom their whole order, alike in its office and in its sufferings, foreshadowed. The atoning death of Christ, by which the storm of God's wrath is appeased,—a death which He Himself in the Psalms likens to a descent through the abysses of roaring waters (Psalm lxi. 1, 2; xl. 2.), is here wonderfully typified. Nor is it without a meaning that Jonah was cast into the sea by *Gentile* hands, and that these heathen, when the sea thereupon ceased from her raging, “feared the Lord exceedingly, and offered a sacrifice, and made vows.” Jonah's Psalm also, which follows, has its full meaning when interpreted like those other Psalms which are spoken in the person of Christ: and we may remark in passing, that this portion of the wonderful narrative makes it a connecting link between the Liturgical and the Apocalyptic Prophecies, § 602. After the figure of the resurrection, the significance recedes from the Person of Christ, and rests again upon His servants and representatives. And here, we cannot fail to perceive how aptly this part of the story symbolizes the office of the Apostles in reference to Jerusalem, as they were sent forth with “the sign of Jonah,” preaching Christ's Advent and a judgment which (as the event has shown) came to pass at the end of the τεσσαρακονταετης χρόνος prefigured by Nineveh's forty days. In this connexion the very name and nation of Jonah are significant: Jonah signifies “dove,” and he is of Gath-hepher, a *Galilean*. It has also been shown, § 391, that a remarkable economy of Times and Seasons connects the Pentecost, the birth-day of the Christian Church, with the probable epoch of Jonah's preaching.—Here, then, in the first Prophet we have an acted or typical prophecy of that great crisis in the destinies of the Chosen People. Not, however, of that only, but therewith of the whole period reaching from the Resurrection to the Consummation of all things, of which those forty years are the miniature emblem, as the judgment on Jerusalem is of the Last Judgment, § 340, 344. The type was also partially fulfilled in the crises of visitation which preceded Christ's first coming. As the judgment was to be first speedily accomplished upon Israel, the proximate import of Jonah's preaching is, “Yet forty years, and SAMARIA shall be overthrown.” Now the judgment began to be executed upon that kingdom so soon as the reign of Jeroboam came to a close; and we have already seen, § 391, that from the epoch of Jonah to the beginning of “the last times” of Samaria, i. e. of the 65 years of Isaiah, the interval is precisely commensurate with the final τεσσαρακονταετης χρόνος of Jerusalem. The same interval, perhaps exactly, reaches from the time of Isaiah's inaugural vision (chap. vi.) to the close of these 65 years. And so in respect of Jerusalem; the epoch of Jeremiah's prophesying precedes

the catastrophe of the Babylonian judgment by precisely the period of forty years, pp. 180, 247. On each of these occasions, "the men of Nineveh rose up in the judgment with *that* generation, and condemned it." In respect of *Samaria*, it was peculiarly so: Nineveh, which had repented at the preaching of Jonah, was spared—to be the Destroyer of unrepenting Israel. And this is another significant feature of the transaction. Jonah was sent to preach and be a sign, not to Damascus or Tyre or Egypt, but to "that great city Nineveh," which the Almighty had raised up to be the instrument by which He would first judge His people Israel.

§ 631. If Nineveh repenting and spared symbolizes the Mercy of God to the Gentiles, the withering of Jonah's gourd would seem to denote the dissolution of the Mosaic economy, and together with it of the hope which the first Jewish believers had cherished that the elect remnant of their nation should presently inherit the promises in the kingdom of God. It may involve a similar meaning in reference to the Church of the whole Dispensation which now is; a meaning deeper perhaps than we can at present understand. With respect to the Prophets themselves (of the Old Dispensation), the symbolical lesson contained in this part of the story may be of this kind—they are messengers of a sentence of judgment, of which it may please God in His mercy to delay the execution: let them not begrudge His mercy, whether to their own nation or to uncovenanted heathen: neither let them repine at the withering of the Vine under which they sat and "rejoiced greatly:" the true Tabernacle and shelter of the righteous is not yet pitched; the elect are not yet to sit down under the shadow of the True Living Vine. In this aspect, also, this scene of the Lord's dealings with the first Prophet forms an apt prologue to the whole system, inasmuch as this was designed, in His secret counsels, for the removal of the economy which then was, and for the calling in of the *Pleroma* of the Gentiles.

2. *Joel*.

§ 632. Jonah enacted the prologue to the Vision of the Day of the Lord; with *Joel* that great Apocalypse actually begins. And most impressively is it introduced, by a scene the sublime significance of which we shall then in some measure apprehend, when we consider that it is set before us by the corypheus of the whole order of Seers, and that it is designed to be a summary of "the Mystery of God" about to be uttered through a long series of ages "by His servants the Prophets." Such is in truth its aspect and import. It is a grand outline of the whole terrible scene which was to be depicted more and more in detail by the hand of succeeding Prophets. Accordingly, not the present or near emergencies of good or evil in the destinies of his nation, not their existing sins and speedy retribution, not Assyria and Babylon, are the subject of this prophecy: its scope is, the Day of the Lord as a whole—as one overwhelming crisis of judgment and mercy. Hence also it is that in its imagery and colouring, and in the sequence of the events portrayed, this first Prophecy of the Old Testament exhibits

so remarkable a parallelism with the last great Prophecy of the New Testament. This is not accidental, but grounded on the fact that Joel is the first, John the last, Seer of the one great Apocalypse. To Joel, surveying the whole march of the judgment, its nearer movements were obscured and lost sight of in those more remote which alone were presented to the eye of the Seer in Patmos. In Joel we have the summary in outline; in John the consummation in its awful details. Thus the great prophetic drama is rounded into a complete whole; its closing scene is the counterpart and expansion of that with which it opened.

The contents of the Prophecy are two visions, each complete in itself, each, that is, beginning at the approach of the Day of the Lord, and reaching to the consummation of all things—Messiah in His kingdom. The former consisting of the first two chapters (Heb. but E. V. i. 1—ii. 27) is the symbolical vision of the Locusts: the latter, contained in the other two chapters (E. V. ii. 27—iii. *end*), drops this symbol, and exhibits the Day of the Lord in the usual language of prophecy. This runs parallel with the former, or rather includes it.

§ 633. The Vision of the Locusts is doubtless symbolical, for this, if for no other reason, that the hyperbole were else almost profane. It may be admitted, however, that the prophecy was *occasioned* by an extraordinary plague of these devouring insects: in fact, I conceive that the plague was inflicted by Divine Providence as a physical sign and portent of the judgment about to be executed. The Prophet summoning the nation to repentance is made to know the parable of this plague, and is rapt into the Day of the Lord which it portended. And here we see how emphatically in the very opening of Prophecy these armies of the Lord are represented as a quaternion of heathen foes sent to ravage the Lord's inheritance. "Hear this, ye old men, and mark it, all ye dwellers in the land: Hath this ever been in your days, or in the days of your fathers? || Tell ye it to your sons, and your sons to their sons, and their sons to the coming generation: || the leavings of the *gazam* hath the *arbah* (locust) eaten, the leavings of the locust hath the *yeleq* eaten, and the leavings of the *yeleq* hath the *hhasil* eaten!" Thus though the scene is one, the intervals are there, hidden in its perspective.—When the plague has done its appointed work, and all Israel falls down guilty before God, then the Lord arises and is jealous for His people. At one blast He disperses this "northern army:" then He gives the early and the latter rain: the land rejoices and overflows with His goodness: Himself is with His people, and they shall be no more confounded for ever.

§ 634. The other half of the Prophecy opens with an announcement of a future great effusion of the Spirit in His *prophetic* gifts. In this there is an emphasis of this kind: "*This* is the beginning of a dispensation of Prophecy: the Lord is now first putting of His Spirit, from time to time, upon one here, another there, whom He will send forth as heralds of His Advent, to 'blow the trumpet in Zion, and sound an alarm in His holy mountain.' But hereafter, as that Day draws nigh, He will pour out His Spirit upon

all flesh: persons of all conditions, old and young, male and female, master and servants, shall be filled with the Holy Ghost—shall be made His Seers and Prophets, the heralds and preachers of His coming.” Which received a glorious, though *still not a complete*, fulfilment on the Day of Pentecost. The Gift of that Day was the *ἀπαρχή* and *ἀρραβών*: the final reality contemplated in the prediction is yet to come—to precede the last Advent, as that preceded the dissolution of the Mosaic Dispensation. The two effusions, however, are here blended in one. The whole prediction has a double sense, the one relating to the last days of the former *αιών*, the other to the last days of the *αιών* which now is. Hence S. Peter, opening the dispensation of Christian Prophecy on the Day of Pentecost, said, “This is that which is spoken of by the Prophet Joel, And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams: and on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy: and I will shew wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath; blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke: the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and notable day of the Lord come: and it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.” From what has been said it is obvious that there is a peculiar aptness in the citation from this particular Prophet, not merely because of its contents, but in respect of the place which it holds in the very opening of the apocalyptic dispensation.

§ 635. The following verses are to be interpreted in the same double sense. After the Pentecostal effusion the oracle proceeds thus: “Then will I give signs in the heaven and on the earth; blood and fire, and pillars of smoke: the Sun shall be turned into darkness and the Moon into blood before the Great and terrible Day of the Lord come.”—These are the signs of which our Saviour spoke, the fearful signs and great sights from heaven, which, together with wars and desolations on earth, should precede His Advent to judgment (upon Jerusalem, for we are still considering the proximate sense of the prediction); which signs also, we know, came to pass.—“And then shall every one that calleth upon the name of the Lord be saved: for on the Mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be the escaped remnant,” (P’leth)—the elect remnant of Judah, the Church of the Circumcision—“and they that receive the glad tidings” (b’shirim, *εὐαγγελιζόμενοι* LXX)—the election or pleroma of the Gentiles—“whom the Lord shall call.”—In that dreadful judgment, the day of the Lord upon old Jerusalem, the Church, composed of Jews and Gentiles, shall escape. The scene described in the symbolical vision, the swarming in of the locusts, that is to say, in the sense which we are now considering, the desolating invasion of the Roman armies, is itself a main part of “the great and terrible Day of the Lord,” subsequent therefore upon the effusion of the Spirit. With which agrees the order of the signs in the Apocalypse: the “blood and fire” follow upon the sounding of the first and second Trumpet;

when the fifth is sounded, the bottomless pit is opened, and there arises out of the pit a *smoke* as of a great furnace—"pillars of smoke"—by which the sun and the air are darkened, and there come out of the smoke *locusts* upon the earth. Rev. viii. 1—3. This, however, which we have been considering, is the proximate sense of the prediction; another remains, the counterpart and consummation of this, in the end of our *aión*; a second effusion of the Spirit and gifts of Prophecy, and thereafter the fearful signs and great sights from heaven, the opening of the abyss, and the locusts under their king Abaddon, the last Antichrist, and the finishing of the mystery of God as He hath declared to His servants the Prophets.

§ 636. The remainder of the vision exhibits the same scene with that which is portrayed in the latter chapters of the Apocalypse—the gathering together of the nations (Rev. xix. 19) to the final conflict, the victory and the kingdom of Christ. I have before remarked that Joel's subject is general and does not deal with near emergencies. • What he sets before our eyes is the whole, beheld in the surpassing majesty of its closing scenes: the anterior scenes, the comparatively near judgments upon Jerusalem, the closely impending visitation of Samaria, fade from the view. Hence it is that he takes no account of the separation of Israel from Judah: Jerusalem is to him the metropolis of the whole nation. Still, as I have remarked, the *plurality* of the judgment is intimated in the vision, namely, in the succession of a *four-fold* swarm of locusts. We have seen how the prediction applies to the two latter crises: in respect of the earlier crises a shadow of that fulfilment went before. The raising up of the Prophets themselves foreshadowed the Pentecostal Effusion, as Babylon and the Syrian Tyranny foreshadowed Rome and the last Antichrist. The whole prophecy has also its application to the Day of the Lord in the visitation of Israel then impending: for that visitation was accomplished in *three* terms, as a miniature emblem of the threefold crises of Jerusalem which brought the Mosaic Dispensation to a close. This will be explained in what I have to remark on the two next Prophets.

3. *Amos.*

§ 637. Joel has ceased, and ere long *Amos* takes up the strain. The first words which he utters re-echo the voice of his leader: "The Lord roareth from Zion, He uttereth His voice from Jerusalem," Amos i. 2. Joel iii. 16. But the matter of his communication is no longer general: the judgment which Joel announced Amos must describe. *Israel's* latter end is come: Judah's, which is its counterpart, lies far onward in the vista of ages. And here is an immediate earnest of that which was announced by Joel: a day was coming when the Spirit of Prophecy should be poured upon *all* flesh, without respect of persons, even upon the servants and handmaids: and so Amos, who is "no Prophet, nor son of a Prophet," is arrested by the Spirit from among the herdsmen of Tekoa. He is sent to proclaim the Day of the Lord at Beth-el, that king and priest may hear it. Amariah

the priest denounces him to Jeroboam, and casts him out of the land. Then Amos records in writing the burthen of the word of the Lord. "The Lord roareth from Zion, and uttereth His voice from Jerusalem," as said the prophet Joel, *against the heathen* indeed, against the enemies of His people, as Damascus, Gaza and Tyre, Edom and Ammon and Moab—"for three transgressions, and for four, He will not turn away the punishment" of any of them. But *much more* will He visit *His own people*. Judah shall not escape, but *Israel* is ripe for judgment. Her "three, yea, four transgressions" are above measure aggravated (i. ii.) This is the prologue: its "three, yea, four" is the frame-work of the whole prophecy. *Three* denunciations of judgment follow, each beginning, "Hear this word!" chap. iii. iv. v., and the third runs over into a *fourth*, chap. vi. After these utterances, the Prophet beholds the several denunciations taking effect in *four* visions of judgment, each beginning, "The Lord caused me to see, and lo—!" And first, what Joel had beheld, the *locusts*, vii. 1; then fire, v. 4; next, the Lord standing upon the wall with the plummet of judgment, v. 7; and lastly, upon the altar, giving command to smite the whole House, that it may overthrow the whole nation in its ruins, viii. 1. After these judgments, Messiah reigns in His Kingdom, ix. 10—*end*.

Such is the outline of the contents of the first *detailed* Prophecy. Any thing like a full exposition is beyond the compass of this sketch: I must content myself with a few hints relative to the right point of view from which it is to be contemplated.

§ 638. The "denunciations of judgment," chap. iii—vi., open with a preface, the purport of which is this: Let all Israel, even the whole nation, hear! for it is God who is now henceforth speaking by the ministry of the Prophets. "Hear this word, which Jehovah speaketh against you, ye sons of Israel! —*against the whole generation which I brought up out of Egypt*, saying: || You only do I know before all nations of the earth: therefore will I visit upon you all your transgressions!—Do twain walk together unless they have made an appointment? | doth the Lion roar in the forest, and hath no prey? | is the young Lion heard out of his den except he seizeth the prey? || doth a bird fall into the snare upon the earth, and hath no net? | is the snare lifted up from the ground, and doth not catch anything? || Or is the trumpet blown in a city, and the people are not dismayed? | or happeneth an evil in a city, and Jehovah hath not done it? ||—No, *never doth the Lord Jehovah anything | without revealing His secret to His servants the Prophets!* || *The Lion roareth—who can but fear? | the Lord Jehovah hath spoken—who can but prophesy?*" iii. 1—8. It needs no comment of mine to point out the sublime significance of this passage regarded as the opening of detailed Prophecy.

§ 639. The event has shown that the course of judgment conditionally announced by Moses, and by the Prophets declared absolutely, was, in the case of Judah down to the present dispersion, a series of *three* distinct visitations, and that a *fourth* yet remains. We have found this idea involved in the summary of the Day of the Lord with which Joel opened

the apocalyptic dispensation: in Amos we find it distinctly prominent. The transgressions of *Israel*, like those of Judah, are "*three, yea, four*:" there are *four* denunciations, and four visions of judgment. Not that all four are brought out distinctly; in fact, the fourth denunciation and the fourth vision are enlargements upon the third: in other words, the third and fourth crises, like the first and second Advent of Christ, and the two ends of the *Aiōn*, appear as one. The crisis which is yet future is merged in that which preceded it, so that the vision of judgment seems to terminate in that crisis, now nearly 1800 years past, in which the chosen nation was cast off. Which phenomenon seems to have its ground in the purpose of God that the *aiōn* which now is should be a *μυστήριον χρόνους αἰώνιους σεσιγημένον*, not to be revealed until the appointed time.

§ 640. And, in point of fact, three crises of Israel's judgment, ending in an overthrow corresponding with the catastrophe of Jerusalem, are clearly discovered in the history. The *first* in 772—771 B.C., when the last king of the house of Jehu being slain by Shallum, and he by Menahem, *Pul king of Assyria invades Israel* (p. 239). The *second*, in 738, when *Tiglath-Pileser takes Gilead, Galilee, all Naphtali, &c.*, and Pekah is conspired against and slain by Hoshea (p. 241), and so Isaiah's prediction vii. 16, was fulfilled. The *third* was the capture of Samaria by *Shalmaneser*, the carrying away of Israel, and the end of that kingdom, B.C. 721 (p. 243).—The *fourth* is yet to come, for Israel as well as Judah.

This threefold visitation of Israel is the earnest of the like destiny for Judah and Jerusalem. It has been shown that the last times of Samaria are connected by manifold significant economies with those of her sister, § 386 ff. And the attentive reader of this prophecy will discover many significant hints implying that its oracles reach beyond Israel, and have a further sense in reference to Judah.

4. *Hosea.*

§ 641. *Hosea* began to prophesy, an Israelite against Israel, towards the close of the reign of Jeroboam; and continued to preach against his own nation until its overthrow in 721 B.C. The ground-work of his prophecy is given in the first three chapters, which in themselves form a connected whole, and were certainly delivered during the latter years of the reign of Jeroboam. He begins his ministry with the description of a *symbolical drama*, which was enacted in a vision. In the spirit he received command to take to himself a wife, Gomer daughter of Diblaim, of whom it was foretold that she would be an adulteress, and that her children whom she should bear would be like unto her. She bore a son, and the Prophet was commanded to call his name *Jezreel*. The import of the name is straightway explained; the blood of Jezreel is about to be visited on the house of Jehu; also the bow of Israel shall be broken in the valley of Jezreel. This child, therefore, symbolizes the first impending visitation of Israel, in the excision of the last descendant of the house of

Jehu (after a long time of anarchy § 229), and the subsequent invasion of Pul king of Assyria, the first act of the Assyrian judgment. Again, she bears a child, a daughter, whose name must be *Lo-Ruhamah*, οὐκ-ἡλεημένη; for the Lord will no longer have mercy upon Israel, though upon Judah, it is intimated, He will still have mercy, and will save them not by bow and sword and war, not by horses and riders. This symbol, I conceive, refers to the second Assyrian invasion, by Tiglath-pileser, and the second term of anarchy which followed. Lastly, "she weaned Lo-Ruhamah, and bare a son; then said He, Call his name *Lo-Ammi*, not my people! for ye are not my people, and I will not be your (God)." Which manifestly relates to the final catastrophe of Israel, of which Isaiah prophesied, "Within sixty-five years shall Ephraim be broken in pieces, and shall be no more a people."—Thus Hosea's vision runs parallel with that of Amos. The three judgments (running over into a fourth) are symbolized by the three children of *Gomer daughter of Diblaim*, (*adimpletio peccatorum, filia luxuriarum*).—Thus far two of the terms of the idea of prophecy, Sin and Judgment; now follows the third, Mercy. The children of Israel shall, although cut off, be multiplied as the sand of the sea: the name *Lo-Ammi* shall be repealed, they shall be called, Sons of the Living God: Israel and Judah shall come up out of the land of their captivity (which intimates that Judah will also be carried away captive) under One Head (Messiah): "for great is the day of Jezreel"—this ominous name, exhausted of its evil import, shall be significant of good, (comp. ii. 24, 25), "Say ye" then "to your brethren, *Ammi*, My People! and to your sisters, *Ruhamah*, Beloved!" Thus even the first chapter is complete in itself. It runs through the three terms of prophecy, from the beginning of the judgment upon Israel to the end of the αἰών, when "all Israel shall be saved."

§ 642. In the second chapter, the symbol, the Prophet and his wife, disappear: the ἀλληγορούμενον is drawn off from the ἀλληγορία. Israel is this adulteress. Her sin is portrayed, and her judgment: she shall be stripped of all her glory and pleasures, and shall be secluded, as within hedges and walls, that she cannot go after her idols. At the last, the Lord will bring her again to Himself, as he did in the first Exode: she shall come up again out of the second Egypt (ii. 15. Deut. xxviii. 68.) So this chapter reaches over the same extent as the first.

§ 643. And now the symbol reappears, the Prophet and his adulterous wife. The first verse of chap. iii. is in continuation of i. 9. The drama is to proceed. It had previously symbolized the judgments executed upon Israel down to the catastrophe, the deportation into Assyria. Now it is to symbolize the dispensation which beginning thence extended to the end of the αἰών. The Lord said, "Go yet, still love this faithless woman:" the prophet's dealings with the adulteress shall shadow forth the Lord's dealings with His rejected people. Accordingly, he redeems her (at a price equivalent to thirty pieces of silver), then announces to her that she must long sit a widow, secluded both from her former lovers, and from her husband.

Which is thus explained: "The children of Israel shall sit many days without a king (of God's appointing), and without a prince (of their own); without an offering (i. e. God's true worship in His Temple), and without an image (secluded from idol-worship); without an ephod (i. e. without God's Priest as their oracle) and without Teraphim (the divinations of idolatry). But in the end, the children of Israel shall be restored under David (Messiah) their king."

§ 644. In its first sense, all this was spoken to the Ten Tribes; but, like Amos's prophecy, it reaches further—to *Judah*. The rejection of Israel was the type of Judah's rejection, and on the other hand, the description of Israel's condition, from the time of her rejection to the time of her restoration, is exactly fulfilled before our eyes in the condition of *Judah* since Christ's first coming. It would seem, then, that the three crises of Israel's judgment (Jerreel, Lo-Ruhamah, Lo-Ammi,) are in like manner allegories of three similar crises in the destinies of Judah.

The remaining chapters I do not attempt to analyse. In these, the Prophet uses, for the most part, the language of reality, not of symbol. Here he rapidly passes and repasses from one point of the prophetic cycle to its opposite; from sin and judgment to mercy, and from mercy to judgment and sin. It is not, as before, a sustained discourse, but the word of the Lord is uttered as it were by starts and flashes. We may remark that he repeatedly hints at Judah's concern in these denunciations: *e. g.* *v.* 5, 10, 12—15; *vi.* 4, 11; *xii.* 4.

5. *Isaiah, chap. i—vi.*

§ 645. Thus far Joel had announced the Day of the Lord which he beheld in its last scene, the *συντέλεια* of the whole procedure of the great drama: Amos and Hosea had portrayed the same procedure in its first scenes, its foreground, in which lay the visitation of Israel, and behind it that of Judah: these two prophesied against Israel, expressly and by name—against Judah covertly and in an economy.

Καὶ μὴν ὁ Χρησμός οὐκέτ' ἐκ καλυμμάτων
ἔσται δεδορκώς
λαμπρὸς δ' ἔοικεν ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς
πνέων ἐσήξειν, ὥστε κύματος δίκην
κλύζειν πρὸς αὐγὰς τοῦδε πῆματος πολὺ
μείζον' φρενώσει δ' οὐκέτ' ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων.

"The Vision of *ISAIAH* the son of Amos which he saw concerning *Judah* and *Jerusalem* in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah." Full forty years before the catastrophe of Samaria, this glorious Seer began to announce the Day of the Lord about to break in upon both kingdoms, but especially upon Jerusalem. That Samaria's end was fast approaching, the former prophets had declared: *Isaiah* was to reveal the

futurity of Jerusalem and the House of David. This he did, in a series of prophecies extending from the latter years of Uzziah to that momentous crisis in the history of Jerusalem, the overthrow of the host of Assyria, and, concurrently with this, the miraculous recovery of Hezekiah and prolongation of his life, ch. i—xxxix. After this begins a new series of visions, ch. xl—*end*. Throughout the period occupied by the first half, the fate of Judah seemed, to man's eye, to hang in the balance. The terrible "northern army" which Joel beheld was come up; again and again it laid Israel waste, until the judgment was complete (721 B. C.); and Israel was no more a people. Should Jerusalem escape? An ominous pause ensued. At length (713) the great day of decision is arrived. The Assyrian "is come to Aiath; he is passed to Migron: at Michmash he lays up his carriages; Madmenah is removed; the inhabitants of Gebim gather themselves to flee: as yet he remaineth at Nob that day: he shakes his head against the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem. Behold, the Lord, Jehovah Sabaoth, lops the bough with terror.... And there cometh forth a Rod out of the stem of Jesse, a Branch out of his roots," (x. 28—xi. 1). Jerusalem is saved, yet not, as it might have seemed from this vision, by MESSIAH'S Advent. Immediately after this deliverance, Hezekiah, sick unto death, about to be cut off in the midst of his days, is miraculously recovered: fifteen years are added to his life. This symbolizes the great crisis which the nation had now overpast, and the respite which was granted to it. In the very next chapter, the view is opened into futurity, and BABYLON appears as the destined instrument of God's deferred judgment. And with this ends the first Part of Isaiah's Prophecy.

§ 646. I shall briefly describe the contents of the first six chapters, and so bring these remarks to a close.

Ch. i. Jerusalem is apostate,—“the city which is spiritually called Sodom.” Mercy is offered, and refused; judgment must take its course: then she shall be restored.

Ch. ii—iv. Messiah's kingdom: but first the judgment on the apostates, and dire distress on the whole nation: then the remnant shall be saved, and Messiah will reign.—The vision reaches from the time of the Prophet to the end of the world; but in describing the provocations of the nation he continually reverts to the sins of his own times.

Ch. v. The parable of the vineyard: this received its full accomplishment in the crisis which ensued upon the First Advent. It is remarkable; however, that *three* stages of sin and judgment are described. (1.) v. 8—10. (2.) v. 11—17. (3.) 18—25. (Compare the remarks on Amos and Hosea). The concluding verses, 26—30, describe generally the army of the Lord against Jerusalem—the deluge of His wrath which shall overwhelm it. “There is a roaring over it in that day like the roaring of the sea; if one looks to the land, there behold thick darkness, and the light is darkened by the drippings thereof:” the sea roars over it; from above, the windows of heaven are opened: it is “as the waters of Noah.” (§ 328.)

§ 647. Ch. vi. This cycle of prophecy, which may be regarded as the Prologue to the entire collection, is completed with an account of the vision in which Isaiah was inaugurated to his ministry of judgment. He saw Jehovah (that is, as we learn from S. John xii. 41, the uncreated Word, *Christ*) in His glory, surrounded by the Seraphim. He bewailed himself, "a man of unclean lips, dwelling amid a people of unclean lips:" a seraph touched his lips with a burning coal from the altar of incense, so cleansing them. Then the Lord said, Whom shall I send? and Isaiah offered himself, and received his commission—a *ministry of judgment and reprobation*; which was to last "until the cities be waste and without inhabitants, and houses without men, &c."—This ministry took effect first in the Babylonian judgment; but it was not to end there—for it was added, "and if then there be yet therein a tenth," i.e. though the tenth part be restored from that desolating judgment, "it shall be consumed the second time" (*it must into the fire again*, Ewald); yet never an utter destruction, but, "like the terebinth and like the oak, to the which when they are hewn down a root-stump is left, so its stock shall remain—a holy seed." The full effect appears in the rejection of Christ by the Jews (John xii. 38), and the reprobation which followed.

§ 648. The time of the Vision in the Temple is marked as "the year in which king Uzziah died." But it is obvious that in this vision we have the inauguration of Isaiah into his prophetic office. Hence the prophecies in chap. i—v. must be assigned to the reign of Jotham. The vision, though it occurred before them is placed after them: in which arrangement there is a peculiar emphasis and significance. Isaiah reveals the Day of the Lord, but Jerusalem will not hear. Whence this insensibility? To the Prophet, the veil is drawn aside and discloses the counsel of Jehovah. The sentence of judgment is no longer pending—it is gone forth irreversibly: the Lord has left Jerusalem to herself, and she will not, nay, cannot repent: Isaiah's ministry, the ministry of all the Prophets, is ordained to be a savour of death unto death: the nation is given up and left to perish: only the remnant shall be saved. Accordingly, with a reference to this vision, S. John closes his history of the acceptable year of the Lord: "Though He had done so many miracles, they believed not: *because* Isaiah had said, Lord, who hath believed our report? *Therefore they could not believe*, because that Isaiah said again, He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them. These things said Esaias when he saw His glory and spake of Him."

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

P. 21, line 7 from bottom: for *it is*, read *is it*.
 22, note: for 300, read 312.
 36, line 11 from bottom: for *celebratus*, read *celebratur*.
 40, line 9 from bottom: accents misplaced: *ἡμῶν* and *ἀπογραφῆς*.
 50, line 4: for *Handbuch*, read *Handbuch*.
 55, line 5 from bottom: for § 496, read § 439.
 62, note, col. 1, line 11: for *explains*, read *explains*.

71, note, col. 2, line 5: for *as*, read *for*.
 75, (5), line 2: for 438 read 432.
 76, § 80, end: add—The well-known story of Abgarus, king of Edessa, in Euseb. H. E. i. fin. contains the date *ἐπὶ τῆς ταύτης τοσαυταετούς καὶ τριακοσίου ἔτη*. The era here used is that of the Seleucids, and the 340th year began in the autumn of A. D. 28. Hence it appears that A. D. 29 was the received year-date of the Passion in Syria during the third century, to which, at latest, the document is to be referred. See the note of Valesius in l.

P. 79, § 84, "Epiphanius gives 32 years 74 days," add—The more usual estimate seems to have been 32 years and 3 months, which was made out thus:—Christ born 25 December: baptised in the thirtieth year, 6 January, i. e. 297 124 or perhaps 307 124: crucified in the 33d year, 25 Mar., therefore at the age of 327 3=. (See a fragment of Apostolic Constitutions, cited by Cotelierius, *Jud. de Constit. Apost. Patres Apostol.* t. i. p. 197.) Hence the length assigned to the Ministry was either 37 804, or 27 804.

P. 83. (3) For the testimony of Julius Africanus see fragm. ap. Hieronym. in Dan. ix.

ib. After (5) add: S. Cyrill. Alex. in *Eccl.* c. 32. Philastrius *hæc*. 106. So the author of the *Clementina*, Hom. xvii. *ἀν. ἀπὸ ἐναντίου ἑργηγοῦντων παρμένων ἐμῶν ὁ δὲ δόσκαλος*. This testimony is important as representing the sense of the Ebionites in the second century.

P. 89, line 11: for *elvas*, read *elvas*.

ib. note 2, line 1: for *vicious*, read *officious*.

P. 90, note 1, line 7: for *anf*, read *anf*.

91, § 96: compare the recapitulation in § 582.

96, note 1, line 2: for *πρότερον*, read *πρότερον*.

194, line 9: for *Moreover*, read *Moreover*.

ib. line 2, twice: for *Simon*, read *Joseph*.

131, note, col. 2, line 13 from end:

On further consideration I withdraw the remark made in this parenthesis. *ἀντίφρον χάριν* refers not to the former visit, but to an intention which the Apostle had subsequently abandoned. His original plan was, to proceed direct from Ephesus to Corinth, thence to Macedonia, and from Macedonia to return to Corinth. Referring to this, he says, "I was minded to come to you first,"—i. e. to take you before the Macedonians,—"in order that ye might have a second benefit,"—i. e. that instead of having me with you but once on this tour, you might have me twice, first on my way to Macedonia, and a second time on my return thence. See Meyer in l.

P. 133, line 3 from bottom: read *δεκαετούσαν*.

P. 144, § 134. S. Peter's arrival at Rome is assigned by Lactantius to the year 54. *Inde discipuli . . . dispersi sunt per omnem terram sicut Dominus imperaverat, et per annos 26 usque ad princ-*

pium Neroniani imperii [13 Oct. A. D. 54.] *per omnes provincias et civitates Ecclesie fundamenta miserrunt. Cumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit, &c.* De Morte Persecutorum, c. 2. Twenty-five years reckoned from Lactantius's date of the Ascension, A. D. 29, reach to A. D. 54. This is the original meaning of the statement that S. Peter's Roman pontificate lasted 25 years. Jerome and the authors of the pontifical catalogues reckoned this term back from the year to which they referred the Apostle's martyrdom (A. D. 67) and so obtained the year 42, the second of Claudius. Hence the fable of a first visit of S. Peter to Rome in that year. Hence also the confusion in the accounts of the first three bishops of Rome. Clement was certainly bishop in the interval between the martyrdom of the two Apostles and the destruction of Jerusalem, i. e. at some time between A. D. 65 and 70. This being known, the term of 23 or 24 years, reaching from A. D. 42 to 65 or 66, was filled up with two episcopates, that of Linus 12 years, and that of Anencletus 11 or 12 years, who were represented as exercising the episcopal functions *super-ecclesie Petro, videlicet ut illi episcopatus curam gererent ipse vero apostolatus imperet officium*. So Rufinus Pref. in Recogn. Clementis. By a further mistake it was supposed that Linus succeeded S. Peter on his death: so Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 2, 13, 14, reports that Linus sat 12 years after S. Peter: Anencletus 12 years after Linus: thus the episcopate of Clement was made to begin about A. D. 52. The facts, it seems to me, may be thus represented: S. Peter arrived at Rome, A. D. 54—5, S. Paul in the spring of 56. One or other of these Apostles ordained Linus the first Bishop. This we learn from S. Irenæus: *Fundantes et instructores B. Apostoli ecclesiam Lino episcopatum administranda ecclesie tradiderunt*. According to the *Constitut. Apostol.* vii. 46, he was ordained by Paul. He sat, according to the lists, between 11 and 12 years, and suffered martyrdom in the year *Cæcæ Capitis et Rufi*, A. D. 67. Eleven years reckoned back from that year reach to A. D. 56, the year of S. Paul's arrival at Rome. According to Tertullian, *Præscript. hæret.* 32, and the *Constitut. Apost.* u. s. Clement was ordained by S. Peter; if so, the martyrdom of Linus is placed too late: but if we suppose Linus to have been ordained by S. Peter, and to have sat 11 years, A. D. 54—65, it is possible that Clement may have been ordained by one or both of the great Apostles shortly before their martyrdom. That Clement succeeded Linus is testified also by Augustine *Ep. ad Geronium* 53, and Optatus ii. 3. p. 28. It would seem therefore that the name Anencletus, which Irenæus and Eusebius place between Linus and Clement, must either be expunged or placed after Clement. The latter is the more probable: for the Roman presbyter Calus in the second century, Eus. H. E. v. 28, calls Victor the 13th from S. Peter, i. e. 14th in the succession including S. Peter; and S. Cyprian makes Hyginus 9th in the succession. Now if Anencletus be omitted, the succession would be Peter, Linus, Clement, Euaerestus, Alexander, Xystus, Telesphorus, Hyginus (8th, not 9th), Pius, Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherius, Victor (only 13th in the succession, or 12th from S. Peter). Besides, not only the *Catalogus Liberianus*, but Augustine and Optatus, rank Anacletus after Clement.

P. 151, § 144. For a full and critical account of the *Evangelium Hebraeorum* as used by the Nazarenes, who seem to have been orthodox Christians of the circumcision, and by the heretical Ebionites, see Olshausen's valuable work *Die Echtheit der vier kanonischen Evangelien*, Königsberg, 1833.

P. 163, line 6, add: Papias derived his information from John the presbyter, "a disciple of the Lord." Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39.

P. 166, line 16: add note: And in fact the Gospel of S. Mark was at no time used for party purposes, or exclusively claimed by any sect. Irenaeus indeed, *Har.* iii. 11, seems to imply that the Cerinthians attached themselves to this Gospel, in like manner as the Ebionites to Matthew, Marcion to Luke, and Valentinus to John. But the statement may have arisen from a confusion between S. Mark and a copy of the first Gospel, mutilated of the first two chapters. See Olshausen *Echtheit der 4 Evangelien*, p. 96.

P. 166—178. The dates from the Canon are to be placed 12 or 13 days later: see § 436 and note.

P. 170, Table, last line but one, for 1 Jan., read 11 Jan.

P. 184, line 12 and 25: for *sabbatical*, read *jubilæum*; see p. 292.

P. 184, line 30: for *beginning*, read *ending*.

189, line 20: for xxxviii, read xxviii.

201, § 189, line 1: dele *the*.

ib. line 6 from end: for *truths*, read *truth*.

209, last line: see § 442.

210, § 206, line 7: after *Inst. of Chronology*, add, § 442.

P. 226, line 11 from end: for *vice versa*, read *Abas* p. 217 complete, *Johannaphat* 257 complete.

P. 242, note 3, line 5: for 752, read 725.

244, line 3 from end: see § 463.

253, § 239, line 9: see § 467.

261, line 7: for *accessory*, read *accessory*.

ib. last line: insert of *before the history*.

267, last line but one: for *possible*, read *possibly*.

268, § 258, end. See p. 363, note 3.

292, note, line 2: dele "and 536."

308, note 1. See p. 321, note 1.

316, line 3: read *Pharisee*.

320, note, col. 2, line 5: read *pseudepigraph*.

344, note 1. *Infra*, Addenda to p. 461.

350, line 9 from end: for *them*, read *Shem*.

355, line 7: for 8 + 293, read 8 × 293.

372, line 4 from end: *Infra* p. 688.

374, note 16: read vi. 1.

ib. line 6 from end: "Clement of Alexandria." This is a mistake. Clement Strom. i. 21, § 112, informs us that some reckoned 450 years from the death of Moses to the accession of David; i. e. 460 from the Exode. Clement himself, by a computation which is full of errors, makes it 563 7/8 from the Exode. From the birth of Moses to the Capture of the city in the 11th of Zedekiah he makes 1085 6/10; therefore from the accession of David to the Captivity about 483 years. (Others, however, made it 457 6/10, ib. § 121). His epoch of the seventy years' captivity, which he dates from the capture of Jerusalem in the 12th of Zedekiah, is Ol. 48. 1. = B. C. 586, the true year. This, however, he strangely confuses with the Captivity of Jeconias "at the beginning of his reign, in the 7th year of Nebuchadnezzar," ib. § 127. This gives for his date of the Exode 568 + 1005 = 1563 A. C., only seven years too early; yet we afterwards find him placing this event 345 years before the lapse of the Sothiac cycle, 1322 + 345 = 1667 A. C., ib. § 126. See p. 576.

P. 576, line 8 from end: read 2016.

P. 322, note 1, line 3: before the first, insert *viz. in*.

366, line 17: *Infra* p. 544, note.

401, § 349: *Infra* p. 594, note.

409, § 358: *Infra* p. 450, note 2.

ib. § 369: *Infra* p. 594, note.

The procession to the Temple took place on the Monday, the cleansing of the Temple on the Tuesday in Passion Week.

P. 438, line 17 from end: From 586 to 196 A. C. the year in which the Jews revolted to Syria (see § 199, 200) are just 390 years.

P. 446, § 362, line 9: Elijah. On this point the Fathers of the first six centuries are almost unanimous. Bellarmin. *de Rom. Pontif.* iii. 6, sums up their testimony by declaring that the contrary opinion is *vel heresice vel heresi proxime error*. See Suicer, s. v. 'Halias, Fabricii *Cod. apoc.*, N. T. i. 391. iii. 377. *Haugstenberg Christologie des A. T.* 444, ff. It may be well to cite a few of the more prominent passages on this subject. S. Justin Martyr. *Dial. c.* Tryph. c. 40, declares that Elijah must precede the Second Advent, *ἐπὶ ἁδελφὶ ἡμῶν Κυρίου τὴν με- γάλαν καὶ ἐπιφανή*; that our Lord speaks of such an advent of Elijah as still future, *Matt. xi. 14*: that it only began to be fulfilled in the Baptist. Tertull. *de anima*, 50: *Translatum est Enoch et Elias nos more eorum reports est, dilata scilicet. Ceterum mortui reservantur ut Antichristum sanguine suo extinguant*. Theophylact. in *Matth.* xvii. 11, 12. *ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν οὗτο 'Halias μὲν ὀφείλει, δεκνύει οὗτο οὕτω ἵδεν' ἐλπίσονται δὲ πρόδρομος τῆς δευτέρας ἐλπίσονται, καὶ ἀποκαταστήσει πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πάντες τοὺς εὐαγγελισμένους καὶ καθήκοντες*. 'Ebraïm, *ὡς περ εἰς πατρίαν κληθὲν ἀποκαταστήσει αὐτοὺς ἐκπεσόντας*. S. Chrysost. *Hom. 57* in *Matth.* *ὡς περ 'Ισραὴλ πρόδρομος ἢ τῆς προτέρας παρουσίας, οὗτος 'Halias δευτὴς τῆς δευτέρας παρουσίας*. (To the same effect Origen, S. Cyrill. *Alex.*, Theodoret.) S. Augustin de *Civ. Dei* xx. 28. *Per hunc Eliam magnum mirabilemque apostola sibi longe ultimo tempore ante judicium Judaeos in Christum vocat, id est, in Christum nostrum crediturum, celeberrimum est in sermonibus cordibusque fidei. Ipse quippe ante adventum Judaei Salvatoris non immerito operatur eorum venturus: quia etiam nunc vivere non immerito creditur. Curru namque igneo rapitur est de rebus humanis, quod evidentissime sancta scriptura testatur*. Comp. S. Hippolyt. *de Antichristo*, p. 27. Dorothe. *Typ. de Vit. Proph.* c. 18. Dr. Pusey, in one of the notes to the recent Oxford translation of Tertullian, Vol. i. p. 130, considerably understates the sense of the Ancients on this point, in speaking of it as "an expectation which is found in the Fathers, that Elias may yet come personally before the second advent of our Lord;" and adds—"Although we know on Divine Authority, that the prophecy of his coming was fulfilled (i. e. had one complete fulfilment so as to require no other) before His first Advent." Now surely what is found in the Fathers is not merely an expectation that Elias may, but a positive declaration that he *will* come. And however the words of our Lord may have been explained in modern times, the Fathers did not understand them to imply that the fulfilment in John the Baptist was complete, and such as to require no other.—On the interpretation of the passages see Olshausen *Commentary on Matth.* xi. 14, xvii. 10—13, and a paper in the *British Magazine*, Vol. xvi. p. 284.—The other faithful witness is, I am inclined to think, *Moses*, for he it was who appeared with Elias in the Transfiguration, which

was manifestly designed to be a pledge and assurance of the coming of the Kingdom of God with power. Here let me make a remark on the passage in 8. Peter's Second Epistle relative to the Transfiguration: a passage which, falsely translated in our English version, has been strangely misunderstood, and made the ground of erroneous inferences. No person moderately acquainted with the common rules of Greek Syntax can need to be informed that βασιλευσιν ἔχομεν τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον is not = "we have a more sure word of prophecy." Nor is the meaning that which Meyer assigns in his German Version (which that excellent grammarian will doubtless see cause to correct when his Commentary shall have reached this Epistle: *Auch haben wir etwas sehr zuverlässiges (einen zuverlässigen Beweis für die Wahrheit unserer Religion) an den Propheten-sprüchen*. The Apostle is speaking of Christ's Coming in Glory: "We did not go after cunning fables," says he, "when we preached to you this great event: no, we spoke as men who have been permitted to gaze upon this mystery, ἐνώμας γελῶντες: we saw His glorified form on the Holy Mount: we heard the voice from Heaven: and (so) *we have more firm—(persuasiorem nobis habemus)*, we are the more assuredly persuaded of the certainty of—the Prophetic Word, the glorious predictions of the Ancient Seers and of our own Prophets, concerning His Coming and Kingdom: (we assuredly expect Him so to come, because we have already *seen* Him so come, in His Transfiguration,)—to which prophetic Word ye do well that ye take heed, &c." Such is plainly the scope of the passage.—The Transfiguration was a visible pledge and earnest of Christ's Coming: the appearing of Moses and Elias together with Him is a pledge of their future manifestation in connexion with that Coming: so that adopting S. Peter's words we may say, "we are the more assured of the prophetic Word which foretells the Advent of Elias and that other faithful Witness, because in the scene of our Lord's Transfiguration we behold a pledge of this mystery."

P. 448, *end*. The death of Abel preceded by no long time the birth of Seth, which event took place in A. M. 131. A. C. 3978—1: see § 302. The time of the sacrifice was the spring, being the time of firstlings of the flocks and corn. From the spring of 3979 to the time of the Passion are just 4000 years.—Or, if we suppose a period of 4000 years to end at the martyrdom of John the Baptist (August A. D. 28) the period will begin in September 3973. Now from 13 Oct. A. D. 66, the beginning of the last 3½ years back to 22 September A. C. 3973, are 1,474,900⁴ = 4300 × 73. And from 22 Sept. 3973 to 23 Aug. A. D. 28 are precisely 4000 tropical years.

P. 451, line 5 from end: for 65, read 680.

ib. Dele "lastly" at No. 11, and add: 12. Lastly: the product of the two numbers 380 and 434 seems to be an exact measure of the whole period from 1 A. M. to 11 August A. D. 70. (the goal of the economy proceeding by the measure 434). For the Mosaic Period from the Exode to that day = 604,612 days: suppose the Antediluvian *αιών* exactly symmetrical with this, then the entire Period is 1,209,224. Add to this 314,116⁴ = the 2 × 4307 from the Flood to the Exode; the sum is 1,523,339⁴, which make (*minus* 1 day) 3510 × 434 or 9 × 380 × 434. Now 9 × 434 = 3906: hence the entire period = 10 × 380 × 380 plus 6 × 380. The surplus 6 × 380, or 2340⁴, begins 15 Mar. A. D. 64, almost exactly 36 = 10 × 3½ years from the crucifixion,

P. 451. It is remarkable that the Usserian Chronology gets a period of just four millennia between the Creation and the birth of Christ. Ussher takes the numbers as they stand in the Hebrew text, and among them the statement in 1 Kings vi. 1. The 4th of Solomon he makes = A. C. 1012, whence his date of the Exode is 1012 + 479 = 1491 A. C., of the Call 1491 + 430 = 1921 A. C., of the Flood 1921 + 427 = 2348 A. C., of the Creation 2348 + 1656 = 4004 A. C.; and since his date of the Nativity is A. C. 4, the interval is just 4000 years. The result stands perfectly clear from all suspicion of human contrivance. But is it then quite accidental? This I do not venture to affirm. The very number 480, composed of the sacred numbers 40 and 12, suggests the surmise of an 'economy.' Now let us for a moment suppose that number to represent so many mystical years of some sort or other; in all other respects let us take the measures of the periods as determined in these pages. Then we have

| | |
|---|-------------|
| From the Creation to 17 Nisan in } the year of the Flood | 1655r. 1934 |
| Thence to the Exode 2 × 430..... | 860 . 0 |
| To Solomon's Temple (20 April), } mystical years..... | 480 . 10 |
| To 8 Dec. A. C. 5. Nativity | 1008 . 233 |
| | 4003r. 4364 |

So that from a day three years later than the beginning of 1 A. M. to the initial day of the Gospel History (the Visitation of Zacharias) may be exactly 4000 years, of which 480 are years mystical.

My reasons for thinking it possible that such may be the meaning of the text 1 Kings vi. 1, are these.

1. The true interval from the Exode to the Foundation of the Temple is 573r 10⁴, (10 Apr. 1586 to 20 Apr. 1013) = 599,399 days. Divide this by 480. The quotient is 436 with a remainder of only 19 days.—Now the interval from 20 Apr. 1013 to the very day of the Passion is 1041 years *minus* 33 days = 380,192: which are exactly equal to the very remarkable number 872 × 436 = 2 × 436 × 436, or twice the square of the number 436 above found. Comp. § 359.

2. From the Exode to the instant of the Nativity, in virtue of the economy noted in § 348, are forty-nine fiftieths of 569,491 days, i. e. 577,701 days, which make 1325 × 436 *plus* 1.

3. From 11 Apr. 1586 to 12 Apr. 1056, the economical epoch of David, 490 + 40 years after the Exode, are 193,584 days, or precisely 444 × 436, or 37 × 12 × 436; and thence to the founding of the Temple 3 × 12 × 436. And from 12 Apr. 1056 to 24 Sept. 536 are 520r 1054 = 190,064 = 436 × 436 (*minus* 1 day).

4. The period of 600 years (Flood to Exodus) or 314,115 is = 730 × 436 *plus* 195. Hence from 23 Oct. 2446, which lies in the beginning of the second month, to 11 Apr. 1586 are 730 × 436, and from 10 Nov. 2446 to 30 April 1013 are 1900 × 436. Also from 23 Oct. 2446 to the 24 Sept. 536, the day on which the *Altar* was erected after the return from the Captivity, are 1900 × 436 *minus* 1 day.

5. From the instant of the Nativity measure back a period of 3430 × 436 = 10 × 7² × 436 = 1,466,490⁴ or 4094 Julian years, *plus* 146 days. These reach to 15 July 4098, nearly 3 years (see above) after the beginning of 1 A. M.

It seems then that the number 436 is a sacred measure, an *ἀνταρτία* in the Divine Chronometry. It seems also, that the statement in the Hebrew text, 1 Kings vi. 1, is true in this respect, and that in this sense the birth of Christ lies 4000 years—per-

happened after the birth of Cain or Abel.—I add the following facts, in which the same measure appears, but not in the same track as the preceding.

6. It was announced to Abraham that his seed should be strangers in a land not their own, 400 years. Now 400×436 , or 174,400, or $477 \times 176^{\frac{1}{2}}$ reach from the day of the promise to the 7th month of 1539, the very time at which the *Αποδομία* was completed, p. 280.

7. From the dedication of Solomon's Temple to its overthrow, are 152,608 days, § 538: that is, 350×436 plus 8. Therefore from the end of the feast of Dedication to the Conflagration are just 350×436 , or seven Jubilean periods of these mystical years.

P. 456, § 399, line 6: read *354* 36706, and 10-87518.

462, note 1, line 3: read *Syro-Macedonian*.

481, line 12: *dele* "the" before "one."

484, ult.: for "some of the names," read "each name."

P. 490, § 443, line 10: for 29, read 28.

513, note, line 2: for *his*, read *this*.

517, line 2: read *Lugdunum*.

527, § 474, line 10: read *consequence*.

P. 533, § 477. The following curious instance occurs in Asseman's account of a Syriac MS. of a Gospel (it is not said which) written, or pretended to have been written, in the year *Æ. Sel.* 389, i. e. A. D. 77, only seven years after the destruction of Jerusalem! *Erat quoddam Evangelium Edessenum* (h. e. *Syriacum Edesse exaratum*) *pervolutum quidem, sed clarum ac dilucidum, ex quo ne iota quidem unum deletum fuerit. Ad ejus vero calcem ita scriptum erat* [Syriac thus translated]: "*Absolutus est sanctus iste liber feria quinta die 18 Canon prioris anno Græcorum 380 propria manu Achai Apostoli, socii Mar Maris Discipuli Mar Adai Apostoli, cuius oratio nobiscum sit, Amen.*" Asseman. *Bibl. Orient.* tom. ii. 486, cited by Professor Lee in the *Preface* to his translation of the *Theophania* of Eusebius.—The year noted is that which begins in the autumn of A. D. 77 (not 78, as Asseman makes it); the Calendar used is that form of Syro-Macedonian in which the months, with Syriac names, are identical with the Julian, and the month *Canon Prior* is the Julian December, *Ideler Lehrb.* p. 180. And in A. D. 77, dom. let. E, the 18th December did actually coincide with *feria quinta*, i. e. Thursday.

P. 539, line 9: read *ævi*.

541, line 22: *dele* comma after *Meyer*.

544, note, line 4: for p. 343, read § 343.

551, § 493, line 4. Niebuhr, *kleine hist. Schriften* 1. 306, rejects the notice, so far as it relates to Egypt, and decides that the Bible Chronology must be in error in the years assigned to Manasseh. He assumes that there was but one Sennacherib. The Chronology runs perfectly smooth when we distinguish between the son of Sennacherib and the Aserdis = Asaridin of Polyhistor and the Canon.

P. 563, § 562, line 20. It may be remarked, that 120 Barl of the exact length make 2160 years plus 1298-55 days; i. e. 2160 years plus 6×216 days nearly. Hence, years being substituted for days, and both terms multiplied by ten, we have the number 10×2160 plus $10 \times 6 \times 216$ years.

P. 564, § 504, line 7: for "to the," read "the."

P. 583, § 522, line 6: read *comandam*.

P. 584, § 543, line 3: for *furgest*, read *largest*.

P. 675, note. The testimony of the Primitive Church on this subject is collected and examined in

a note to the Oxford Translation of *Tertullian*, Vol. i. p. 120-130. The exhaustive learning, serene candour, and profound reverence, which are conspicuous in all the writings of Dr. Pusey, form an admirable contrast, in his treatment of this subject, to the shallow and supercilious objections, and, I must add, very ignorant misrepresentations, with which the Faith of the Ancient Saints, on this point, has been too commonly assailed.

P. 681. Ewald, *Comment. in Apocalyp.* p. 46, whom I have principally in view in these remarks, holds that John certainly meant to denote Nero, and that the Apocalypse was written during the short reign of Otho. The difficulties which have been noticed, he glides over in this way. *Constat Neroni jam vivo a mathematicis prædictum fuisse, fore ut aliquando regno destitutus ex oriente rediret regnum recuperaret. Quæ quidem quomodo ab hereticis prædicti potuerint, hæc videtur esse causa. Messias mos adventuri rumor tum temporis adeo Judæos ob ipsam temporum quæ premebantur angustiam invaserat, foras et Christi mos reduci spem Christiani leviores tam late sparserant, ut regis potentis e Palæstina prodituri rumorum Romanæ etiam venisse admodum ei probabile. Igitur cum Neronem non diu Romanos laturos esse prorsus esset conjectura, Cæsarum vero familia, cuius ultima propago Nero erat, dignitate regia dignissima videretur, quid mirum mathematicos tales oraculum adidisse? Mortuo deinde Neroni non Roma tantum honor habitus est a multis magnus, sed percrebuit etiam rumor, Neronem non vere casum esse, quippe cuius cædi, Suetonio teste, quatuor tantum affuerunt testes..... Quod autem porro dicit, Neronem qui tum evanuerat (xvii. 8-11) octavum fore imperatorem, hæud dubie eo spectat, quod eum septimum brevis regni imperatorem felici Marte debellaturum et orbis terrarum frena recuperaturum esse communis tum temporis erat regionum auctori nostro capitularum opinio. Igitur si unus qui tum regnabat, i. e. sextus imperator procul dubio Galba erat, septimus Otho intelligendus esset; quem quod dicit auctor per breve tantum tempus mansurum esse regem, satis poterat ex temporum illorum quibus omnes fore proinde præfati sibi infensi regnum affectabant conditione concludere. Cumque jam ante Galbæ obitum legiones provinciarum germanicarum obsequium denegarent novum imperatorem postulantes, Tacit. Hist. i. 12, quid mirum auctorem post Galbæ septimum etiam mos venturum esse ex communi rumore putasse? Igitur septimi etei nomen erat ignotum, at brevi ante Neronis reditum venturi certa erat expectatio. Quodque porro adiecti scriptor, Neronem per Orientis reges regno restitutum triatque cum his conjunctum Romanæ eversurum esse (xvi. 12-21, xvii. 16, 17), non minus egregie hæc quadrat. Nam Neronis mortui ob illos rumores non tantum in toto Oriente plurima erat fuma, ita ut hæud pauci ultimum hanc Cæsarum propaginem honoribus persequerentur nimis, sed Parthorum etiam reges mortui curam habuere plurimam (Suet. Ner. 57.) et postea impostorem Neronis nomen mentium armis adjuvare hæud sunt veriti. Cum his igitur conjunctus Nero rediturus et in Italiam septimum Imperatorem debellaturum venisset, quid poterat expectari aliud nisi eum tra Roma ingratæ peritum ipsam urbem funditus eversurum esse? Nonne erat istorum temporum ingenii, Capitolium et urbem incendere? (Tac. Hist. l. 2.)*

THE END

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